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MEMORIAL HISTORY

OF THE

CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

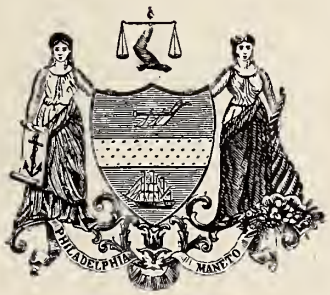
FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE YEAR 1895

EDITED BY

JOHN RUSSELL YOUNG

VOLUME II

SPECIAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL



NEW YORK HISTORY COMPANY

132 Nassau Street, New York

1898

Winthrop Press, Lafayette Place, New York

436436

VOLUME I

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY

1681–1895

BY

HOWARD M. JENKINS

VOLUME II

SPECIAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL

BY

GEORGE O. SEILHAMER

AUG 1 1942

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HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF PHILADELPHIA.

I.

ABSORPTION OF THE SWEDES.

BEFORE William Penn stepped ashore at the Blue Anchor Tavern, and found the site of a great city, the Swedish colonists were thinly settled "near the freshes of the river" at many places on the Delaware, where the greater Philadelphia now stands. Lawrence or Lassy Cock owned the estate at Shackamaxon, where the Treaty Tree stood, and had sold it as early as 1678 to Elizabeth Kinsey, who became the wife of Thomas Fairman, a Friend. Sven Schute, a Swedish captain, had a large plantation at Passyunk that extended from the Delaware to the Schuylkill. Adjoining the Svenson estate, and within the limits of the new city, were lands of Peter Cock. A small fort built of logs, with loop-holes, that served as windows in times of peace, stood on the part of the Svenson domain, then known as Wicaco, but called Southwark by the English. Living on terms of amity with the Indians, and not averse to English rule, these simple Swedish farmers turned Korsholm Fort into a church in 1677, and chose the Rev. Jacob Fabritius as their pastor. They were Lutherans in faith, adhering to the teachings of the Augsburg Confession, but episcopal in their forms of worship and church government, as was the case with the Lutheran Church in Sweden.

Fabritius, according to the accounts that have come down to us, was a man of uncertain nationality and militant disposition, who had previously been fined and suspended at Albany, by Governor Colve and the New York Council, for committing an assault on a woman in her own house, and for marrying a couple without previous proclamation. He was again suspended the following year, 1675, for taking part in a riot at Delawaretown. Even after his acceptance of the pastorate of the church at Wicaco, he was accused of being concerned in the "Conspiracy of the Long Finne," 1679, which took its name from a Swedish adventurer generally called "the long Finne," by whom it was projected. He claimed to be a son of Koningsmarke, the distinguished soldier and statesman, but his real name was Marcus Jacobson. His designs are not very clear, but he went about among the Swedes preaching sedition, and it is probable he sought to over-

throw the English power by the aid of the Indians. Henry Coleman, a Finne, who became his chief follower, was well versed in the English and Swedish tongues. Besides Fabritius, who was charged by Governor Lovelace with being concerned in the conspiracy, Armgardt Printz, daughter of Governor Printz and wife of Lieutenant John Papegaya, was suspected of complicity with it. The "long Finne" succeeded in seducing many Swedes from their allegiance, among them men of consideration and property. The rebellion was short lived, but the arrest of the malcontents was difficult, as they kept much with the Indians. Jacobson was finally apprehended, however, tried by a commission sent from New York, convicted and sentenced to death. The sentence was commuted by the New York Council, and he was ordered to be severely whipped, branded with the letter R on his breast, imprisoned for a year, and then to be transported to Barbadoes,—there to be sold as a slave for four years. His principal associates were required to give security for their future good conduct, and to pay the value of half their possessions to the king; the others were fined in smaller sums. Fabritius escaped without trial or punishment.

It was this pugnacious pastor and his flock that the Friends, who came over with Penn on the *Welcome*, and those that preceded and followed them, found settled on the lands adjacent to the place where it was determined to build the new city of "Brotherly Love." Fabritius, although he was old and feeble when he became the pastor of the Swedes' church at Wicaco, continued to minister for it for fourteen years, during the last nine of which he was blind. The congregation at this time was very poor, and so meagrely was the pastor supported that in 1685 he sought authority from the Council to keep a tavern. The application was refused. The "little dominie," as he was sometimes described, appears to have engaged in worldly pursuits before this, for Penn wrote to James Harrison, his steward, that he could procure "fine smoked shads of the old priest in Philadelphia."

It is not the design of this chapter to relate the history of the congregation at Wicaco, or of the church of Gloria Dei, built in 1700, and still standing in Swanson street, interesting as the story is, but simply to trace the absorption of the Swedes as a people and as a Lutheran communion through the potent ingathering of the church influence that operated through Christ Church almost from the foundation of Penn's province.

If it were not for the "old Swedes' Church," as the venerable edifice in Swanson street is generally called, there would be no visible link to bind the ancient Swedish congregation of Wicaco with the Philadelphia of to-day, or even that part of it that is still occasionally spoken of as Southwark.

The first settlement at Wicaco was made by the Sven family, afterward Swenson, and finally Swanson, of which Sven Schute was the head. The term Schute was a title, not a name, and was equivalent to

commandant, Sven Schute being the commander of Korsholm Fort. He was the original owner of the land on which Wicaco Church was built, his house, a log structure of the primitive kind, standing on a knoll north of the church. Professor Kalm [1] speaks of it as a curiosity, on account of its age, in 1748. It remained standing until the British occupation in 1777–8, when it was taken down and used for firewood. The only record of the Sven family in the Wicaco graveyard is the tombstone of Peter Swanson, who died December 18, 1737, aged 61 years. Not only have the Swansons been dispossessed of the extensive domain they owned on the Delaware two centuries ago and of the land on the Schuylkill, for which a part of the Wicaco estate was exchanged, but the family has been obliterated, while the parish itself has alienated the extensive glebe lands with which it was once endowed. It was to these alienations, and alienations such as these, which were, in a measure, forced upon the Swedes, that Swedish hatred of the Friends and Swedish absorption by the English and the Established Church were mainly due.

It is on record that the representatives of the proprietary, and even Penn himself, looked upon the contiguity of the Swedes as objectionable. Their lands were needed for the new-comers of another faith and race, and the owners were required to relinquish them. Nothing could have been more arbitrary than Penn's treatment of the sons of Sven Schute. Because he deemed the lines of the Swanson property as within the bounds of his plan of Philadelphia and Southwark, he extinguished titles originally granted by the Dutch and afterward confirmed by Governor Lovelace, and compelled the Schute, or his heirs, to accept other lands on the Schuylkill, above Lemon Hill, in exchange. This was not the only instance of interference with Swedish titles. Indeed, for many years encroachments on the lands of the Swedes, and even of Englishmen who had bought Swedish titles, were habitual. Complaint was sometimes made to the Assembly, but never apparently with much effect. These encroachments applied to the possessions of the Swedes all along the Delaware, but at Wicaco at a later period other causes helped to keep alive the mutual ill-feeling. The building up of the neighborhood became an eye-sore to the ruling class, who had found it a pleasant resort for many years. Thomas Penn, when in Philadelphia, made the nooks about Gloria Dei Church his favorite ramble. "Southwark," wrote Secretary Peters, in 1743, "is getting greatly disfigured by erecting irregular and mean houses, thereby so marring its beauty that when he shall return he will lose his usual pretty walk to Wicaco."

The congregation of Gloria Dei was essentially a country congregation long after Philadelphia became a city. The Keens, the Rambos, the Cocks, and other Swedes who owned lands on the Delaware, at many points between Upland and the Pennepack, were among its parishioners

[1] "Travels in North America."

and contributors to its pastoral and building funds. Prof. Gregory B. Keen, in his elaborate genealogical work, "The Descendants of Joran Kyn," mentions the facts that Matthias Keen was a contributor to the support of Pastor Fabritius when he was only 17 years old, and afterward the largest subscriber to the building fund of the new church of Gloria Dei. He lived on his farm at what is now the site of St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum, Tacony, and was one of the five members of the Swedish congregation of Wicaco, in 1679, who were the possessors of servants, presumably slaves. These distant parishioners, both above and below Wicaco, used the river in going to church on Sundays, and John F. Watson, the annalist, says there was generally a squadron of boats at the riverside, where the navy yard now is, during church hours. These farmers, with their rural tastes and high church notions, had nothing in common with the plain people called Quakers, either in their social life or religious sympathies, but found their natural affinities with the new-comers to the new city among the inhabitants who adhered to the Established Church.

The religious differences that separated the Friends from the Swedes were very great, especially after the building of the new church of Gloria Dei. This edifice greatly surpassed the first Christ Church, built in 1697, in architectural pretentions and in interior and altar decorations. The services and ceremonials were scarcely less elaborate than those of the Catholic churches in Roman Catholic countries. These things naturally gave offense to a plain people whose meeting-houses were utterly devoid of ornamentation. The "old priest in Philadelphia" from whom Penn obtained "fine smoked shads" was as much a priest to the Quaker propagandist as if he had worn the cassock of Rome. Indeed, there was little difference between the vestments worn in the little church of Wicaco and those of the church of Rome. "Clad in my surplice for the first time in this new country," wrote the Rev. Eric Biorck, who was one of the three Swedish clergymen sent out to the churches on the Delaware in 1697 by the archbishop of Sweden, "I delivered a discourse in Jesus' name on the subject of the righteousness of the Pharisees." One cannot help wondering why the young minister chose such a theme for his first sermon to a congregation of Pennsylvania husbandmen that had long been compelled to be content with the ministrations of the blind preacher, Fabritius, who eked out a scanty living selling smoked shad to the Quakers, and would have opened what would probably have been the first tavern in Southwark had the Council consented.

Another difference between the Quakers and the Swedes that tended to keep them wide apart was the adherence of the latter to the manners, customs, habits and morals of Sweden. The Swedes made the Swedish settlements on the Delaware a New Sweden in fact as well as in name. They were not prudes and few of them probably were Pharisees. Some anecdotes have been preserved that illustrate

their unconventional ideas and blunt directness in attaining their ends. Old Peter Cock, who was a Commissary under Stuyvesant and was appointed a member of Captain Carr's council by Lovelace, and a "Justice of the River," by Andross, had, among others, a daughter Brita. She was a sister of Lawrence or Lassy Cock, who was deputed by the Swedes to convey the message of welcome and obedience to William Penn upon his arrival, and who was afterward appointed by the proprietary a member of the Governor's Council. It will thus be seen that they were people of prominence among the Swedes and consideration among the English. Peter Gunnarsson Rambo was a Swede of equal prominence under Rysing and Stuyvesant, and, like Peter Cock, he was a member of Captain Carr's council and one of the "Justices of the River." Rambo's youngest son, John, is the hero of this story. At midnight, about Christmas time, in 1684, young John Rambo came to the house of old Peter Cock and removing a plank from the loft, entered the apartment where Brita Cock and her two sisters were sleeping. Saying he was determined to be the husband of Brita, the sisters withdrew and he remained. John afterward attempted to repudiate the consequences of this unconventional courtship, but he was adjudged by the Court of Quarter Sessions, in 1685, to pay a fine of £10 and marry the girl. Watson says Rambo was subsequently fined £150 for non-compliance, but it is likely the fine was remitted, for John and Brita were married and lived happily ever afterward. Their son, Peter, was a man of consequence in the Swedes Church at Raccoon Creek, now Swedesboro, N. J., and entertained Prof. Kalm at his house in 1748. This occurrence was probably the only one of its kind among the Swedes, although Watson alleges that one of John Rambo's brothers had taken a sister of Brita Cock to wife in the same fashion. The episode and the appeal to the Quaker courts were scarcely calculated to elevate their Swedish forerunners in the eyes of the rigid Friends, who already looked upon the Swedes with disfavor.

The relations of the leading Swedes such as the Cocks, the Rambos and the Swansons to the proprietary are not very clear. Lassy Cock already spoken of as a member of the Provincial Council was one of Penn's agents for many years. Gunner Rambo, the eldest son of Peter Gunnarsson Rambo, was a member of the Assembly. He married Magdalen, a daughter of Sven Schute and was an extensive land owner in Philadelphia county. Gunner's Run was named after him. His brother, Peter, was also a member of the Assembly and a large land owner. As almost from the outset the Assembly was at variance with the proprietary, many of the Quakers as well as most of the Swedes taking sides with the popular party, these facts afford no tests by which to measure the divergence that afterward became so marked. In politics, even as early as the administration of Governor Evans, there was a country party of which the Swedes of Gloria Dei were

active exponents, just as the congregation itself was a country congregation. The popular or country party was led by David Lloyd, an able lawyer, a moderate churchman and devoted to the people. The actual leader of the proprietary or "townsparty," was James Logan, the provincial secretary, a nominal Friend, and a man of ability and learning, though less brilliant than his antagonist. These politicians were ready to resort to any device that was likely to contribute to the success of their factions, and each charged the other with duplicity and trickery. An example of the methods sometimes employed at that early period was afforded by the election for members of the Assembly, in 1705, when the country electors were beaten by the "townsparty," as regards one of the candidates by a trick as unworthy as those sometimes resorted to at the primaries in these days. Three representatives were to be chosen. After two of them had been elected the Sheriff adjourned the election until the next day. As it was late the country party withdrew to their homes. After their departure, and without the presence of the sheriff, the polls were reopened and Peter Evans, the candidate of the country party was beaten by Benjamin Wright, who was supported by the friends of the proprietary. There was a protest, the petition being signed by many of the freeholders among the Swedes, but the appeal was disregarded, Governor Evans giving the commission to Wright. Evans was, like David Lloyd, a churchman, but like his Swedish supporters he sustained the Assembly in its conflicts with Penn and his deputy governor. It is not clear that the Swedes took any active part in the famous election riot of 1742, but it is likely they acted with the Germans, who had become a dominating influence in the country party in opposition to the proprietary interest and the "townsparty." Long before this, however, the few Swedes, who accepted the new conditions of things under Penn more readily and fully than many of the wealthy families that belonged to the parish of Wicaco, had ceased to be prominent in public affairs, while their descendants always acted with the popular party. But the Swedes were never in full accord with either faction, and they kept aloof as far as possible from the political conflicts of the proprietary epoch. Their abstention from active politics in itself contributed to the absorption of the Swedes which it is the purpose of this chapter to trace.

Simple husbandmen as were the Swedes of Gloria Dei, all the early accounts agree in representing them as good livers, both in the matters of meat and drink. According to Acrelius, the Swedes indulged themselves with four meals a day,—breakfast, dinner, "four o'clock piece," and supper. Their bills of fare would be considered ample even in these modern days—ham, beef tongue, roast beef, fowls, "with cabbage set round about;" roast mutton or veal, with potatoes or turnips; a pasty of deer, turkeys, chickens, partridges, lamb, with potatoes and "stewed green peas, Turkish beans and some other beans." They had

for dessert dumplings, puddings and pies, the "house-pie" being "made of apples neither peeled nor freed from the cores, and its crust is not broken if a wagon-wheel goes over it." For drink they had everything from imported wines, of which Maderia was the favorite, to rum, either drunk raw or as cherry bounce, billberry bounce or punch, and cherry or currant wine, cider, cider royal, cider wine and mulled cider. Punch was generally used just before dinner, and was called a "meridian." Another drink made of rum, sugar and water was called "mämm," and "sampson" was warmed cider with rum. Hätt-pät was warmed beer with rum added. Of the drink called mämm it was said it "has set up many a tavern keeper." It is no wonder the authorities of Gloria Dei ordained that if a man came drunk to church he should be fined forty shillings and made to do public penance.

These simple peasants, living on the fat of the land, and, we may well believe, conscience free in spite of vexatious Quaker laws and grand jury presentments, were like Sairy Gamp,—they were "no scolards." Even Lassy Cock, when he became agent for Penn and Markham, could do no more than make his "mark." When Dr. Biorck arrived in the province, in 1697, he found only three Swedish books in the parish of Wicaco, and the Swedes, of course, were unable to read English. A supply, however, had been obtained from Sweden, the gift of King Charles, which was brought out by the three missionaries, Biorck, Rudman and Auren. This gift was highly appreciated by the Swedish churches on the Delaware, and was requited in 1707 by a present of fur to the king, sent through Perringer Lilljeblad, secretary to his Majesty. After this the ties that bound the American Swedes to Sweden were gradually unloosed, representations in regard to the land disputes made to the Swedish representative in London by the agents of the proprietary, being among the first influences that undermined the attachment of the Swedish Lutherans on the Delaware for the Lutheran Church of Sweden. In 1709, the Swedes of Pennsylvania, as "antient settlers and first inhabitants of the province," presented a petition to the Assembly[1] asking for a redress of grievances experienced at the hands of "William Penn and his officers," especially "the collector, James Logan," whom they charged with fraudulently getting possession of their deeds, abstracting their lands and increasing their quit-rents. These complaints were transmitted by the Assembly to the proprietary in England, and by him to the Swedish Council through Count Gyllenborg, the Minister of Sweden in London, with such counter-charges as brought an admonition to the Swedish congregations to conduct themselves in accordance with the laws of the country in which they were settled and of the English Court and Penn, the "Lord Proprietor," if they expected any future benefactions from Sweden for their spiritual edification. This admonition only widened the breach between the Swedes and the Quakers, although the

[1] "History of New Sweden."

Society of Friends as a religious communion was guiltless in the matter, and they were greatly aggrieved, says Acrelius, "that they should be represented in London as disorderly, and still more so with regard to the government in Sweden, as they believed they were only demanding a manifest right." The result was that another petition was presented to the Assembly, in 1713, "demanding their good testimony, that, during the whole time the country had been under the English government, and even to the present time, they had conducted themselves as quiet and loyal subjects, and also desired that this might be so represented to the Royal Swedish and English Courts, and that this testimony might be sent over to England and Sweden by Provost Biorck." This was followed by a statement of the grievances in detail for the Resident, Count Gyllenborg, from which Acrelius draws the conclusion that their claims "do not seem to be consistent with justice on the part of the proprietor." Nothing came of this petition, but the annulments and encroachments continued until 1722, when another petition was presented to the Assembly in which many of the English inhabitants who had bought Swedish titles, as already mentioned, joined with the Swedes. This petition was heeded so far that a bill was introduced into the Assembly styled "An Act for the further Confirmation of Rights to Lands, and for avoiding of Law-suits concerning the same," but after a self-exculpatory "Report"[1] from Richard Hill, Isaac Norris and James Logan, at that time proprietary agents for the province, to whom Lieutenant-Governor Keith had applied for information, which was accompanied by a written message from the Governor, the bill was finally rejected.[2] "From thenceforth," says Acrelius, "no more was heard of the matter." The proprietary had finally triumphed, but the ill-will toward the Quakers that was the consequence continued to be nursed down to the present generation.[3]

Beyond the appointment and recall of pastors by Bishop Swedburg, of Upsala, and Bishop Benzelius, there was little affiliation afterward between the Swedish Lutherans on the Delaware and the Lutheran Church of Sweden, while the sympathy between the Swedes and the church people in Philadelphia was constantly growing. In 1711, the congregation of Christ Church worshipped three Sundays at Wicaco while their own church in Second street was being enlarged, when "for confirming the unity that existed between the two congregations a Swedish hymn was sung at the English service." "On solemn occasions," said the Rev. Andreas Sandel, who was pastor of Gloria

[1] Penna. Archives, Vol. I., pp. 172-7.

[2] Votes of the Assembly, January 11, 18, and 19, and March 7, 1721-2.

[3] Professor Gregory B. Keen, in a note to "The Descendants of Joran Kyn," says: "I have been told by a noble gentleman and illustrious lawyer of our city, not long since deceased, that a sentiment of distrust of civil officers, growing out of the remembrance of these ancient wrongs, still obtains among some living descendants of the first settlers on our river. Not many years ago he found it quite impossible to prevail upon a certain farmer of Swedish ancestry to record a deed for property which had been in the possession of his client's family for several generations, and, in order to secure the man from future inconvenience, was obliged to have the entry made at his own expense, and without informing the suspicious countryman of his act."

Dei from 1702 to 1719, "as at the laying of corner-stones of churches, they have always invited us, and conducted themselves as friends to our church." The disputes with the proprietary and the differences between the Swedes and the Quakers tended to strengthen the religious affinities between the two churches. These affinities were greatly increased after the middle of the eighteenth century when English began to supersede the Swedish language as the common every-day speech of the young Swedes. Indeed, even before 1758, besides the young people, who preferred English, there were many members of the congregation who were not Swedes, and in that year application was made to the Bishop and Consistory of Upsala for leave to have occasional services in English, the claim being made that the Swedes and English had become so intermixed as to make religious instruction in both languages necessary. Seven years later, in 1765, during the pastorate of the Rev. Charles Magnus Wrangel, these conflicting interests in the congregation resulted in an open quarrel, many of the new members claiming that the Swedes and sons of Swedes held all the offices. In the election for parish officers that year Andrew Bankson, who had been treasurer of the church for many years, was defeated by the radicals, and there was a lively controversy in the newspapers in which Bankson attacked Wrangel and the new vestry with much asperity. The vestry replied that instead of being a subject for blame, Mr. Wrangel was worthy of thanks for his disinterested and spirited conduct in restoring to the congregation their ancient rights and liberties, "to which they were entitled as free subjects of a happy English government,"—a thing that was necessary, because previously "the management of the estate of the church was in the hands of a few men of one or two families." The war that was now on had long been inevitable, and it could only end in one way—in the absorption of the Swedes both as a congregation and a people.

Had not the Revolutionary war intervened it is barely possible that the Swedish Lutherans would have continued to adhere to the Augsburg Confession, in alliance with the German Lutherans who had begun to exert influence in the province under the leadership of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. While at the Trappe, Dr. Muhlenberg ministered to the Swedish congregation at Morlatton for a number of years, and succeeded in bringing Provost Wrangel into close relations with the German Lutherans. Unfortunately, the conditions were unpropitious for the union. Wrangel was recalled to Sweden in 1768, where he became a bishop, and the Muhlenbergs were too busy afterward contending for the independence of the colonies to give much attention to church unification.

About 1760 two new Swedish churches were built, one called Christ Church, in Upper Merion township, about a mile below Norristown, and St. James's, at Kingsessing, on the Darby road, not far from the Blue Bell Tavern. The latter was held in trust by Dr. Muhlenberg

and others until 1765, when the three churches of Gloria Dei, Christ Church and St. James's were united under a charter granted by Lieutenant-Governor John Penn, and they were incorporated under their old titles, in 1787, by Act of Assembly. The rectors of Gloria Dei officiated at all of them by turns, but in 1843 they were separated into three distinct parishes, each with its own rector. In 1845, Gloria Dei church was admitted into union with the Protestant Episcopal Church, and its affiliation with the Lutheran Church of Sweden ceased altogether. The last of the Swedish pastors was the Rev. Nicholas Collin, who ministered to the united churches from 1785 until his death, in 1831. The Swedish churches were in reality Episcopal during the pastorate of the Rev. Dr. Collin, his assistant ministers being of that denomination. Even before the Revolution, as we have seen, the change in language and the absorption of the Swedes by the English made the continuance of a distinctively Swedish Lutheran Church inconvenient, if not impracticable, and after independence the Swedish character of the congregation of Gloria Dei was effaced more rapidly than at any time before. The children of the Swedes were Swedes no longer, but Americans. The spiritual dependence upon Sweden had become only a tradition. The worshippers in the venerable church at Wicaco, already a century old, were no longer

> Youths in embroidered jackets, and maidens in bodices scarlet;
> Here the farmer of Smaland, in buckskin waistcoat and breeches;
> There, in her Sunday attire, the Dalecarlian matron.

The absorption of a race, the original settlers on the Delaware, the descendants of the vikings, was complete on

> That spot unique, which freedom did anoint
> As refuge for all men, however schooled;
> Where from the fires of hate the Quaker cooled
> His mystic brows; and in whose peace, anew,
> Dwelt seer and scholar, infidel and Jew.

II.

GERMANTOWN AND THE GERMAN INFLUENCE.

The story of the settlement of Germantown and of the early influx of Germans into the province has been told with sufficient fullness in the previous volume of this work, but a review of German influence in moulding the growing city of Philadelphia, as it has been developed in two centuries, deserves a chapter to itself. So far patient and painstaking research has failed to reveal the real aims of the Dutch and

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German Pietists who settled at Germantown simultaneously with the founding of Philadelphia by the Quakers. The simple and industrious weavers who came from Crefeld and Krisheim and placed themselves under the guidance of Francis Daniel Pastorius, probably were impelled to immigrate by reasons almost identical with those that induced the immigration of the English Friends under the patronage and lordship of William Penn. These people were Mennonites, but unlike the Swedes, their tenets and forms of worship brought them in close touch with the Quakers. They were Quakers in fact if not in name, and almost from the outset they took part in the monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings of the Friends, as the testimony of 1688 against "the traffick of mens-body" clearly proves. They were less rigid than the Quakers, perhaps, but they were men of acuter consciences, and it was a stinging rebuke of slave-holding Quakerism when they complained that it "mackes an ill report in all those Countries of Europe, where they hear off, that ye Quakers doe here handel men, Licke they handel there ye Cattel." They took an active share in the affairs of the province, Pastorius serving in the Assembly in 1687 and 1691, and Abraham Op den Graeff in 1689, 1690 and 1692, although both were still aliens; and Dirck Op den Graeff for the part he took in the Keithian controversy in 1692 earned the distinction of being called by George Keith, "an impudent rascal," But the early settlers of Germantown were not all Mennonites. Daniel Falkner, whose name is associated with Falkner's Swamp, in Montgomery county, and who was bailiff of Germantown in 1701, was presumably a Lutheran; his brother, Justus Falkner, who emigrated in 1700, was the first Lutheran preacher in the province outside of the Swedish churches. Judge Pennypacker says that Daniel Falkner came out with Kelpius, the "Hermit of the Wissahickon," as a member of the society of the "Woman in the Wilderness."

While the immigration of the Mennonites was encouraged by Penn and his followers, the influx of German Lutherans and other Germans which began early and was long continued gave them much concern. The first arrivals in considerable numbers came by way of New York, where as many as three thousand Germans, mostly Lutherans, were landed in 1710. Within the next seven years the influx was so great that in 1717 all Germans arriving in the province were ordered to report at Philadelphia and take the oath of allegiance. These soon spread themselves over the counties of Berks, Lancaster and York, but many of them remained in Philadelphia, where the Rev. Anthony John Hinckle was complained of before the Assembly, in 1726, for having "married persons not according to the laws of the Province." Other Lutheran clergymen quickly followed—Johann Casper Stoever, "misary and student," in 1728; John Philip Streiter in 1737, and Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the great exponent of Lutheranism in America, in 1741. The German Reformed Church was in the field as early, or

earlier, the Rev. John Philip Boehm, whom the Rev. Michael Schlatter described in his journal as "the oldest German minister in these regions," founding a church in Whitpain township, fifteen miles from Philadelphia, in what is now Montgomery county, in 1726. The Rev. George Michael Weiss came to Philadelphia from the Palatinate in September, 1727, with about 400 German immigrants. It was these early German settlers who were the seed of that sturdy race now often miscalled "the Pennsylvania Dutch," that clung so tenaciously to its traditions, manners and language, and maintained the "freund-shaft" of race as well as family so firmly that Baron Steuben, when he was in Philadelphia during the Revolution, was surprised to find the neighborhood in which he lodged almost wholly inhabited by Germans. In this locality it was not often that any other language than that of Germany was heard in the streets.

It has been customary to minimize the influence of these Germans and of Germantown upon the city and province. It must not be forgotten, however, that it was of Germantown of which Whittier sung:

Hail to posterity!
Hail, future men of Germanopolis!
Let the young generations yet to be
Look kindly upon this.

Pastorius was by all odds the most accomplished scholar who came to America in the seventeenth century. Christopher Sauer, the Germantown printer, was more than the compeer of Franklin in his art, and he printed the Bible in German in America thirty-nine years before it appeared in English from any American press. No other literary work undertaken in the colonies equals in magnitude the "Martyrs' Mirror" of Van Braght, printed at Ephrata in 1748, which required in its publication the labor of fifteen men for three years. The only American of his epoch of genuine scientific attainments and achievements was David Rittenhouse. A greater man than Penn in his influence over the Indians and as a preserver of the province from the incursions of the savages was Conrad Weiser. Even in the councils of the Quakers, the counsels of the Mennonites of Germantown, were not less potent, and certainly more unselfish, than those of Richard Hill, Isaac Norris and James Logan. As a teacher of youth and a pioneer of education Christopher Dock was far in advance of Enoch Flower or George Keith. In the Revolution and the first Congresses there is no name more entitled to honor and distinction than that of Muhlenberg. In the humbler walks of life the German has been the back-bone of the development and prosperity of the city of Philadelphia and the State of Pennsylvania. All this is the outcome of the devotion and self-sacrifice of the forerunners of those whom Whittier adjures:

Think how your fathers left their native land,
Dear German land, O, sacred hearths and homes!
And where the wild beast roams

In patience planned
New forest homes beyond the mighty sea,
There undisturbed and free
To live as brothers in one family.

Although the Mennonites at the outset were in substantial accord with the Friends there were some who clung tenaciously to their own communion, but it was a quarter of a century after their first settlement that they succeeded in building an humble church in Germantown. Mennonite immigration in the meantime had tended to the Skippack and the agricultural districts around, and so the impress of Mennonism was never a marked feature of Germantown life and development. The wealthier Germans who took an active interest in the affairs of the province, became so thoroughly identified with Quaker rule that they can only be regarded as Quakers, while the new-comers were sectaries of a different stamp, of which Kelpius and Seelig, Conrad Beissel and Christopher Sauer were the most noteworthy exemplars. Kelpius and Seelig were German Lutherans, but they embraced the mystic notions of John Frederick Zimmermann, who was a minister at Wurtemberg, but was dismissed because of his peculiar religious opinions. Zimmermann was the founder of the fantastic "Society of the Woman in the Wilderness," and the projector of the colony which, under Kelpius and Seelig, became known as the "Hermits of the Ridge." Beissel and Sauer were German Baptists, the precursors of the society now generally called "Dunkards." Beissel went to Ephrata where he founded the ascetic "Kloster," or convent, that still exists there, but Sauer settled in Germantown, where he became the first German printer of importance in the Province and in America. There was, however, an interval of thirty-five years between the arrival of the colony that came out with Kelpius, which settled on the Wissahickon in 1694, and the immigration of the Dunkards, which did not occur until 1729.

It has been the custom to regard the hermits of the Wissahickon as simple mystics who lived secluded lives and took no part in the life and work of the neighborhood. A contemporary account, written by one of the colonists and printed in 1695, disproves these assumptions. "What pleases me here most," said the writer of this epistle, which was dated Germantown, August 7, 1694, "is that one can be peasant, scholar, priest, and nobleman, all at the same time, without interference, which of all modes of living has been found to be the best and most satisfactory since patriarchal times. To be a peasant and nothing else is a sort of cattle-life; to be a scholar and nothing else, such as in Europe, is a morbid and self-indulgent existence; to be a priest and nothing else ties life to blunders and responsibilities; to be a nobleman and nothing else makes Godless and riotous." The context of the letter gives no hint of a desire on the part of the colonists to seek mere seclusion. The writer took a deep interest in the Keithian controversy then in progress, expressing sympathy with Keith, and

indulging in that detestation of "the pride and foolish, arrogant ignorance" of the Quakers, so common in the letters of Swedes, Germans, and Englishmen of the period who were not Friends. With the Swedish provost, Andreas Rudman, who became pastor of the church at Wicaco, in 1698, Kelpius was on terms of intimacy. Henry Bernhard Köster, one of the hermits, was accustomed to preach in Philadelphia once a week in English, and to hold meetings three times a week at the house of Jacob Isaac, in Germantown, identified by Judge Pennypacker as Jacob Isaacs van Bebber. "He was formerly a Mennonite," says the unknown writer above quoted, "but he desires to depart with his whole house, to acknowledge and abandon the follies, scandals, shortcomings, and stains of his former religion." In spite of this conversion, the second generation of Van Bebbers were Mennonites. Who is meant when the writer of the letter of 1694 says, "N. lives apart here in Germantown with N., whom he has taken for his wife," is not clear. Perhaps the explanation is found in a memorandum in Kelpius' diary concerning "that notable excommunication of Falkner and of the prophetess of Erfurt, Anna Maria Schuchart, by Köster." Falkner was Daniel Falkner, already mentioned as bailiff in Germantown, in 1701. He probably became a Mennonite in affiliation with the Quakers, as his brother Justus became a Lutheran minister in affiliation with the Swedes. Other sectaries who settled in and about Germantown at an early period were the Schwenkfelders, now one of the smallest in number of the religious denominations in the United States.

It was, however, the German Lutherans and their brethren of the Reformed Church who made Philadelphia, in parts, almost as completely German as Germantown. These early settlers were poor and many of them, no doubt, were illiterate, but their ignorance was exaggerated in England when they were represented as "like unto woodborn savages," while their sufferings and endurance have never been appreciated. These assertions are incompatible with the fact that even before the "bloody election" of 1742, the Germans were strong enough to hold the balance of power, in consequence of which their support was courted by both parties. They always voted, however, with the party in the Assembly, of which Isaac Norris was the principal exponent, and against the Proprietary interest. By this time the province had ceased to be Quaker in the sense that it was in Penn's time, and the "country party" were not averse to sending Quakers as their representatives in the Assembly. The story of the riot of 1742 is told with sufficient fullness in the first volume of this work and need not be repeated here.

When it came to the defense of the province, even in these early days, the Germans were not a whit behind their English neighbors. Upon the organization of "the Association," in 1748, "the Dutch (Germans) were as hearty in the measure as the English," and of the eleven companies that were formed at that time, one was composed

entirely of Germans. In the Indian wars that followed they bore their full share, and in the Revolution they adhered to the cause of the colonies almost to a man, and never failed to furnish their quota of the troops in the Pennsylvania Line. In our subsequent wars, and notably in the war for the Union, the Germans of Philadelphia were always foremost in performing all the duties of citizenship, serving in the field and contributing to the cause with equal alacrity.

Although the descendants of the early German immigrants became as thoroughly American as the Swedes, the process of assimilation with the English was slower, but German influence was none the less potent in the development and growth of the city. Because of the abnegation that was inherent in the German character their virtues and achievements attracted less attention than they deserved, and the historians have almost overlooked this element in the racial units of the population of Philadelphia.

III.

THE IRISH AND SCOTCH-IRISH.

THE Irish, who began to come to Pennsylvania about 1719, were generally from the North of Ireland,—the people who afterward assumed the name of Scotch-Irish. They were mostly Protestants and Presbyterians. Few of them were redemptioners. Before 1740 their number had increased immensely, and they became an important part of the population of the province, especially on the frontiers north of the Conestoga and west of the Susquehanna. Although their descendants now form a distinctive element among the inhabitants of the city, few of these people at the outset stopped in Philadelphia with a view of making it their home. Being pioneers they paid little respect to the reservations of land in so-called manors and the other restrictions imposed by the proprietary. They were not a turbulent people, if treated fairly, any more than were the Germans who penetrated the wilderness side by side with them. Their affiliations were neither with the Quakers nor the churchmen. In the matter of family alliances, they kept aloof from the Germans and the Germans from them, but in the counties in which they were in the majority they were more active politicians than their Palatine neighbors, and filled nearly all the offices. The few that remained in Philadelphia were not a power either in civil or ecclesiastical affairs until after the middle of the

eighteenth century, but before the Revolution they had began to exert considerable influence upon the life and growth of the city.

When the first of the Protestant Irish settled in Philadelphia is not clear, but there were Presbyterians among the Quakers before 1692, when they were visited by the Rev. Francis Mackemie, who had been licensed by the Laggan Presbytery, in 1681, and sent as a missionary to the churches in Maryland. He organized the Presbyterians as a congregation in conjunction with the Baptists with the Rev. John Watts, a Baptist minister at Pennypack, as their preacher. This arrangement failed to work satisfactorily, and in 1698 the Presbyterians called as their pastor the Rev. Jedediah Andrews, a native of New England and a graduate of Harvard. They built a church known in history as the old Buttonwood Church, but they had only one minister, so far as the city was concerned, down to 1733, when the Synod allowed Mr. Andrews an assistant, and only one church until 1752, when the Second Presbyterian Church was built by the "New Light" Presbyterians, who had come into existence as the fruits of the preaching of William Tennent and George Whitefield. Gilbert Tennent was the first pastor. The Revolution found the Presbyterians with three churches, the Third Presbyterian, generally known as the old Pine Street Church, being built in 1768. The growth of Presbyterianism may be taken as a measure of the increase of the Scotch-Irish population of Philadelphia, although the Presbyterians comprised English, Welsh and Scotch people, as well as Irish, among the congregations. Among the pew-holders in the First Presbyterian Church, in 1735, was Benjamin Franklin, but it does not appear that he ever was a Presbyterian except in affiliation.

When the Irish, who make no claim to have come to America from Scotland by way of Ireland, began to arrive in Philadelphia is even more uncertain than the earliest period of the immigration of the Scotch-Irish in any considerable numbers. The influx of the latter was very great as early as 1728, as many as 1,155 arriving that year, none of them redemptioners. The first comers of the Irish, on the other hand, were probably servants, as Augustus Gun, bellman, of Cork, advertised in a Philadelphia paper, in 1741, that he had power from the Mayor there to procure servants for America for this many years past. It has been assumed that he had authority to send convicts to Philadelphia, but the assumption may be accepted as without any foundation in fact. It would be equally gratuitous to assume that the building of the little chapel of St. Joseph's under the direction of Father Greaton, 1729–32, marked the period of the inception of Irish immigration, because the early Catholics in Philadelphia were Germans and English, rather than Irish. Father Greaton was an Englishman, and so too was the Rev. Henry Neale, S. J., who came out in 1741 as his assistant. Father Schneider and Father Wapeler, two missionary priests, who were their contemporaries, were Germans.

It would be futile to attempt further to trace the distinctive history and development of the two races that Ireland contributed to the city, and it only remains to be added that the posterity of the early Irish and Scotch-Irish immigrants have become too thoroughly amalgamated with the rest of the community to be readily distinguishable.

IV.

SERVANTS AND SLAVES—THE REDEMPTIONERS.

THE condition of labor in the province under Quaker rule to a great extent was one of slavery, either by indenture or purchase. The slaves comprised white men and women as well as black, the only difference being that the whites were slaves for a term of years and the blacks for life, and their offspring after them. "It were better they were blacks," Penn wrote in regard to his gardener and the assistants the proprietor expected him to train, "for then a man has them while he lives." It is remarkable how readily the Quaker conscience accommodated itself to the system of human bondage that had been planted in America. Even the protest of the Pietists of Germantown, led by Pastorius, failed to produce a testimony against slavery for many years,—not, indeed, until the aversion of the Germans for slave labor had created a sentiment against the system that was almost universal. If the Indian had been a tamable animal he would have been enslaved with as little compunction as were the negroes brought from Africa in the slave ships of Dutch and English traders. As it was there was a number of Indian slaves in Philadelphia at a very early period, and even William Markham, Penn's Deputy Governor, owned one.

Apology has been made for Penn on the ground that it would be unjust to him to require him to be an abolitionist a hundred years before there were any such, and slavery under Quaker rule has been excused because harsh treatment of the slaves was not countenanced by public opinion in Philadelphia. Neither of these propositions is tenable. The Mennonites of Germantown were abolitionists as early as 1688. "And we who profess that it is not lawful to steal," they said in their famous appeal against slavery, "must lickewise avoid to purchase such things as are stolen, but rather help to stop this robbing and stealing if possibel, and such men ought to be delivered out of ye hands of ye robbers and set free as well as in Europe." Penn not only bought slaves but he sold them; one of them, Parthena, to Barbadoes,

because she was thought to be dishonest. She was separated from her husband, a feature of Southern slavery that the Quakers in after years found it most difficult to excuse. It is true, Penn in his will directed that his slaves should be freed, but as he died greatly embarrassed in his estate his wishes were disregarded and three of his negroes were sold to pay his debts. Besides, the condition of the bondmen and bondwomen, especially the blacks, was scarcely so happy as the apologists for Quaker slavery would have us believe. From a very early period down to the Revolution the doings of the negro, mulatto and Indian servants and slaves were the subjects of frequent legislation and public restraint. If the slaves were happy it is remarkable that the criminal records of the province should be so replete with crimes committed by servants against their masters. It is absurd to claim that slaves were well treated when the punishments were cruel and barbarous to a degree of which we can scarcely have any conception,—when negroes were known to cut their own throats before the crowds that gathered to witness their writhings rather than undergo the torture when brought to the whipping-post.

As early as 1730 it was alleged that the frequency of crime in the city and province was due to the immigration of evil persons who bought their passage by servitude. This was probably true. Indeed, it could scarcely be otherwise. The so-called redemptioners were as much slaves as the blacks, and it was only natural that they should be even less amenable. Accustomed to be free men in Europe it was difficult for them to accommodate themselves to the condition of bondmen in America.

It is a mistake to assume that these early redemptioners were all, or even any considerable part of them, Germans. In 1728, the immigrants who were servants were nearly all English, Welsh and Scotch, none of the Irish or Palatines being redemptioners. In that year the Pennsylvania *Gazette* had an advertisement in these words: "Lately imported, and to be sold cheap, a parcel of lively men and women servants." The language of commerce was never more direct in its application to chattels. The language of the venders of negroes, imported from Barbadoes, or stolen from Africa, was even more brutal, and the slave-dealers comprised some of the leading men in the province, mostly churchmen, it must be said, to the honor of the Friends. In 1736, William Allen and Joseph Turner, merchants, advertised for sale some likely negroes from Barbadoes, another advertisement of that year offering "a likely breeding negro woman and her boy of two years old;" and, in 1752, Willing & Morris had for sale one hundred and seventy negroes "just arrived from the Gold Coast." This William Allen, merchant, was chief-justice of the province, 1750–74, and Morris, of Willing & Morris, was Robert Morris, signer of the Declaration of Independence and the financier of the Revolution.

It is difficult to speak of Pennsylvania redemptioners, so-called, with patience, or to discuss the redemption system with judicial calmness. Those who have written on the subject have generally sought to shift the responsibility and the shame to other shoulders than those where they properly belong. It was the condition of white as well as black slavery, commending itself to the consciences of all classes as a legitimate system of labor, and the avidity with which the mercantile interests entered into the traffic in men, that were at the bottom of the great wrong. Quakers and churchmen must share, and share alike, in the obloquy that was the result. When William Southbee applied to the Assembly, in 1712, for a law declaring the freedom of the slaves, it was gravely resolved: "It is neither just or convenient to set them at liberty." It was the same disposition to seek for what was just in what was convenient that made the condition of indentured servants and redemptioners one of slavery. As a consequence, unscrupulous men were quick to take advantage of a system in which the Friends acquiesced. In the jails of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Continent, many immigrants were found willing to exchange imprisonment for a few years of servitude in America. When the supply of convicts and of willing immigrants too poor to pay their passage-money failed, resort was often had in Europe to methods not unlike those of the slavers on the Gold Coast. History and literature are rich in details of the deeds of the kidnappers and the wrongs and sufferings of their victims. The captivity of James Annesley, about 1730, has formed the basis of half a dozen novels—"Roderick Random," "The Wandering Heir," and "Florence McCarthy" among them. Robert Louis Stevenson's story, "Kidnapped," has among its incidents an attempt to carry David Balfour to Pennsylvania as a white slave. Cunningham, the infamous provost-marshal of the British army during the Revolution, had been a decoy in Ireland for the kidnappers, and came over himself with a cargo of his victims in 1774. Once a redemptioner always a slave was true in many cases, for an attempt to escape from servitude or any dereliction, however slight the pretext on which the accusation was based, was sure to result in added years of service. If the story of the white slaves of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania is almost unknown, it is only because of the sedulous efforts of the local historians to minimize if not to suppress it.

It is a curious fact that down to the Revolution the king had no more loyal subjects than the bond servants in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania. In 1740, when there were exaggerated fears of a Spanish attack upon the English colonies, the quota of troops required from Pennsylvania, for the expedition under Admiral Vernon, was fixed at 400. This was a large number for a province peopled mostly by non-resistants, but such was the eagerness to enlist that seven companies were raised in three months. This apparent enthusiasm is explained by the fact that many of the recruits were servants, who sought to

escape from their servitude by enlistment. The number of servants enlisted was about 300. Their enlistment, the Assembly declared, was an unjust invasion of the properties of their masters, a discouragement to the importation of white servants, and a great hurt and grievance to the inhabitants of the province. The payment of the money reluctantly voted for the defence of the province was conditioned upon no more enlistment of servants being made, and the return to their masters of those already enlisted. As these conditions were disregarded by Governor Thomas, the Assembly passed an ordinance for the reimbursement of the masters for the loss of their servants, the amount paid being more than £2,500. The sum appropriated for the expedition was only £3,000. In the subsequent Indian wars the enlistment of servants was again the subject of complaint, many bond servants enlisting for the campaign against the French and Indians in 1756, and during the Revolution many redemptioners preferred to "serve their time" in the army under Washington to serving the masters who had bought them for a long term of years for the price of their passage across the ocean. The defections, however, were not confined to enlistments in the Continental army. During the British occupation, 1777-8, the desertions were frequent, many of the bondmen running away, while others took service with the invaders, and some of the bondwomen even placing themselves under the protection of dissolute British and German officers. There is reason to believe that few of those who escaped from servitude during this period were ever restored to their masters.

As the traffic in immigrants increased the abuses of the system became very great and the grossest impositions were practiced upon the immigrants. The whole cargo of redemptioners was made responsible for the passage money of all, collectively and individually, thus often reducing the entire ship-load to a common level of misery and want. Even the baggage of passengers, who died on the voyage, was transferred to other ships to enable the masters of vessels to appropriate it to their own use. The immigrants were crowded on board the ships without regard to cleanliness or health and contagious diseases were thus engendered that sometimes resulted in epidemics in the city. After the importation of bond servants became a constant menace to the public health, Governor Thomas recommended the establishment of a lazaretto, but the Assembly not only pleaded poverty as an excuse for non-compliance, but even failed to pay for the services of Dr. Thomas Græme, the port physician. In consequence Dr. Græme, who had filled the office since 1718, resigned in 1741. The Assembly claimed the right to name his successor and appointed Dr. Zachary Lloyd. The appointment was strenuously opposed by the Governor and Council and a violent controversy ensued. While the dispute lasted the port was without supervision, in consequence of which a contagious distemper, resulting in great mortality, was introduced into the

city from a vessel loaded with German immigrants. Each side blamed the other for the want of preparation that exposed the city to the epidemic, and the ill-feeling that grew out of the controversy and its consequences was the main cause of the "bloody election" of 1742, when the Germans so signally routed the "Townsparty." As the mortality on the German vessels continued, as many as 700 immigrants dying in the year 1742, it was finally agreed to establish a lazaretto, or pest house, on Province Island in the Schuylkill, near its mouth. But even these safeguards for the city resulted in new burdens and hardships for the immigrants, the expense incurred being charged to the importers, who in turn had recourse against the effects of the redemptioners. It will thus be seen that there was abundant opportunity to make even well-to-do passengers on the slave ships white slaves upon their arrival.

In December, 1758, the Assembly passed an Act to prevent the importation of German and other immigrants or servants in too great numbers, but the Governor and Council objected to the stringency of some of the regulations and the measure failed. In the debates in the House it was boldly averred that some of the members of the Council profited by the inhuman traffic, to the mitigation of which they refused to assent. These strictures drew from the Governor a tirade of recrimination and the rights of the poor immigrants and the duties of humanity were lost sight of in the violence of the controversy. The conclusion is inevitable that neither side was in earnest in behalf of the victims of this disgraceful traffic, or willing to forego the profit that accrued from the importation of white slaves, and the consequent white slavery which our historians have always been careful to call by other names.

A quaint glimpse of the trade in servants at the time the Stamp Act had brought business in Philadelphia to a standstill is obtained from the letters of Benjamin Marshall to his Irish correspondents. In November, 1765, he named among the articles that would be likely to answer in Philadelphia, linen, which he said should be sent by way of Liverpool to command the bounty, beef, butter, and men, women and boys servants. He was little inclined, however, to trade in the female article in his traffic in white slaves. "The less women the better, as they are so very troublesome," he wrote to one correspondent, and to another he said it would be "best to send few or none as there is so many drawbacks on them." The month of May he thought the best time for servants, but on the 7th of June, 1766, he wrote, "Irish servants will be very dull," so many having already arrived from different parts that he believed the business would be overdone, "especially as severall Dutch vessells are expected here, which will always command the Markett." Under such conditions it was not to be expected that the character of the servants would be very high, and according to most of the contemporary accounts those of every nationality were equally bad.

"You can have no idea of the plague we have with servants on this side of the water," wrote Alexander Mackraby [1] a Scotchman resident in Philadelphia, 1768–70. "If you bring over a good one he is spoilt in a month. Those born in the country are insolent and extravagant. The imported Dutch are to the last degree ignorant and awkward. The Irish (upon which establishment my gentleman is) are generally thieves, and especially drunkards; and the negroes stupid and sulky and stink damnably. We have tried them all round, and this is the sum total of my observations—'the devil take the hindmost.'" This young gentleman, were he living now, would be compelled to draw a picture not unlike this if he thought the plague with servants worthy of his pen.

The price of redemption servants, in 1720, was only £10 for five years' service. In 1775, Enoch Story, loyalist, paid £20 each for Samuel Le Count, printer, and John Haines, hair-dresser, and Dr. Benjamin Rush, one of the signers, as much as £24 for William Hayes, hair-dresser. In the list of redemptioners, from which these examples were taken, there were no German names, thus disposing of the assumption too generally accepted that only Germans made up this class of servants just before the Revolution.

The redemption system was continued down to the close of the century and was occasionally resorted to at a still later period, but with Independence it began to come into disfavor. Like negro slavery, the hardships of the system did not cease while the system itself lasted. Purchasers were still hard task-masters. Husband and wife were often separated, and compelled to pass their years of bondage without seeing each other. The captains of ships were still brutes, and treated their poor captives with less consideration than they would have shown to cattle. In 1793, while the yellow fever was raging in Philadelphia, one shipmaster boldly sailed up the Delaware, intending to dispose of his cargo as nurses for the sick. As late as 1817, the venerable Samuel Breck purchased two French-Swiss servants on board a vessel from Amsterdam, a woman and a boy. He paid $76 for the woman, which was the cost of her passage, and a promise of $20 at the end of three years' service. For the boy he paid $53, and promised to return him twenty-six guilders after two years' service, the lad having paid this amount on account of his passage. It is worthy of remark that at this period the redemptioners were no longer exposed for sale at public auction.

It has been claimed that the Revolution brought with it a great change in the manners of servants. The letters of Alexander Mackraby show that the demoralization had begun years before, but the conclusion is inevitable that the morals, as well as the manners of servants, especially female servants, received great hurt during the British occupation, if Mrs. Drinker's story of her "saucy Ann" [2] can be

[1] Penna. Mag., Vol. XLI., p. 492.

[2] Elizabeth Drinker's Journal, p. 69.

taken as a specimen case. Ann Kelly, an indentured servant in the Drinker family, was carried off by an officer in the king's service. She returned to demand how much her mistress would take for her time, and when threatened with the work-house, answered pertly, "If you talk so you shall get neither me nor the money." It is not likely that the Drinkers got either. But the demoralization, which had begun before the arrival of the British army, continued after its departure. The system of black and white slavery that had prevailed since the foundation of the city had the worst possible effects upon the habits of the working people. So great was the decadence, that in 1807 Mr. Breck entered in his Note-Book a memorandum declaring that of the servants he had in the course of ten or twelve years' housekeeping in Philadelphia, one had been hanged, one had hanged himself, one had died drunk in the road, and one had taken poison in a fit of intoxication. During the next fifteen years Breck bewailed the difficulty of obtaining decent servants, but his trials and disappointments indicate betterment rather than growing demoralization, for he attributed the scarcity of working people willing to undertake household duties for others to the effect of unexampled prosperity upon our "menial citizens."

Servants' wages and servants' habits have changed but little in Philadelphia in three-quarters of a century. In 1822, Mr. Breck paid his cook $1.50 and his chambermaid $1.25 per week, which, considering the cost of all manufactured articles, was more than equal to twice those sums at the present day. Notwithstanding ample wages and kind treatment, he complained that he had had seven different cooks and five different waiters in the previous twelve months. The experience of Philadelphia housekeepers in the closing decade of the century are not unlike those of Mr. Breck when the century still was young.

Domestic service never has been held in esteem by the working classes of Philadelphia since Independence opened the way for the unexampled prosperity that has generally waited upon labor. The steady growth of the city in all its industries has always afforded a means of escape for women and girls of American birth from the thralldom of domestic service. The places in the kitchen and chambers are filled now, as they have been at all times during the century, by servants of foreign nativity and education and by the blacks. It is probable this will continue to be the case far into the incoming century.

V.

FRENCH AND OTHER REFUGEES.

It is a pitiful tale that serves as an introduction for the story of the French and other refugees in Philadelphia. When the Acadians, so-called, were expelled from Nova Scotia, in 1755, they were distributed among the English colonies. The proportion of these unfortunate exiles allotted to Pennsylvania was 454, but more than one-half of these died soon after their arrival. They were landed at the lazaretto, where they were met by Anthony Benezet, the famous philanthropist, who was himself a Frenchman. As soon as the necessary arrangements could be made they were quartered in a row of one-story wooden houses on the north side of Pine street, extending from Fifth to Sixth streets. The character of the houses may be learned from the fact that Samuel Powell, the owner, purchased the entire block for £50.

The wretched exiles came to an inhospitable community, where they were looked upon with suspicion and hatred, and had it not been for the exertions of Benezet and a few families of Huguenot extraction, especially the Lefevres and the de Normandies, their fate might have been even harder than it proved. Governor Shirley, upon their arrival, was at his wits' ends to know what to do with them. The feeling in the city and province at the time was very bitter against the French and Indians, and these wretched neutrals were not only looked on as a burden, but they were regarded as "rebels and traitors to the crown of Great Britain," who stood ready to "join with the Irish Papists, etc., to the ruin and destruction of the king's colonies." It was afterward charged that the government of the province in order to escape the cost of maintaining them proposed to sell them with their own consent, but that they indignantly rejected the proposal, claiming that they were prisoners and entitled to be maintained as such. When these statements were made in a note to an English edition of Longfellow's "Evangeline," William B. Reed, the eminent lawyer, denied them with becoming indignation in a paper read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, but he scarcely succeeded entirely in refuting them. A bill was passed by the Assembly, and signed by the Governor, in March, 1756, for "dispersing" the Acadians in the counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester and Lancaster, in order to give them "an opportunity of exercising their own labor and industry." This plan would have been practicable only by their sale as servants either with or without their consent, for apart from their unwillingness to be dispersed was the fact reported by William Griffiths, one of the Commissioners to carry the Act into execution, that the overseers in several townships had refused to receive them. So

complete was the failure of the scheme that another Act was passed by the Assembly for "binding out and settling such of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia as are under age, and for maintaining the aged, sick and maimed at the expense of the province." This was in 1757. The response to this Act was a very pathetic appeal from the Acadians to the Assembly. "Oh, merciful gentlemen!" they said, "what crime have these innocent creatures been guilty of that you should thus separate them from those who, after God, are authors of their lives? Being deprived of that substance which God had granted us, permit us at least to live or die with our children and those of our deceased brethren. . . . . Though we read that God has reduced His people under the hardest captivity, as in Egypt under Pharaoh, and in Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar, yet we do not read that those princes that thus oppressed them ever separated the children from the parents. If we are criminals, we are ready to submit to the punishment due to our crimes; but to separate innocent children who have committed no crime from their parents appears contrary to the precept of Jesus Christ, who tells us that the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father." This appeal was futile, and it was then that those who were strong enough to brave the perils and hardships of the wilderness, with its wild beasts and still wilder men, began the long journey to the southward to help found a new Acadia, simple but lowly, among the bayous of Louisiana.

The story of those that remained behind—the old men and women—is even more touching than that of those who went out on that tortuous march, the traces of which were so painfully pursued by Evangeline Bellefontaine in her search for Gabriel, the son of the blacksmith of Grand Pré. At the close of the long quest the poet brings the lovers together in Philadelphia at a time of pestilence, when Gabriel, then an old man, dies trying to whisper the name of his betrothed, who was buried in the same grave with him. Long before this episode of the imagination was possible all, or nearly all, of the exiles who remained in Philadelphia were in the little graveyard of the chapel of St. Joseph's, or what is more probable, in that part of the Potter's Field set apart for Catholics in what is now Washington square. As early as 1766, John Hill, joiner, who was employed "to make coffins for the French Neutrals, who had died in and about the city," asked to be paid for his work in a memorial to the Assembly, saying he had made sixteen coffins on that account since the last settlement. This may be taken as a sign of the rapidity with which the impatient taxpayers were being relieved of the burden of supporting the exiled Acadians. It has been said that these neutrals showed little disposition to amalgamate with our society, or to attempt any good for themselves. Under all the circumstances and conditions such results would have been more surprising than a willingness to live and die the victims of dull despair.

In the closing years of the seventeenth century, when many Huguenot refugees were seeking new homes in America, some of them settled in and near Philadelphia, although the destination of most of them was New Rochelle. in New York. In 1685, Penn commended Charles de la Noe, "a French minister of good name for his sincere and zealous life, and well recommended from his own country," to Thomas Lloyd, saying the kind treatment of the Frenchman would be of good savor in England, because a letter had come from a great professor in France to say there was no room in the province for any but Quakers. Another Frenchman, Andrew Doz, seems to have preceded de la Noe by a year, and was engaged in planting a vineyard on the Schuylkill, a work for which Penn said the minister also had a genius. Other French immigrants, presumably Huguenot refugees, followed, but the culture of the vine not proving successful, the little colony removed to the Pequea Valley in 1712.

A few Protestant refugees from France, who were Quakers, came to Philadelphia at a very early period: Anthony Duchè, the ancestor of the famous clergyman of that name; the de la Normandie family; Anthony Benezet, who became a Quaker schoolmaster, and others, and at a later period other Frenchmen, who were not Quakers, as the father of the celebrated physician, Dr. George E. De Benneville, and the eminent lawyer, Peter S. Du Ponceau. But there was no French colony in the city before the Revolution, nor previous to the arrival of the French refugees from San Domingo in 1793. These unfortunates, about 600 in number, arrived in Philadelphia in August, when the yellow-fever epidemic was at its height, but they were as hospitably received and as well cared for as the circumstances would permit.

Almost with the advent of the early Huguenot refugees in Philadelphia came the first of the Jewish settlers. This assumption is based on the fact that Samson Levy, a Jew, was a man of wealth and influence as early as 1744, and his sister, Hetty, was the intimate friend of Mary Stamper, the mother of William Bingham, afterward a senator of the United States. In 1748, Samson Levy was a subscriber to the First Dancing Assembly, which in itself is a proof of his social standing. In the same scroll, which serves as a sort of patent of the Philadelphia nobility, is the name of another Jew, David Franks, which is even better known in the history of the city in the colonial period and during the Revolution. Mrs. Franks was one of the fashionable ladies who participated in the ball of the Dancing Assembly in 1757, and the same list contains the names of Mrs. Marks and Miss Fannie Marks. Frances Marks became the wife of James Biddle, the eminent lawyer and jurist, and was the ancestress of the eldest branch of the Biddle family. Both Samson Levy and David Franks signed the Non-Importation Agreement of 1765, but Franks was opposed to Independence, and was sent to join the enemy in New York. There is no further account of Samson Levy, but Benjamin Levy was one of the

signers of the bills of credit in 1776. Other Jewish signers of the Non-Importation Agreement were Hyman Levy, junior, Joseph Jacobs, Matthias Bush, Michael and Bernard Gratz, and Moses Mordecai. These were all prominent in business before the Revolution, and the descendants of some of them are still representative of leading Philadelphia families. But, like the Swedes and the Huguenots, the Jews of Philadelphia, who were prominent in society before the Revolution, have become so absorbed by intermarriages with families of English origin that the Jewish strain has been lost.

As early as 1738 a plot of ground was laid out in Spruce street, between Eighth and Ninth streets, as a burying ground for Nathan Levy's family. Whether Nathan was a brother or other connection of Samson Levy is not known. In 1751, a brick wall was built around the grave-yard, the fence that previously surrounded it having been destroyed by unprincipled persons who were in the habit of firing shots at it. One of the tombstones was destroyed by being made a target. Mr. Levy offered a reward of twenty shillings for the conviction of any person guilty of firing against the wall. This plat was used as a Jews' burying-ground for many years.

There is reason to believe that the early Jews of Philadelphia were Portuguese refugees.

VI.

GROWTH AND DECLINE OF QUAKERISM.

The growth of Quakerism as a religious society was something entirely apart from the establishment and growth of the city and province as a civil community. From the outset the mild principles of the Quaker rule proved incompatible with civil administration. Even before the cave-life of the first settlers was abandoned the primitive refugees of the immigrants were turned into low resorts by the disorderly elements that flocked into Philadelphia simultaneously with the coming of the Friends, and as early as 1685 the grand jury presented Joseph Knight, a publican, who occupied one of the caves, and the whole cave system. From the beginning the number of tippling houses in the new city was enormous and brawling was frequent. Crimes, some of them of a very serious character, were not uncommon, and Penn wrote to the Council in 1697–8 that he had been informed that they did "not only wink att but embrace pirats, shipps and men," but openly encouraged an illicit trade. He said he had heard of Philadelphia that no place was more "overrun with wickedness; sins so very

scandalous, openly comited in defiance of Law and Virtue; facts so foul, I am forbid by common modesty to relate them." It is impossible to reconcile these things with a beneficent Quaker rule and the successful and salutary development of Quaker influence.

A careful and exhaustive study of the conditions that ruled in the province in the seventeenth century can only lead to the conclusion that Penn's vaunted "frame of government" was more liberal in theory than in practice. The laws were as vexatious as the enactments of the New England colonies. There was religious toleration, but little civil liberty. The practice of the courts in dealing with accused persons was intolerable. Christmas mumming was treated as flagrant licentiousness. John Smith, living in Strawberry alley, was presented "for being maskt or disguised in women's aparell; walking openly through the streets of this citty from house to house on or about the 26th of the 10th month, it being against the Law of God, the Law of this province, and the Law of nature, to the staining of holy profession and Incoredging of wickedness in this place." Dorothy, wife of Richard Canterill, was accused of masking in men's clothes the day after Christmas, "walking and dancing in the house of John Simes at 9 or 10 o'clock at night," and Simes, who gave the party, was indicted for keeping a disorderly house, "a nursery to Debotch ye inhabitants and youth of the city . . . to ye Greef of and disturbance of peaceable minds, and propigating ye Throne of wickedness amongst us." Not only was horse-racing prohibited, but penalties were provided for lying, cock-fighting and bull-baiting, and even for drinking of healths, prizes, stage plays, cards, dice, May-day games, masks and revels, "which excite the people to rudeness, looseness and irreligion." There was a censorship of the press as rigid almost as that of Spain or Russia. In 1685, one Atkins published an almanac, from the press of William Bradford, in which the Proprietary was called "Lord Penn" on the title page. For this he was admonished by the Council and ordered to blot out the objectionable words, while Bradford was warned to print nothing save that for which he should obtain a license. In 1689, Joseph Growden, who was appointed one of the Justices of the Supreme Court the next year and afterward became Chief Justice, was censured for printing the Frame of Laws, the claim being openly made that Penn was opposed to the use of the printing-press. A more arbitrary and indefensible case than either of these was the seizure of Bradford's press and types, in 1692, because he printed Keith's pamphlet, "A Plea for the Innocents." At Germantown, the Mennonites in affiliation with the Quakers, were even more vexatious in their petty prosecutions. Peter Keurlis was brought before the justices charged with refusing to lodge travelers, with selling barley at fourpence a quart, and with violating the law by selling more than a gill of rum and a quart of beer in a half-day to the same persons. Keurlis answered that he did not lodge travelers, because he did not keep an ordinary, that he knew nothing about the

fourpence a quart law, and that he sold more than a gill of rum and a quart of beer to the same persons within the prescribed time because they could bear more. The court took his license from him, as a matter of course.

It was the rigorous execution of stringent laws rather than doctrinal differences that caused the Keithian schism of 1692, and alienated the more strenuous non-resistants among the Mennonites of Germantown and the Skippack. They regarded "the holy experiment" as a fact and wanted to live in accordance with their theories. If they had had their way the whole scheme would have come to naught, for there could have been no development and growth of Quaker influence. On the other hand the ruling class among the Quakers was antagonized almost from the beginning by the Anglican church party which contained some of the leading men in the province. Penn was never able to commit the affairs of his province entirely into the hands of Friends. Dr. Nicholas More, the first Chief-Justice, was an Anglican, and so too was Colonel Robert Quarry, who became Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty in 1697. The same thing was true of John Moore, the first Advocate for the Crown; of Patrick Robinson, the first Prothonotary of the Supreme Court and the immediate predecessor of James Logan as Clerk of the Provincial Council, and of many other Councillors and Judges who held office under the proprietary. The Assembly was generally Quaker to the core, but Penn as a rule was compelled to appoint Lieutenant-Governors who were not Friends, and who frequently came in conflict with the Assembly. It was this attrition more than anything else that assured Quaker supremacy in the city and province for a long period, and that threw a glamor of mildness and love of justice over Quaker rule that has always gone unquestioned.

Among the elements that gave strength and coherence to Quaker supremacy, in a city and province in which it was always disputed, were the wealth and social standing of the leading Friends. They were a plain people in their lives and at meeting, but men like Edward Shippen, Isaac Norris, and James Logan, not to speak of the Morrises, and Shoemakers, and Carpenters, and Richardsons, and many others, lived in mansions that in their time were palatial, and entertained with a hospitality that even now would be regarded as approaching prodigality. Shippen's "big house" in "old Philadelphia," Norris' mansion at Fairhill and Logan's home at Stenton scarcely bespeak the sympathy and humility of a plain people. They were keen men of business as well as acute politicians, these early Quakers. In the development of the province they always got more than their share of the fat, while they seldom bore their share of the burdens. Thrift and economy were enforced as articles of faith, while hospitality, and even a little prodigality betimes, conduced to the general well-being. Thus, as Quakerism grew and unfolded, the whole community got rich

together, and the Society held together as if bound by a family compact.

The Quaker was always an aristocrat at heart and he was never a craven. He was militant in speech,—sometimes even virulent,—and he crushed by a dogmatism that was always unyielding. When Chief-Justice More became dangerous the Assembly impeached him. Even the truculent Colonel Quarry was curbed when he assumed a Jurisdiction that would have made him the real ruler of the province. Penn, after his arrival in Philadelphia on his second visit in 1700, conciliated him for awhile and thus outwitted him, finally succeeding in securing his removal and the appointment of Roger Mompesson, a less recalcitrant churchman in his stead. Penn's letters in regard to this affair are as virulent and crafty as anything in which Quarry could have indulged, and after expressing himself in regard to the Church party, which "would make us dissenters in our own country," he added, "we are much superior to them in number and estates; two to one in numbers, four to one in estates, twenty to one in first adventurers." This remarkable decline from twenty to one to two to one in numbers shows the dangers that were beginning to confront the Quaker commonwealth, at the same time that it illustrates the superior acumen and address with which Quaker supremacy continued to be maintained. In maintaining this supremacy the great influx of the Germans a few years later, of which Logan and the Quaker leaders were at first fearful, was an important factor.

After Penn's return to England, in 1701, leaving behind him a charter for the little city of Philadelphia, the constant bickerings between the Assembly and the Governors, and the people and the proprietary, concerned the province more nearly than the city. Quakerism now took on a new phase, which found expression in the Assembly only in dogged resistance to the measures of administration, but derived its vitality from that great family interest that has always adhered to its traditions. There is no other city in the country where the family interest was so stubbornly maintained as in Philadelphia. This is true, not only of the Quakers but of the church party. This has only begun to become apparent since the study of genealogy in Pennsylvania was reduced to something like a science. The descendants of the Swedes married freely into the English families that adhered to the Anglican church, and the families of the German township that affiliated with the Friends, instead of adhering to Mennonism, allied themselves as freely with the Quakers. This is clearly demonstrated by the genealogy of the Keen [Kyn] family which is of Swedish origin on the one hand, and on the other by the Shoemaker [Schumacher] and Wister families of Germantown who were originally German. The branches of the family of Joran Kyn, the founder of Upland, reach in their ramifications nearly every important family in Philadelphia outside of Quaker circles. Through Annika the daughter of Joran

Kyn, who married James Sandelands, a Scotchman, the Swedish blood was infused into the families of Yeates, Trent, French, and Gordon, and at a later period of McCall, Austin, Barry, Crathorne, Montgomery and Dale. Eleanor Sandelands married George Foreman a Provincial Councillor under Governor Fletcher, when the government of the province was out of Penn's control, and it was her sister Catherine who became the wife of Jasper Yeates, an eminent lawyer, an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court and a Provincial Councillor of whom Logan wrote as a person often not in accord with the proprietary interest because of his devotion to the Lower Counties. Mary Yeates, another sister, married Samuel, the son of Joshua Carpenter, a rich brewer. Joshua Carpenter, unlike his brother Samuel, "the rich builder," who was a Friend, adhered to the Established Church. That these family alliances were thus scrupulously kept within the "church party" from generation to generation proceeded from the rigid Quaker discipline rather than any settled antipathy of the church people to the Quakers is certain. With the German Quakers who were originally Mennonites or Pietists, as the Shoemakers, adhesion to Quaker discipline was generally unbroken. As illustrations the cases of George and Isaac Shoemaker, two of the immigrants of that famous Germantown family, may be cited. On the voyage George Shoemaker made the acquaintance of Sarah, a grand-daughter of Richard Waln, and married her soon after their arrival in the province. His brother Isaac, on the other hand, married Sarah, a daughter of Gerhard Hendricks, one of his own countrywomen, but their son Benjamin, a prominent man among the Friends, married first Sarah, daughter of Samuel Coates, and second, Elizabeth, daughter of Anthony Morris. The issue of the first marriage, Samuel Shoemaker, the noted loyalist, married Hannah Carpenter, of the Quaker branch of the Carpenter family. Other Shoemaker alliances were with the Wharton family, with whom some of the Wistars also intermarried. But the Wistars or Wisters, who were Lutherans in the Fatherland but generally adhered to the Friends in Philadelphia, broke the family compact in many cases in the matter of the marriages.

The Germans of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches not only clung to the creeds they brought with them from the Fatherland, but to their native tongue as well, and they held aloof from intermarriages with either of the English parties that were contending for supremacy in the city and province. They generally voted, however, with the Quakers. They thus became at once the strength and weakness of Quakerism. By the time the German vote had become strong enough to hold the balance of power between the contending factions the Penn family had fallen away from the Friends, and the Quakers were as much opposed to the proprietary as the "Dutchmen," as the English opprobiously called the Germans. Astute churchmen like Andrew Hamilton and his sons, and William Allen, the Chief Justice,

became the spokesmen for the proprietary interest, while men like Anthony Morris, the second, and Isaac Norris, the Speaker, represented the spirit of the Assembly. So far as the Quakers were concerned the long quarrel between the Assembly and Lieutenant-Governors was a battle for their tenets with which the Germans had no sympathy except as it tended to prevent onerous taxation and the imposition of restraints and exactions upon the people.

It is a noteworthy fact that there was not a Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania from the appointment of John Evans, a churchman, in 1704, down to the Revolution, who was a Friend. Before the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century even the Council was no longer under Quaker control. Even the Assembly would have gone the same way had not the conservative German spirit exerted itself to keep a curb upon English rule. It was thus that the Germans were the strength of Quakerism before 1776, but with the Revolution the German support was given to the popular cause, and thus became a most potent factor in the decline of Quaker influence. The same causes that had made the resistant non-resistant policy of the Quakers a power in the province for the three-quarters of a century threw its force against the struggle for Independence, and so extinguished Quaker influence as a political power.

That the majority of the Quakers should have remained loyal during the Revolution is not surprising. They had often risked the security of the province during the Colonial period through their aversion to bearing arms. They could not be expected to welcome war now, even if they had been convinced that the cause of the colonies was a righteous one. They were not only not convinced of it, but their sympathies were with the king's government as a security for themselves. As a people they were rich, and wealth always deprecates change. As a society they had become a social aristocracy, as well as a religious communion. Some of the more ardent spirits among them embraced the patriot cause, but these, however esteemed as men, were regarded as outcasts in religion. That the Quakers as a class were inimical to the new government—"our ruling gentry," as Mrs Elizabeth Drinker contemptuously called them in her "Journal," cannot successfully be denied. Whether those of them who were exiled to Virginia, in 1777, were harshly treated is another matter. It is clear enough, however, that the Supreme Executive Council was afraid of them, and that they had given cause for these fears. The diaries and journals kept by Friends at the time show that the charge of "disaffection" was true, and contain much internal evidence of the "rancor and bitterness" that were important elements in the charge. The Quakers were not so dangerous, perhaps, as the revolutionists feared, but in times of war sympathisers with the enemy are always treated as active enemies. It was the public "testimonies" in the "meetings for Sufferings," and the private expressions of unfriendliness by lead-

ing Quakers that roused the resentments of "our ruling gentry." If the Friends had adhered to their tenets against bearing arms as a simple article of faith there is no reason to believe any of them would have been disturbed. It is unfortunate that they did not do so, as their course not only contributed to the decline of Quakerism, but was the cause of many heart-burnings that outlived the first century of the Republic.

An outcome of the militant spirit that prevailed to some extent among the Quakers during the Revolution was the organization of the Society of Free Quakers,—or Fighting Quakers, as they were generally called,—in 1781. Their first meeting was held at the house of Samuel Wetherill, an eminent preacher and author of a tract called "Apology for the Religious Society called Free Quakers." They met at each others' houses for two years, and then purchased the property at Fifth and Arch streets, which they still retain. The membership was made originally from those who were disowned by the Society of Friends for taking part in the patriot cause. They taught no new doctrine, but claimed the right of private judgment in matters affecting the welfare of the country.

The only important schism in the Society of Friends was that which resulted from the preaching of Elias Hicks, 1818–22. It was claimed that Hicks denied the divinity of Christ, and he was summoned in the latter year to appear before the elders of the five Monthly Meetings of Philadelphia to answer for his unsoundness. This made his alleged heresy the concern of the Society, and resulted in the division by which the party opposed to Hicks was afterward known as "Orthodox" and his supporters as "Hicksites." The schism caused much bitterness of feeling at the time and for many years afterward, but while the division in the Society has continued down to the present time, the difference between the "Orthodox" and the "Hicksite" Friends makes no vivid impression upon the community at large.

All branches of the Friends in the United States, according to the latest census, comprise 107,208 members, with 1,056 meeting-houses, and church property valued at $4,541,334. Of these the "Orthodox" Friends have 80,655 members, with 794 meeting-houses, and $2,795,784 worth of church property; and the "Hicksites" 21,992 members, with 201 meeting-houses, and church property valued at $1,661,850. In Philadelphia, the stronghold of Quakerism in the eighteenth century, the decline has been so great that the total number of Orthodox Friends does not exceed 5,500 persons. The quaint garb that was once so common has almost disappeared from the streets, and Quaker influence has become only a tradition.

SOCIAL LIFE AND MANNERS OF THE PHILADELPHIANS.

I.

HOME LIFE AMONG THE FRIENDS—1682–1774.

IT is not easy to catch glimpses of society and manners in Philadelphia in the formative period. The life that centred about the Slate Roof House must have been very sober and earnest. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that it was in any way ascetic. The early Friends were a hospitable people. Although they were averse to balls and parties and ignored all frivolous amusements, such as dancing and light music, hospitality among them was a pleasure as well as a duty. Dinners and tea-parties were frequent at the houses of the prosperous merchants and the eminent citizens who ruled in the province and the municipality. Social intercourse and the pleasures of the table made simplicity of life far from burdensome. But the preponderance of the Friends, after a few years, was not sufficiently marked to repress the growth of a gay society in the midst of a Quaker community. The early influx of the Church people, and the social antagonisms that were the results, are marked by the building of the first edifice known as Christ Church in 1695, only thirteen years after the founding of the city. With the Church element came gay attire and the fashionable follies of the Old World. It is not surprising that the hearts of the Quaker damsels sometimes fluttered under their sober gowns, and it goes without the saying, that the century was still young when the first elopement in Philadelphia startled the good people of the Society of Friends. The hero in this romance was Col. William Coxe, the ancestor of the Coxe family of Pennsylvania, and the heroine was Sarah Eckley, a Friend. This affair occurred in 1707. In a contemporary letter Col. Coxe is described as "a fine flaunting gentleman, said to be worth a great deal of money,—a great inducement, it is said, on her side." The marriage took place by fire-light under a tree in New Jersey, the chaplain of Lord Cornbury, then Governor of that province, whom they met by chance, performing the ceremony. "They have since proselyted her," said the writer of the letter just quoted, "and decked her in finery." In contrast with the unconventional wedding of Col. Coxe and Sarah Eckley was the formal ceremony of a Quaker marriage. Notice of a projected union was required

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to be given by affixing a declaration of the intentions of the parties to the court-house and meeting-house doors, besides two formal declarations in meeting, and the presence of not fewer than twelve subscribing witnesses was necessary at the ceremony.

A peculiarity of social life among the people called Quakers was the fact that the intercourse of young men and women was restrained without the appearance of restraint. No Spanish duenna was ever more watchful of her charge than was a Quaker mother over her daughters. The young girls never went into the street unattended, and rambles by daylight, much less by moonlight, were not among the delights of lovers. Courtship was in the nature of a solemn function. The lover was required to obtain parental sanction before he began to woo, and the wooing was done under the scrutiny of watchful eyes. There could be little fervor and no romance in such tame and repressed lovemaking, but the youngsters, no doubt, were sometimes able to demonstrate to their own satisfaction that "Love laughs at locksmiths," even if it seldom laughed very loud. It does not appear, however, that a tendency to marry "out of meeting" was often manifested as the result of a method of courtship so mechanical and unromantic. On the contrary, it seems to have been difficult to keep marriages from encroaching too closely upon consanguinity. The staid Quakers were scandalized, now and then, by marriages by "persons professing truth" with a deceased wife's sister, or other near relations, direct or indirect, and it was finally determined to prohibit a marriage of affinity as far out as the cousin of a deceased wife.

More troublesome to this simple people than questions affecting marriage were the problems relating to gay attire introduced into their sober community by "the world's people." In the early days of the province the restrictions in dress that afterward became a pronounced characteristic of Quakerdom were not considered necessary to secure plainness in apparel. The Quakers were not even averse to colors in dress until it became necessary to stem the current of fashionable folly that was engulfing "some that walk among us and are accounted of us,"—especially the "immodest fashion of hooped petticoats," against which the Women's Yearly Meeting at Burlington, in 1726, bore testimony. The prohibitions, however, extended to many things besides hooped petticoats,—to the wearing of striped calicoes and stuffs, to shoes trimmed with gaudy colors, to superfluous gathers or plaits in caps or pinners, and to heads dressed high behind or the hair cut or laid on the forehead or temples. Even superfluity of furniture was declared objectionable, although it is not likely that this part of the testimony seriously affected the splendid mansion of Edward Shippen, in Second street, or the furnishings of "Fairhill" and "Stenton," the country-seats of Isaac Norris and James Logan.

It would be rash to assume that at this period the furniture of Philadelphia houses, especially the houses of the Friends, had reached

the stage of luxury, or even of elegance. A severe simplicity was the general rule far toward the middle of the eighteenth century. The floors were sanded and the walls whitewashed. The ample mantels over the fire-places were of wood. In a few houses, as the mansion of Isaac Norris, at Fairhill, wainscoting of red cedar was tried, but apparently without satisfactory results, as it soon became faded and shabby. Before 1750 carpets were not in use, nor were sofas or sideboards. Settees with high stiff backs, one or two large tables of pine or maple, a chest of drawers containing the wearing apparel of the family, and a corner cupboard in which the china-ware was displayed usually made up the furniture of the living room of the household, the room serving also for a dining-room and parlor. Wealthier people often had damask-covered couches instead of settees, and furniture of oak and mahogany, but the elaborately carved and gilded pieces of Queen Anne's reign were seldom brought across the Atlantic to embellish Philadelphia homes. There were not a dozen houses in the city before the Revolution that were furnished in a style corresponding with the upper middle class homes in England. But great attention was given to beautifying the grounds surrounding the country-seats and town houses of the rich Philadelphians, and these were such a marked feature of the colonial period that they are deserving of a chapter in connection with the historic homes of Philadelphia.

It is difficult to reconcile our modern ideas of the staid sobriety of the Friends with the early marriage feasts among the Quakers. The free use of spirits was a common practice with all classes in the beginning of the eighteenth century. A feast always followed a wedding, and the Friends seem to have been as profuse in their entertainments as the world's people. In the case of rich Quakers as many as one hundred and fifty persons were known to sit down to dinner after a wedding, and stay for tea and supper. At the same time punch was freely ladled out to all who cared to partake of it. Nor was this all. For two days after the wedding the friends of the married pair would call, take punch and kiss the bride. Besides this, the bride and groom gave tea parties at their new home for two entire weeks, and two days were devoted to feasting after each of the occasions on which the contracting parties passed the meeting. All this would seem to have been a sufficient compensation for a serious or even gloomy courtship.

When a wedding among Friends was to take place the happy pair always went to meeting on foot, preceded by the father and mother of the groom and the parents of the bride, and followed by a procession of their special friends.

There was a feast after Quaker funerals as well as after Quaker weddings. This, however, was a common practice among all classes in Pennsylvania, and it is maintained in many sections of the State even to this day. The custom was imported from England. It began to be

discouraged at a very early period at the Yearly Meetings of Friends, as were also the profuse wedding feasts. Even the putting of names and dates on coffins, and the use of monuments, were pronounced "idolatrous practices" by the Concord Monthly Meeting in 1729.

Down to the Revolution everybody in Philadelphia, whether Quaker or Churchman, knew nearly everybody. Gossip and gadding were common practices. Visiting from house to house was continuous. Even a lady of the wealth and social position among the Friends of Mrs. Elizabeth Drinker, thought it worth while to record the fact in her journal if she "remained within" an entire day. As a young married woman she was constantly entertained or entertaining. Henry Drinker, her husband, was one of the few young merchants who could afford a chaise, and Mrs. Drinker's diary is full of accounts of the journeyings of H. D. and E. D. Sometimes the trips were only a visit to Gray's Ferry, or "a ride towards evening round by Moyamensing," or to "ye paper-mill a mile and a half from Germantown"; but often they were prolonged outings, extending over many days. In September, 1764, Mr. and Mrs. Drinker made a pleasure tour to Bethlehem, returning by way of Easton, New Brunswick, Princeton, and Trenton. In September, 1769, New York city and Long Island were the points of attraction. In 1771, Mrs. Drinker spent the entire summer at the baths of Bristol, riding out daily with her children. After leaving Bristol in August Robert and Hannah Stevenson made up a little party with the Drinkers for a visit to Lancaster, Lititz, and Ephrata. They returned by way of Reading and Bethlehem, going as far as Easton in their sightseeing. In June 1772 the Drinkers made a tour of Bucks county, and Mrs. Drinker gives an account of a journey in East Jersey in April 1773. That was partly made on horseback. "I rode on ye old mare as far as Moorestown," says the diarist; "I have not been on Horseback for 15 years past." After this the lady made frequent records of her horseback riding between Philadelphia and Frankford. On these occasions the family or party was generally attended by a colored servant, also on horseback, H. D. on Wild Deer, E. D. on Noble, and Black Bill on Britain. Other Quaker dames kept journals during this period which are replete with details like those of the Journal of Elizabeth Drinker. One of the most noteworthy of these is the Diary of Hannah Callendar,[1] afterwards the wife of Samuel Sansom. She gives particularly interesting accounts of visits to New York and Long Island in 1759, and to Bethlehem in 1761. The latter was noted in the diary of the Moravian congregation as the visit of a "company of Quakers from Philadelphia to view our settlement." Another journal rich in illustrations of home-life among the Friends at this period, is "Memoirs of Rebecca Jones," edited by William J. Allinson. She was a convert to Quakerism, and became an eminent minister.

Some of the wealthy Quakers, as James Logan and Isaac Norris, col-

[1] Penna. Mag., Vol. XII., p. 43?.

lected fine libraries, but the young people were not great readers. Hannah Callendar records the fact that she read the journal of Frederick Post, a Moravian missionary to the Ohio Indians, in 1758. On the 4th of December, 1759, Elizabeth Sandwith (Mrs. Drinker) "began to read Pope's Homer, ye Iliad," but she makes no further mention of her literary pastimes until 1795, when she finished the perusal of Dr. Rush's "Medical Inquiries and Observations," by which she was "much pleased and entertained." Three months later she finished reading a volume from Dr. Rush which contained a sermon on Eternal Redemption by Siegvolck, a German; "The Three War Trumpets, of which the first and second are already past, and the third is now begun," the substance of two discourses by Elhanan Winchester; and Dr. Priestley's "The Present State of Europe compared with Ancient Prophecies." "The Morals of Confucius" was the next book to engage Mrs. Drinker's attention. A little later she read a pamphlet entitled "Rewards and Punishments; or, Satan's Kingdom Aristocratical," written in verse by John Cox, a Philadelphian. "Not much of a credit to J. C. or to Philadelphia," she said, "tho' the young man may mean well, and might, perhaps, have done better in prose." Then comes a revelation of the tastes of Quaker maids about the middle of the century. The venerable lady listened to the reading of "The Mysteries of Udolpho," while she worked,—"a tremendous tale, not quite like the old-fashioned Gothic stories that I was fond of when young. 'Tis seldom I listen to a romance, nor would I encourage my children doing much of that business."

It is, however, impossible to penetrate Quaker door-ways, except for such occasional glimpses as are afforded by the early journalizers and letter-writers, and with these we shall have to be content.

II.

GAITIES OF "THE WORLD'S PEOPLE"—1700–1774.

DURING the first fifty years of the city there was no society in Philadelphia outside of the home circles. The merchants, mechanics, and farmers made up the bulk of the population both among the Quakers and "the world's people." There was no leisure class for many years, but as wealth increased the need of social amusements and accomplishments began to be felt among the young people born in the province. These at their best were confined within narrow limits,—

riding and driving in summer, and skating and sleighing parties in winter; dinners and teas at all seasons, with an occasional dance in other than Quaker households. It was a long time, however, before a dancing-master was found to be a necessity, and it was not until 1738 that a dancing-school was opened, Theodore Hackett offering to "teach all sorts of English and French dances after the newest and politest manner practiced in London, Dublin, and Paris." Four years later, in 1742, Richard Kyneall advertised to teach the "true method and art of defence of the small-sword in its greatest perfection, and extraordinarily quick and speedy, with all the guards, parades, thrusts belonging fully described, and also the best rule of playing against artists, or others, with blunts or sharps." This announcement seems to have created something like a sensation in the Quaker community. "I was surprised at his audacity and brazen impudence in giving these detestable vices these high encomiums," wrote Samuel Foulke, a worthy Quaker, to the newspaper in which the advertisement was printed. "They be proved so far from accomplishments that they are diabolical." Finally in 1749 came John Beals, music-master from London, professing to "teach the violin, hautboy, German flute, common flute and dulcimo by note," and offering to produce music for balls and other entertainments. From all this the deduction is not unreasonable that before the middle of the eighteenth century dancing was freely indulged in by "the world's people," although it was not countenanced by the Friends.

In 1740 a dancing assembly was formed, probably for the first time. What is known as the First Dancing Assembly was not organized until 1748. Its membership comprised representatives from nearly all the prominent families in Philadelphia who were not Quakers. The subscription was forty shillings. This dancing assembly marked an epoch in the social and family history of the city, membership in it being so highly esteemed, even at this day, that the fact is always noted in the biographies of the men whose names were on the list. The dancing assemblies, almost from the outset, marked the aristocratic tendency of the time, the families of mechanics, however wealthy, being rigorously excluded. As an illustration of the exclusiveness of the Philadelphia gentry it may be mentioned that after the daughter of Michael Hillegas, the first Treasurer of the United States, married a prosperous jeweller and goldsmith in Market street she was compelled to forego her former place in the old city assembly. There was, however, another assembly at a later epoch that was not so fastidious, and it was said that when General Washington was invited to both balls on the same night he went to the latter and danced with a mechanic's daughter. This story is probably without foundation, but it marks the antagonisms that were the result of social distinctions in imitation of the English aristocracy. At one time it was proposed in ill nature to give the genealogy of the old city assembly to blur in some degree

the "vellum of pedigree." At this day the old Philadelphia families are proud of genealogies that a century and a half ago it was believed would not prove pleasing to them.

The dancing assemblies were conducted under the rule of six married managers, who distributed places by lot, and partners were engaged for the evening. Gentlemen always drank tea with their partners the day after the assembly. The dances were almost wholly confined to the measured dignity of the grave minuet, although the English country dances were allowable. The assembly suppers consisted of tea, chocolate, and rusk. In the early days of the dancing assemblies the admission cards were written or printed upon common playing cards, blank cards not being obtainable at that time in the country. One addressed to Mrs. Jekyll, a grand-daughter of the first Edward Shippen, had on the back the glaring effigy of a queen of clubs. The first assembly balls, which were held every fortnight, were given in Andrew Hamilton's house and stores at Hamilton's Wharf, then tenanted by John Inglis, one of the managers of the first dancing assembly. The other managers whose names have been preserved were John Swift, afterward Collector of the Port; John Wallace, the son of a Scotch clergyman; and Lynford Lardner, who became Controller of the Customs under the Crown. Gov. James Hamilton opened the first ball of the series of 1748–9, but Mrs. Abraham Taylor, who had been selected as his partner, petulantly refused to dance with him because of some difficulty her husband had with the provincial authorities. Her example proved contagious, but after a number of ladies had declined to take Mrs. Taylor's place, "out of modesty and from no manner of ill design," Mrs. Charles Willing, then Mrs. Mayoress, put herself in his way, and thus saved him from an awkward situation. "Mrs. Taylor," wrote the Rev. Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, "was neither blamed nor excused nor commended, and so it went off, and every person during the continuance of the assembly was extremely cheerful and good natured." Where the subsequent assemblies were given previous to the Revolution is not known, except those for 1772, which were held at the Freemason's Lodge. The original list of subscribers and the rules of the First Dancing Assembly are among the treasures of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and there is a number of lists of the ladies who graced these functions, the only one, perhaps, that can be considered complete being that of 1757.

It would be interesting to know how the Philadelphia beaux and belles were attired for the "functions" of the First Dancing Assembly. We are able to learn only in a general way that the men and women of the Quaker city at that time, who were not Quakers, dressed after the English fashions,—usually, it may well be believed, a long way after. When Watson was gathering the materials for his "Annals" he interviewed a number of venerable gentlemen and ancient ladies on the costumes of their early days in Philadelphia, but he only succeeded

in obtaining a confused picture of cocked hats and wigs; coats, with cuffs very large up to the elbows, but open below; and large skirts, plaited and lined and stiffened with buckram; caps thin and low, so as readily to expose the close-plaited neck-stock of fine cambric, and the large silver stock-buckle at the back of the neck; shirts, with sleeves finely plaited and laced ruffles depending over the hands; close-fitting breeches, with silver or paste gem buckles; shoes or pumps, sometimes square-toed, sometimes peaked, with silver buckles; and thread, worsted, or silk stockings. Gentlemen carried muftees in winter,—little woollen muffs of various colors, just big enough to admit the hands and long enough to protect the wrists. The young men of the highest fashion wore swords, and a profusion of lace on their cocked hats, and scarlet vests. The coat and breeches, generally, were of the same material,—broadcloth in winter and silk camlet in summer. Often they were of red cloth or of plush of various colors. Boys, as a rule, were dressed as if they were men. Tradesmen and workmen wore leather breeches and leather aprons.

Ladies wore large hoops and sweltered under as many as six petticoats. They went out in the morning in chints; brocades, satins and mantuas were reserved for dinner or evening parties. Robes, or negligees as they were called, were essential to full dress. At one time white aprons were worn by ladies of fashion, but more sedate women were content with check aprons. Black bonnets of silk or satin were at one time almost universal, but the fashions in bonnets varied at different periods. The "skimmer hat" had a low, flat crown and was made of a fabric that shone like silver tinsel. Not unlike it in shape were the "horse-hair bonnets,"—made of horse hair woven in flowers. The bonnet called "the muskmelon" had numerous whalebone stiffeners in the crown,—it was followed by the "whale-bone bonnet," having stiffeners only in front. A popular bonnet at a later period was called a "calash" because it fell back in folds, like the springs of a calash or gig top. It was generally made of green silk. To keep it on the head it was drawn up by a cord always in the hand of the wearer. Stays and stomachers were universally worn. Sometimes the gowns had no fronts, the design being to display a finely quilted Marseilles or satin petticoat. The hair was elaborately dressed for gala occasions in frizzes and curls, cushions and rollers. These lines afford a very good description of a colonial belle:—

Give Chloe a bushel of horse hair and wool,
  Of paste and pomatum a pound,
Ten yards of gay ribbon to deck her sweet skull,
  And gauze to encompass it round.

Let her flags fly behind for a yard at the least,
  Let her curls meet just under her chin;
Let these curls be supported, to keep up the jest;
  With an hundred, instead of one pin.

Let her gown be tuck'd up to the hip on each side,
Shoes too high for to walk or to jump;
And to deck the sweet creature complete for a bride,
Let the cork-cutter make her a rump.

Thus finish'd in taste, while on Chloe you gaze,
You may take the dear charmer for life;
But never undress her—for, out of her stays,
You'll find you have lost half your wife.

Here is another versified catalogue of ladies' attire in the colonial period, from the Philadelphia *Penny Post*, in 1769. It is entitled a

"RECEIPT FOR A MODERN DRESS.

"Pin a small bugle cap on as big as a crown;
Smout it off with a ribbon *vulgo dict* à pompon.
Let your powder be gray; and braid up your hair
Like the mane of a colt to be sold at a fair.
A short pair of jumps half an ell from your chin,
To make you appear like one just lying-in.
Before, for your breastpin, a stomacher bib on;
Ragout it with cutlers of silver and ribbon.
Your neck and your shoulders both naked should be—
Was it not for Vandyke blown with *sheva de free?*
Let your gown be a black, blue, yellow, or green,
And frizzle your elbows with ruffles sixteen.
Furl off your lawn aprons with flounces in rows;
Puff and pucker up knots in your arms and your toes;
Make your petticoats short, that a hoop eight yards wide
May decently show how your garters are tied:
With fringes of notting your dickey cabob;
On slippers of velvet set gold *à la baube.*
But mount on French heels when you go to a dance—
'Twas the fashion in England and likewise in France."

The lady who left a record of going to one of the balls in Hamilton's stores in full dress on horseback could scarcely have been attired in accordance with either of these recipes.

Men have always been severe satirists of women's fashions and foibles in dress. In Philadelphia, in the colonial period, the satire was often of a very practical kind. When the trollopee, whatever that was, received the approval of ladies of fashion, the male guardians of female taste in attire induced the wife of Daniel Pettiteau, the hangman, to parade the town, to rude music, arrayed in full dress trollopee. On another occasion when the ladies were showing a passion for long, red cloaks, their lords succeeded in having a female felon led to the gallows in one of these flaming garments. Once a tall male figure, dressed in ladies' attire, brought the tower head-dress into disrepute by parading the streets wearing an exaggerated specimen of this fashionable enormity. If innovations in dress were thus suppressed,

as has been claimed, the ladies of the colonial period must have been more sensitive to ridicule than their great-great grand-daughters.

The walking in Philadelphia was not very good before the Revolution, but most of the inhabitants had no other means of getting about the city and adjacent country. William Penn brought out a coach and calash, but as late as the administration of Governor Patrick Gordon, 1726–36, there were only eight four-wheeled vehicles in the province. The owners of coaches were the Governor, Jonathan Dickinson, Isaac Norris, Andrew Hamilton, and Anthony Palmer, while James Logan, David Lloyd, and Lawrence Growden had each a four-wheeled chair, drawn by two horses. In 1761 there were only thirty-eight private carriages in Philadelphia, but nine years later, in 1772, the number had increased to eighty-four. Public vehicles were even fewer in number than private carriages. Thomas Skelton advertised a four-wheeled chaise for hire in 1728, and in 1746 Abraham Carpenter, cooper, dropped into rhyme in regard to the superior quality and attractions of his outfit:

Two handsome chairs,
With very good geers,
With horses, or without,
To carry friends about.

Likewise saddle horses, if gentlemen please,
To carry them handsomely, much at their ease,
Is to be hired by Abram Carpenter, cooper,
Well known as a very good cask cooper.

In 1759 William Welsh, an English coach builder, who claimed to have been coachmaker to members of the royal family and a number of German serenities, and to have built a state coach for John Clement, Lord Mayor of London, established himself in business in Philadelphia, probably with some success, as the merchants and professional men were beginning to supply themselves with one-horse chairs. These vehicles were very plain. They were without springs, and brass rings and buckles were the only ornaments on the harness. Chief-Justice William Allen had a coachman who was the crack whip of the province. He drove a landau with four black horses. The tops of this imposing vehicle fell down in front and at the back, thus making it an open carriage when required. Many gentlemen, especially among the young men, owned riding horses, pacers, long held as an abomination, being preferred. No statistics have been preserved of the number of riding horses in the city at any period before the Revolution, but in the diaries and letters of colonial times one may catch glimpses of gay cavalcades of ladies and gentlemen on horseback. "I keep a good horse at a small charge," wrote a Scotch visitor in 1768, "and have some very agreeable riding companions." In the winter when there was snow everybody that could afford it rode in open

sleighs, filled with straw, and sleighing parties were frequent. The destination of these sleighing parties was usually some public house out of town, where the beaux and belles danced, sang and romped, ate and drank from morning till night. The young Scotchman, Alexander Mackraby, tells of one of these daylight sleighing parties in December, 1768, that finished its frolic in two or three side-boxes at the play. The young people on this occasion saw either "Zara" or "Alexander the Great," with Hallam and Douglass, Miss Hallam and Miss Cheer in the principal parts, and Miss Fanny Storer as *Jenny* in "Neck or Nothing"; or Mrs. Harman, the daughter of Charlotte Charke, and a granddaughter of Colley Cibber, as *Betty* in the "Contrivances." As the play began at 6 o'clock, at this period it will be seen that the dissipations were not carried very far into the night. Indeed, early hours ruled all the gaities of "the world's people" before the Revolution. Even at the dancing assemblies the rule was that the ball should "commence at precisely six in the evening, and not, by any means, to exceed twelve the same night." Our ancestors ended their revels when ours begin.

The play-house does not seem to have been recognized as a proper place of resort for fashionable people until after the building of the Southwalk Theatre in 1766. Even then, and for many years afterward, plays and play-going were frowned upon by the Quakers and the religious part of the community, with the exception of the Church people. There was, however, a considerable element that regarded the establishment of the drama in Philadelphia with satisfaction, and theatre parties were not uncommon during the seasons of 1768–9 and 1769–70. Moreover, actors were occasionally hissed off the stage between 1770 and 1774 for lack of ability, by parties of gentlemen specially organized to express the disapprobation of the cognoscenti. On some occasions the theatre parties, flushed with wine, dominated both the stage and the audience. On the 23d of April, 1770, twenty Englishmen "met at a tavern, stuffed roast beef and plum pudding, and got drunk, *peur l'honneur de St. George;* were crosses, and finished the evening at the play-house, where we made the people all chorus, 'God Save the King,' and 'Rule Britannia,' and 'Britons Strike Home,' and such like nonsense; and in short, conducted ourselves with all the decency and confusion usual on such occasions."[1] All trace of the pieces performed before these Sons of St. George has been lost.

A comprehensive notion of the manners and customs, pleasures and gaities of early Philadelphia may be gathered from the Journal[2] of William Black, who came to the city in 1744 with the commissioners appointed by Governor Gooch of Virginia to confer with similar commissions from Maryland and Pennsylvania previous to treating with the Iroquois, or Six Nations, in matters relating to the lands west of the Alleghany Mountains. After the arrival of the commissioners in

[1] Penna. Mag., Vol. XI., p. 493.

[2] Penna. Mag., Vol. I., p. 117.

Philadelphia at the end of May they were given a succession of entertainments at the houses of wealthy Philadelphians, beginning with a dinner at Governor Thomas' on the 29th. This was followed the next day by a dinner at the house of William Allen, the Recorder, and on the third day by a dinner given by Thomas Lawrence, a member of the Governor's Council. Richard Peters, the Secretary of the province, entertained the Commissioners at the Tun Tavern on the 1st of June, and the next day they dined with the "Beef Stake Clubb," at the same tavern by invitation of the Governor. On Sunday they had dinner with Andrew Hamilton at Bush Hill, on Monday with John Sober, on Tuesday with John Turner, on Wednesday with the Governor once more, on Thursday with William Logan, on Friday with Abraham Taylor, and finally on Saturday, June 9th, the Virginia Commissioners gave a dinner to their entertainers at a tavern in Water street. Then there began a second round of entertainments, — at the Governor's and Recorder Allen's, among others, — but as the "Journal" closes abruptly before the dinners were all eaten, it is impossible to pursue the subject further.

These dinners were very elaborate affairs, consisting of "many dishes substantial as well as curious," and after dinner the tables were supplied "with a great plenty of the choicest wines as it was before with victuals." Even at the "Beef Stake Clubb" there were more than twenty-eight dishes, beside steaks. At Andrew Hamilton's the Sunday dinner was a very fine one,—"near 18 Dish of Meat, besides a very nice Collation." The effect of Philadelphia hospitality upon the Secretary to the Virginia Commissioners was sometimes such that he groped his way to his lodgings, occasionally butting against the posts on the sides of the pavement that kept him in his road.

Mr. Black, more than any visitor to Philadelphia in the colonial period, wrote out his impressions of the ladies of the Quaker City for posterity. At Stenton he met Hannah, the second daughter of the venerable James Logan, who presented herself at the tea table, "in order to turn out the fashionable warm water." She was tall and slender, but exactly well-shaped, "with a sort of majesty in her person and agreeableness in her behaviour which at once surprised and charmed the beholders." At Samson Levy's he made the acquaintance of Miss Hetty Levy,—a young lady of the opposite style of beauty,—of the middle stature, "complection black but very comely," hair "coal black which she wore a wigg, waving in wanting curling Ringletts in her neck." She was a lady of "a great deal of wit joined to a good understanding, full of spirits, and of a humour exceeding jocose and agreeable." On a second visit to "the agreeable Jewess" he met Miss Mollie Stamper, whom he escorted to her own door afterward. The impressionable young Virginian went into raptures over the Philadelphia beauty, confessing himself "unable to say anything adequate to this lovely young creature—the bloom of roses and lilies might a little

illustrate her countenance, or their smell her sweetness." But Miss Mary Stamper was destined to become the wife of William Bingham, the elder, and the mother of that William Bingham, whose wife was the leader of Philadelphia society fifty years later.

It is to be regretted that fewer of the young women among "the world's people" kept journals than was the case with the Quaker damsels, for had they done so their records would have given us glimpses of firesides to which we are strangers, and afford us revelations of conditions that find no place in diaries written by Friends. The differences between the two classes of journals are as marked as those that divided Quaker circles from fashionable society. A play is never mentioned in the Journal of Elizabeth Drinker, which covers a period of almost fifty years, but scarcely ten days had elapsed after Miss Sarah Eve[1] determined to "write a few lines every night of what sort of weather we have, whether we go out or not, who comes to see us, and how we spend our time summer and winter," before she noted the fact that she had read "The Fashionable Lover," which she describes as "a prodigious fine comedy wrote by Cumberland." In a few weeks she was complaining of Dr. William Shippen because he was so fond of kissing. "One hates to be always kissed," she said, "especially as it is attended by so many inconveniences; it discomposes the economy of one's handkerchief, it disorders one's high roll, and it ruffles the serenity of one's countenance." Then no less a person than the exemplary Mr. Duchè came under criticism for sitting every day to have his hair curled and powdered by a barber. "But, my dear ma'am," she exclaimed, "what would a person be without powder?" Miss Eve had read "The Prince of Parthia," the only American tragedy then in print, for she quoted from it and spoke of "our young poet Godfrey." To the Rev. Thomas Combe, assistant minister of Christ Church, she referred rather flippantly as Tom Combs, and said he was really a good echo of Mr. Duchè. Miss Eve was not a "new woman," to use the slang of the present day, for with two other young ladies, she says, she had the mortification to be found on the common, where the 18th Royal Irish Regiment was being reviewed, "without a gentleman to take care of us and surrounded by people of all ranks and denominations." Meeting Mr. Ash, Mr. Wilkinson and her brother, who willingly took the young ladies under their protection, "we then held up our heads and did not care whom we met, which before was quite the reverse." Miss Sarah Eve was engaged to be married to Dr. Benjamin Rush, but she died three weeks before the time set for the wedding.

A few old love letters of the colonial period have been preserved. These epistles, it must be confessed, were rather heavy and didactic effusions, but occasionally a gleam of naturalness shines out of the involved and laborious prosings. This is especially true of letters in which the complainings of disappointment took the place of amor-

[1] Penna. Mag., Vol. V., p. 19.

ous protestations so quaint that we almost suspect them of insincerity. "That the Silver Streams of my Dearest Affections and faithful Love," wrote the self-styled Rev. Elias Keach,—"a very wild spark." as one historian calls him,—to his sweetheart in 1686, "will be willingly received into the Mill Pond of your tender Virgin Heart; by your halling up the flood gate of your virtuous Love and Affections; which will completely turn the Wheels of your Gracious will and Understanding to receive the golden graines or Effects of my Steadfast Love and unerring Affection which will be in Loyall respective and Obliging Service so Long as Life Shall Last and such a thrice Happy Conjunction; may induce Many to bring bags of Golden graines of Rejoicing to our Mill and River of joy and contentment and we ourselves will sing ye Epithalmy; this is the Earnest (yet Languishing) Desire of his Soul who hath sent his heart with this Letter."[1] It is scarcely surprising that this remarkable missive failed to turn the "wheels" of Miss Mary Helm's "gracious will and understanding," but one cannot help wondering whether Mr. Keach poured the stream of his "Amorous and Virtuous Affections" by a similar epistle into the "mill-pond" of the tender Virgin Heart of Miss More, daughter of Chief-Justice Nicholas More, whom he afterward married. Somehow the unfortunate love affairs of James Logan, professed Quaker though he was, seem to claim a word in this place, for he came very near being the boon companion of William Penn, the younger, in his bachelor days, and he manifested no forgiving spirit toward William Aubrey, who married the fair Letitia Penn, to whose hand he aspired, or toward Governor Evans, who carried off the lovely Rebecca Moore, whom he also sought for a wife. In his case, at least, the Quaker garb was no shield against the heart-burning that followed disappointments in love. Of Aubrey, Logan said, he was "a tiger for returns," and it was Logan who succeeded in securing Evans' removal after others had failed. In later years many prominent Philadelphians sought and found brides in other provinces. One paper contained announcements of two such marriages in a single paragraph,—"Joseph Shippen, Jr., secretary to his honor, the Governor, was married in Philadelphia to Miss Jenny Galloway of Maryland; and John Cadwalader, merchant, of Philadelphia, was married in Maryland to Miss Betsy Lloyd, daughter of the Hon. Edward Lloyd, of that province." Usually the brides were described as "amiable young ladies with handsome fortunes," or "with all the natural and acquired endowments which adorn the fair sex." Husbands sometimes advertised their wives—a practice that has happily fallen into disuse—but Mrs. Catherine Redmond resented such treatment from her lord, saying it proceded from the advice of his pretended friends, "added to the chimeras of his stupidly jealous and infatuated noddle."

[1] "Through Colonial Doorways," p. 188.

III.

PHILADELPHIA HOMES DURING THE REVOLUTION.

When the first Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia in 1774, the delegates were treated with characteristic hospitality by the leading men in the aristocratic society that centred in the City Dancing Assembly. At the Powell, Willing, and Chew houses, among others, elaborate dinners were given to John Adams and other New England representatives. It was at this time that Silas Deane complained that there were no pretty girls in Philadelphia, a misapprehension that was gravely explained afterward by one of the historians on the ground that "he did not get into the best society, which at the time was affected generally in favor of the crown." This was true, perhaps, in 1776, when the demand for "independency" had made many of the original Whig families either undecided or Tory. It is likely, however, that few of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence could claim that they had the entrance to Philadelphia homes either before or after the signing of that glorious instrument. Even before the adoption of that far-reaching Declaration most of the wealthy Quaker families held themselves aloof from the hospitalities that "the world's people" bestowed upon such men as John Jay and John Adams. In Elizabeth Drinker's Journal there is not a single allusion to Congress or the entertainment of Congressmen, even the Declaration of Independence being ignored. There were exceptions, of course, among the few Quakers who espoused the cause of the colonies, but outside of Quaker circles many of the doors that had been open before to the delegates were closed afterward against the members of a body that was regarded askance because it was revolutionary, and a new society sprang into existence that was looked upon as a greater abomination even than war.

The course pursued by the Philadelphia Tories, and especially the rich Quakers, during the first two years of the war, was more detrimental to the cause of independence than the royal armies under Sir John Burgoyne and Sir William Howe. Refusing to take the Continental money, or even the depreciated paper currency of the province, the disaffected merchants bought salt and provisions with the coin they had in hand, until the greatest scarcity prevailed. Prices rose enormously. The results were measures of coercion that were the subjects of animadversion then and long afterward. As early as January 30, 1776, John Drinker was summoned before the Committee of Safety for refusing to take the Continental money, and a few days later he and Thomas Fisher, of Joshua Fisher & Sons, were advertised by hand-bills as inimical. These severe measures, however, failed to prevent others of a like mind from pursuing a policy that was calculated to bring the

Revolution to a speedy end, and that is at the bottom of the hatred that is entertained for the Quakers of Philadelphia even at this day. Their policy was the severest of war measures,—that of starving the people into submission. Salt rose from two to twenty-five shillings a bushel, and the cost of all the necessaries of life was doubled and tripled. In spite of the hardships that thus befell all classes, including the wealthy families whose income was affected by the war, Philadelphia became very gay. Richard Henry Lee wrote of the city in the winter of 1776–7, that it was "an attractive scene of debauch and amusement," while James Lovell complained to Washington that it was "a place of crucifying expenses."

After the fall of Fort Washington in November, 1776, and the retreat of Washington's little army across New Jersey, until the occupation of the city in September 1777, Philadelphia was in a state of constant alarms. During all this period the Friends became more and more suspects with the Whigs, and especially after the establishment of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania in March 1777. It is evident they believed the war would be a failure, for they sternly and stubbornly refused to give even a promise of their neutrality in the struggle for independence. Indeed, they went out of their way in their testimonies to characterize the new government as a tyrannical and arbitrary body. This led to the famous exile of Friends in Virginia, just previous to the British occupation,—an event that proved less conducive to their good than was anticipated by those who looked forward to it with a grim and sullen satisfaction. It was a hardship before to give up a blanket or two at the request of young Col. Alexander Hamilton, but it was not long after Elizabeth Drinker wrote in her Journal,—"Well, here are ye English in earnest. . . . . What a satisfaction it would be to our dear, absent friends could they but be informed of it,"—that an English soldier entered the Drinker house, went upstairs and took one, begging Mrs. Drinker's pardon for "his borrowing it, as it was by G. Howe's order." This was done with "seeming good humour," but to the good lady it would have been a terrible enormity if committed by an American. In a short time there was an English or German officer, sometimes more than one, quartered in nearly every Quaker house in the town. Philadelphia homes had become the quarters of the military. Mrs. Drinker had Major Crammond, who came modestly with one servant, but soon established himself with three horses, three cows, two sheep, and two turkeys, with several fowls in the stable, and three servants,—two white men and a black boy called Damon,—in the house, besides three Hessians, who served in turn as orderlies. On his second day in his "quarters" he had five Anspachers to dine with him,—three days later he had a dozen. Frequently the Major gave a concert, which lasted up to midnight, and altogether he seems to have made himself very much at home in this Philadelphia house. His occupancy of the Drinker mansion

may be taken as an example of what was happening in other Quaker homes.

Among the most interesting accounts of the occupation is the diary of Robert Morton,[1] a young Friend, who saw the British enter, "to the great relief of the inhabitants who have too long suffered the yoke of arbitrary power, and who testified their approbation of the arrival of the troops by the loudest acclamations of joy." The exultation has generally been denied. Young Morton, however, may be regarded as a competent and truthful witness. Unfortunately his journal affords us few or no glimpses of the home life in Philadelphia during the occupation.

Soon after the entry General Howe had a census made of the houses and inhabitants from which it appeared that out of 5,395 houses 570 were empty, with 116 unoccupied stores out of 240. There were 23,734 inhabitants left in the city, of which 18,738 were women and children. The men were almost entirely Tories or non-combatants. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate the blight that followed conquest. To add to the gloom of the surroundings not fewer than twenty-seven houses were wantonly burned along the line of the English works, including the mansion at Fairhill. "From the roof of my mother's house, in Chestnut street," Deborah Logan wrote afterward, "we counted seventeen houses, one of which we knew to be the beautiful seat of Fairhill, built by my grandfather Norris and owned by his family, but in the occupation of the excellent John Dickinson, who had married my cousin. It was full of furniture and part of a valuable library, which the pressure of the times had prevented the family from securing when they sought their own safety in flight." The excuse for this wanton destruction was that the Americans used these houses to annoy the pickets. The troops, the Hessians especially, committed many depredations upon the inhabitants on the outskirts of the town, and outrages and abuse were of frequent occurrence. The Tories suffered indiscriminately with the Whigs. The conduct of the conquerors soon caused a revulsion of feeling, even the young loyalist, Robert Morton, saying "it is reasonable to conclude that men whose property is thus wantonly destroyed, under a pretence of depriving their enemy of a means of annoying y'm on their march will soon be converted, and become their professed enemies." This, it will be observed, is a marked change from the terms in which Morton recorded the entry of the British into Philadelphia.

At first the Americans gave the enemy plenty to do and during the winter of 1777–8, notwithstanding the sufferings of the patriots in their cantonments at Valley Forge, Sir William Howe's army was practically penned up in Philadelphia. Their latter state was worse than their first. The inactivity of the winter and spring soon became almost unendurable, and the officers began an eager search after amuse-

[1] Penna. Mag., Vol. I., p. 1.

ments. Some of them, as in the case of Major Crammond at Drinker's, gave "concerts" at their quarters. They formed themselves into dining clubs almost without number and when the winter set in in earnest the dancing men among them organized a series of weekly balls at the City Tavern. A cock-pit was established in Moore's Alley and mains were fought for as much as a hundred guineas. The theatre in Southwark was opened as a play-house, after it was no longer needed as a hospital, and plays were acted by the military Thespians who had previously given theatrical performances in New York. But the crowning achievement of a winter of frivolity and dissipation was the famous Meschianza. Nothing like it, either before or since, ever disgraced an army of a great nation.

This *fête* was given by some of the officers of the army in honor of Sir William Howe, who had been ordered to turn the command over to Sir Henry Clinton, and return to England, because of his failure to accomplish what had been expected from him in America. Joseph Galloway, one of the loyalist refugees, who came back to Philadelphia with Howe, but was bitterly disappointed with the results of the campaign, characterized Howe's "vanity and presumption" as "unparalleled in history," in accepting "from a few of his officers a triumph more magnificent than would have become the conqueror of America, without the consent of his soverign or the approbation of his country; and that, too, at a time when the news of a war with France had just arrived, and in the very city,—the capital of North America and the late seat of the Congress,—which was in a few days to be delivered up to that Congress." The author of a pamphlet[1] published in London attacked Howe in even stronger terms. "What are we to think," he asked, "of a beaten general's debasing the king's ensigns (for he had none of his enemy's) by planting all the colors of the army in a grand avenue of three hundred feet in length, lined with the king's troops, between two triumphal arches, for himself and his brother to march along in pompous procession, followed by a numerous train of attendants, with seven silken knights of the Blended Rose, and seven more of the Burning Mountain, and their fourteen Turkey-dressed camels, to an area of one hundred and fifty square yards, lined also with the king's troops, for the exhibition of a tilt and tournament or mock fight of old chivalry in honor of this triumphant hero; and all this sea and land ovation made—not in consequence of an uninterrupted succession of victories like those of the Duke of Marlborough—not after the conquest of Canada by a Wolfe, a Townshend, and an Amherst, or after the much more valuable conquest of all the French provinces and possessions in India, under the wise and active Gen. Coote—but after thirteen provinces wretchedly lost, and a three years' series of ruinous disgraces and defeats." And the Quaker part of the community was pained over the spectacle, to a degree that went a long way

[1] "Strictures on the Philadelphia Meschianza, or Triumph of Leaving America Unconquered."

toward reconciling them to the return of "our ruling gentry," whom they had before contemned. "This day," wrote Elizabeth Drinker, "may be remembered by many from ye scenes of Folly and Vanity—promoted by ye officers of the army—under the pretence of showing respect to Gen. Howe, now about leaving them. Ye parade of Coaches and other Carriages, with many Horsemen, thro' the Streets, towards ye Northern Liberties; where great numbers of ye Officers, and some women, embarked in three Galleys and a number of boats, and passed down ye River, before ye city, with Colors displayed, and a large Band of music; and ye Ships in ye Harbor decorated with colors, which were saluted by ye Canon of some of them. It is said they landed in Southwark, and proceeded from ye waterside to Joseph Wharton's late dwelling, which has been decorated and fitted up for this occasion in an expensive way, for this Company to Feast, Dance and Revel in. On ye River Sky-Rockets and other Fire Works were exhibited after night. How insensible do these people appear, while our Land is so greatly desolated, and Death and sore destruction has overtaken, and now depends over so many!"

The spectacle must have been a tawdry affair. In design and execution it was affectation and tinsel. There was a "grand regatta" in three divisions from the foot of Green street in the Northern Liberties to the landing place at the fort below the Swedes' Church. There was a procession of the Black and White Knights and their squires, and the Ladies of the Blended Rose and the Burning Mountain, together with the guests of honor, through an avenue of Grenadiers, from the landing place to Walnut Grove, the mansion of Joseph Wharton—"Duke Wharton," as he was generally called—at what is now Fifth and Wharton streets. Then came the tournament, and, after the ball, the supper, with dancing afterward until 4 o'clock in the morning. The details of the *fête* will be found in the account supposed to have been written by Major Andrè, printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1778, and need not be repeated here. The only matters that can interest posterity in this grotesque display of affectation and folly are those that affect the young women in Turkish trousers, who were such remarkable features of the affair,—the Ladies of the Blended Rose, each wearing a head-dress, towering in the fashion of the time, and filled with a profusion of pearls and jewels, a veil edged with silver lace, spangled shoes and stockings, a white silk polonaise that formed a flowing robe and was open in front to the waist, and a pink sash six inches wide and filled with spangles; and the Ladies of the Burning Mountain, whose white silk gowns were trimmed with black, and whose sashes were white edged with black, but who were otherwise attired like the Ladies of the Blended Rose. These young ladies were the fairest flowers of Philadelphia society—all of them, except two, Miss White, of New York, who has been overlooked by tradition, and Miss Auchmuty, also of New York, a daughter of the Rev. Dr.

Auchmuty of Trinity Church, whose sister was the wife of Capt. Montressor, chief of engineers. Miss Auchmuty was the "fair ladye" of Lord Cathcart, who led the White Knights, and his rival, Capt. Watson, of the Guards, the leader of the Black Knights, was the special champion of Miss Rebecca Franks, the witty daughter of David Franks, afterward the wife of Sir Henry Johnson, in command at Stony Point when the fort was captured by "Mad" Anthony Wayne. Miss Janet Craig, one of the Ladies of the Blended Rose, championed by Lieut. Bygrove, was one of the three of the Philadelphia belles who remained unmarried. The other two were Miss Nancy, daughter of Dr. John Redman, of the Blended Rose, championed by Capt. Horneck, and Miss Rebecca, daughter of Dr. Phineas Bond, of the Burning Mountain, in whose honor Lieut. Delaval entered the lists. The latter went to England after the Revolution, with the family of Mr. Erskine, the British Minister, and died there. Miss Rebecca Redman of the Burning Mountain, whose champion was M. Montluissant, a lieutenant of the Hessian Chasseurs, a sister of Miss Nancy, married Elisha Lawrence, who had been Lieutenant-colonel of the First Battalion, New Jersey Loyalist Volunteers, but was captured by Col. Matthias Ogden in 1777, and Miss Wilhelmina Bond, a sister of Rebecca Bond, of the Blended Rose, championed by Capt. Matthews, became the wife of Gen. John Cadwalader. Miss Peggy Chew of the Blended Rose, championed by Capt. Andrè, generally regarded as a special distinction, and Miss Sophia Chew of the Burning Mountain, whose champion was Lieut. Hobart, daughters of Benjamin Chew, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, both married patriotic Americans, the former becoming the wife of the celebrated Col. John Eager Howard of the Maryland Line, and the latter of Henry Phillips, also of Maryland. Miss Williamina Smith of the Burning Mountain, championed by Brigade-Major Tarleton, was a daughter of the Rev. Dr. William Smith, the first Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. She married Charles Goldsborough, of Maryland, a son of Robert Goldsborough, who was a member of Congress and voted for the Declaration of Independence, but died before the signing of that instrument. The other names mentioned by Andrè are those of Miss Mary (Polly) Shippen, of the Blended Rose, championed by Lieut. Sloper, and her sisters Misses Sarah (Sally) and Margaret (Peggy) Shippen, of the Burning Mountain, championed respectively by Lieutenants Underwood and Winyard. They were daughters of Chief-Justice Edward Shippen. Polly married William McIlvaine; Sally, Thomas Lea; and Peggy, Benedict Arnold. The tradition in the Shippen family is that the young ladies were prepared to take part in the *fête*, but that at the last moment they were forbidden to occupy their places in the pavillions by their father, who objected to the dresses prepared for the occasion. If such was the case it does not appear that any substitutes were found for them. All this only goes to prove that while not averse to the red-coats when the city was

in the hands of the English, the young ladies of Philadelphia were equally willing to smile on the wearers of the buff and blue when the town changed uniforms.

In spite of the plays at the theatre, the balls at the Indian Queen, and the Meschianza, it is not to be supposed that Philadelphia was very gay during the occupation. In the contemporary diaries and letters of which so many have been unearthed in recent years, we catch very few glimpses of the Tory ladies. "There were rare doings at David Franks's, when General Howe would tie his horse at the door, and go in to call on the young ladies," said a venerable Philadelphia dame, who was an eye-witness, many years afterward. These young ladies were Polly, who died unmarried, and Rebecca, already spoken of as one of the Ladies of the Burning Mountain. An elder sister, Abagail, had married Andrew Hamilton, the elder, brother of William Hamilton of "The Woodlands," and their aunt, Phila Franks, was the wife of Col. Oliver de Lancey, the noted New York loyalist, who assisted Capt. André in painting the decorations for the "Meschianza." It is probable that all these participated in the "rare doings" at the house of David Franks during the occupation. Rebecca Franks remained with her father in Philadelphia after the evacuation, and she was a leader among the Tory ladies of the Shippen circle that found so much favor with the new commander of the Department, Gen. Benedict Arnold. It was at this time that the gallant Major "Jack" Stewart of the Second Regiment, Maryland Line, who had been captured at Staten Island in August, 1777, and was probably then on parole waiting to be exchanged, appeared in the presence of Miss Rebecca Franks in a red coat. "I have adopted your colors, my Princess, the better to secure a kind reception," said the Maryland Major; "deign to smile on a true knight." Without affording him the courtesy of a reply Miss Franks turned to the other ladies, saying, "How the ass glories in the lion's skin." Major Stewart had his revenge, however, for he was one of those who received the thanks of Congress for the capture of Stony Point, of which Sir Henry Johnson, whose wife she became, had the command. Miss Rebecca's disloyalty was too pronounced to be overlooked when her father fell under the ban, but in most cases participation in the Meschianza by the Ladies of the Blended Rose and the Burning Mountain was quickly condoned, — all the more quickly, perhaps, because the example of "a certain general," who laid siege to the heart of Peggy Shippen, was followed by other young rebels, who, to use a phrase applied to Gen. Winfield Scott by Lady Johnson many years afterward, "had taken the liberty to beat his Majesty's troops."

One of the first greetings that came to the Tory belles of the Meschianza after the evacuation was from General Wayne. "Tell those Philadelphia ladies who attended Howe's assemblies and levees," he wrote from Paramus just a fortnight after the battle of Monmouth, "that the

heavenly, sweet, pretty red-coats,—the accomplished gentlemen of the Guards and Grenadiers,—have been humbled on the plains of Monmouth. The knights of the Blended Roses and Burning Mount have resigned their laurels to rebel officers, who will lay them at the feet of those virtuous daughters of America, who cheerfully gave up ease and affluence in a city for liberty and peace of mind in a cottage." On the day that Wayne's letter was written, July 12, Gerard, the French Ambassador, arrived in Philadelphia. He was received by Congress on the 5th of August,—he celebrated the birthday of the king of France on the 23d, and gave an entertainment at the City Tavern two days later. These seem to have been very tame affairs,—the Ambassador's ball especially, as only Whig ladies were invited. General Arnold took a very different view of the policy that ought to govern the social functions at the capital. "Will you think it extraordinary," wrote President Reed to General Greene, "that General Arnold made a public entertainment the night before last, of which not only Tory ladies, but the wives and daughters of persons proscribed by the State, formed a very considerable number?" At this entertainment, it was said, the Tory ladies, who had retained the fashions that prevailed during the occupation, could be readily distinguished from the wives and daughters of the Whigs, who were more simply attired. "Tell Mr. Hall," Mrs. Robert Morris wrote to her mother, "even our military gentlemen are too liberal to make any distinction between Whig and Tory ladies. If they make any it is in favor of the latter. Such, strange as it may seem, is the way those things are conducted at present in this city. It originates at headquarters, and that I may make some apology for such strange conduct, I must tell you that Cupid has given our little General a more mortal wound than all the hosts of Britons could, unless his present conduct can expiate for his past,—Miss Peggy Shippen is the fair one." Arnold's course made him very unpopular in Congress and the Assembly, but he found apologists, even Gen. John Cadwalader saying,—"Every gentleman, every man who has a liberal way of thinking, highly approve his conduct." General Cadwalader's mistaken judgment came from the heart rather than the head, as he soon afterward married Miss Wilhelmina Bond of the Blended Rose. It is only necessary to say, by way of comment, that Arnold's course in Philadelphia at that time was the first step toward his downfall.

Early in December, 1778, Mrs. Washington arrived in Philadelphia to join the General, who had been summoned to wait on Congress for a consultation in regard to the Spring campaign. On the 12th, before the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief, Mrs. Washington was present at a ball given by the French residents, and she attended another entertainment five days later from which the Tory ladies were excluded. Some of the Quaker ladies were disposed to show Mrs. Washington such courtesies as were in their power, but when P. Pemberton and M. Pleasants sent to ask Elizabeth Drinker "to call on the wife of

G. Washington," that stern matron peremptorily declined. Washington arrived on the 22d, and during his stay of six weeks in Philadelphia he and Mrs. Washington received many attentions from the Whig families. Mrs. Bache, the daughter of Benjamin Franklin, wrote to her father that she had danced in the same company with the Chief at Mrs. Powel's on the 6th of January, 1779,—Elizabeth Willing, the wife of Samuel Powel. But Washington was not disposed to give his time to the gaities of Philadelphia society, and he hurried his business with Congress in order to get back to the army. The only affairs of State of a social character in which he participated was the banquet given by Congress to the French Minister on the 18th of January to celebrate the French alliance.

General Washington was not favorably impressed with what he saw and heard in Philadelphia. "If I were to be called upon,"[1] he wrote to Col. Harrison, of Virginia, "to draw a picture of the times and of men, from what I have seen, heard, and in part know, I should in one word say, that idleness, dissipation, and extravagance seem to have laid fast hold of most of them. That speculation, peculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches seems to have got the best of every other consideration, and almost every order of men; that party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day, whilst the momentous concerns of an empire, a great and accumulating debt, ruined finances, depreciated money, and want of credit, which in its consequences is the want of everything, are but secondary considerations, and postponed from day to day, from week to week, as if our affairs wore the most promising aspect. . . . . Our money is now sinking fifty per cent. a day in this city, and I shall not be surprised if, in the course of a few months, a total stop is put to the currency of it; and yet an assembly, a concert, a dinner, or a supper that will cost three or four hundred pounds, will not only take men off from acting in this business, but even from thinking of it; while a great part of the officers of our army, from absolute necessity, are quitting the service, and the more virtuous few, rather than do this, are sinking by sure degrees into beggary and want."

When Washington was on his way back to the army he was passed on the journey by another distinguished soldier of the Revolution who was a familiar figure in the streets of Philadelphia before the war. They missed each other by passing on opposite sides of the Delaware. This officer was Gen. Anthony Wayne, who had turned over the command of the Pennsylvania troops to Gen. Arthur St. Clair, and was awaiting the formation of the light corps, with which he afterward performed such meritorious service. After a visit to his farm in Chester county he made a brief stay in town, of which he penned a lively picture. "I need not attempt,"[2] he wrote to Col. Hartley, "to give you a description of the manners, customs, fashions and extravagance

[1] "Writings of Washington," Sparks, Vol. V., p. 151. [2] Moore's "Life of Wayne," p. 81.

of this place, as you had a sample of them on your way through; all the difference is, that the whole rather increase than diminish, and party runs so high that all public business is at a stand, and all public bodies lulled into an unworthy torpidity, from which nothing will rouse them but the approach of the enemy. . . . . I must do the citizens the justice to say that they have honored me with every attention, and treated me with every possible politeness. You know that I have a fondness for ladies' society, yet, excepting the few days which I spent with my family in Chester county, I have not been at a single tea-party since my leaving the army. I have many cards of invitation, and I mean to avail myself of them; this is an indulgence which I have some right to claim, having been sequestered nearly four years from the society of the fair, and perhaps the next fair bullet may make my *quietus*."

Other officers, whose business took them to Philadelphia at this time, indulged in similar reflections on the follies and extravagances that ruled at the capital, but, like Wayne, were tempted to partake of them. "Permit me now,"[1] a brother officer had written to the hero of Monmouth just before he left the army, "to say a little of the dress, manners, and customs of the town's people. In respect to the first, great alterations have taken place since I was here. It is all gayety, and, from what I can observe, every lady and gentleman endeavors to outdo the other in splendor and show. The manners of the ladies are much changed; they have really, in a great measure, lost that native innocence in their manners, which formerly was their characteristic, and supplied its place with what they call an easy behavior, etc. The manner of entertaining in this place has likewise undergone its change. You cannot conceive anything more elegant than the present taste. You will hardly dine at a table but they present you with three courses, and each of them in the most elegant manner."

"Luxury and dissipation,"[2] General Greene wrote after a visit to Philadelphia, "are very prevalent. These are the common offsprings of sudden riches. When I was in Boston last summer I thought luxury very predominant there, but they are no more to compare with those now prevailing in Philadelphia than an infant babe to a full-grown man. I dined at one table where there were an hundred and sixty dishes."

General Knox was more tolerant. "The girls are the same everywhere,"[3] he wrote, "at least, some of them,—they dearly love a red-coat."

As time went on the dissipations continued, but owing to the depreciation of the Continental money the people, even the rich, experienced many hardships. "How could my dear papa,"[4] Mrs. Bache wrote in

[1] Moore's "Life of Wayne," p. 81.

[2] "Life of Nathaniel Greene," by G. W. Greene, Vol. II., p. 168.

[3] "Life of Henry Knox," by Francis S. Drake, p. 60.

[4] "Letters to Benjamin Franklin from Family and Friends," pp. 106-7-3.

answer to her father's strictures, "give me so severe a reprimand for wishing a little finery? He would not, I am sure, if he knew how much I felt it. Last winter was a season of triumph to the Whigs and they spent it gayly. You would not have had me, I am sure, stay away from . . . . Gerard's entertainments, nor when I was invited to spend the day with General Washington and his lady; and you would have been the last person, I am sure, to have wished to have seen me dressed with singularity. Though I never loved dress so much as to wish to be particularly fine, yet I never will go out when I cannot appear so as to do credit to my family and my husband. . . . . I can assure my dear papa that industry in this house is by no means laid aside, but as to spinning linen we cannot think of that till we have got that wove which we spun three years ago. . . . . I only mention these things that you may see that the balls are not the only reason the wheel is laid aside. I did not mention the feathers and pins as necessaries of life, as my papa seems to think. I meant as common necessaries were so dear, I could not afford to get anything that was not, and begged he would send me a few of the others. Nor should I have had such wishes, but being in constant hope that things would soon return to their former channel, I kept up my spirits and wished to mix with the world, but that hope with me is now entirely over, and this winter approaches with so many horrors that I shall not want anything to go abroad in if I can be comfortable at home. My spirits, which I have kept up during my being drove about from place to place, much better than most people's I have met with, have been lowered by nothing but the depreciation of the money, which has been amazing lately, so that home will be the place for me this winter, as I cannot get a common winter cloak and hat but just decent under two hundred pounds. As to gauze, now it is fifty dollars a yard, 'tis beyond my wish, and I should think it not only a shame but a sin to buy it if I had millions. I should be contented with muslin caps if I could procure them in the winter; in the summer I went without, and as to cambric, I have none to make lace of."

The gaities of Philadelphia society were not so marked during the winter of 1779–80, as they had been the previous year, but the Tories, and especially the Tory ladies, became very offensive in the display of their sympathies with everything British. Even the presence in the city of the prisoners captured at Stony Point, and the treatment accorded them, were used by some of the fair women that had fluttered at the Meschianza, to show that in the language of Knox they dearly loved a red-coat. "I know that there are a number of flirts in Philadelphia," Governor William Livingston wrote to his daughter, "equally famed for their want of modesty as their want of patriotism, who will triumph in our over-complaisance to the red-coated prisoners lately arrived in that metropolis. I hope none of my connections will imitate them, either in the dress of their heads, or in the still more

Tory feelings of their hearts." Among these Tory ladies none was more pronounced in the display of her sentiments than Miss Rebecca Franks to whom the chief of the prisoners became an object of special interest. On one occasion, it is said, she went so far as to tie a cockade, like those worn in honor of the French alliance, to her dog's neck, and bribe a servant to turn the animal loose in a ball-room among our French allies. With such bitter propensities it is scarcely surprising that, with her father, David Franks, she was given a pass to New York, with the intimation that it would be prudent to use it. During the summer of 1780 a number of Philadelphia women besides Miss Franks, whose fathers or husbands were with the English in New York, were sent to join them. Mrs. Drinker in her Journal mentions Grace Galloway and Sarah Cox among those who were ordered to leave, but the former, at least, was allowed to remain or to return, as she died in Philadelphia in 1782. Although exiled, Miss Rebecca Franks was not cast down, and during her stay in New York she remembered the Philadelphia ladies of her own set with the partiality that was to be expected from her. "I will do our ladies,—that is the Philadelphians,"—she wrote to her sister, the wife of Andrew Hamilton, "the justice to say that they have more cleverness in the turn of an eye than those of New York have in their whole composition. With what ease have I seen a Chew, a Penn, an Oswald, an Allen, and a thousand others, entertain a large circle of both sexes; the conversation, without the aid of cards, never flagging, nor seeming in the least strained or stupid."

In the summer of 1779 M. Gerard was succeeded as French Minister by the Chevalier de la Luzerne, who landed at Boston, and, with his Secretary of Legation, M. de Marbois, stopped at Washington's headquarters on his way to Philadelphia. M. de la Luzerne gave many balls and receptions during his four years' residence at the capital, one of his *fêtes*, that given in honor of the birth of the Dauphin, being unusually splendid. A contemporary account of this event, although very elaborate, fails to give the names of any of the Philadelphia ladies who graced the gay assemblage, which is the more to be regretted because this *fête* properly brings to a close this review of Philadelphia society during the Revolution.

IV.

SOCIETY AFTER THE REVOLUTION—1783–1800.

With the return of peace and the removal of the capital Philadelphia lost much of its gayety. The men who had made the Revolution successful and were afterward to be instrumental in establishing the Republic under the Constitution were in retirement or abroad. Washington was on his estate at Mount Vernon, John Adams was Minister of the distracted Confederation in Holland,—he might as well have been at Timbuctoo. Jefferson was glad to escape from the powerless and despised Congress to become minister to France. Franklin lingered in Paris until the midsummer of 1785, and then returned to Philadelphia to become the President of a State which still hesitated to merge its sovereignty in that of a nation. Madison was content to sit in the Virginia House of Deputies. Hamilton after a brief service in Congress was practicing his profession in New York. Jay was Minister in Spain. Congress itself was nomadic and despised. But in Philadelphia there was the nucleus of a new society that was to show remarkable vigor after a few years. A bevy of younger beauties grew up to take the places of the ladies of the Meschianza. Among the numerous dinners of which Washington partook during his stay in Piladelphia as a member of the Federal Convention of 1787 were those given with a splendor that only fell short of ostentation by William Bingham and his beautiful and accomplished wife. Mr. Bingham had amassed a great fortune during the Revolution and before its close had married Anne, the daughter of the opulent Thomas Willing. His bride was only sixteen years old at the time of their marriage. In 1784 the Binghams went abroad where Mrs. Bingham became a great favorite in the highest circles of French and English society. After their return Mr. Bingham built a splendid mansion, in Third street below Spruce, modeled after that of the Duke of Manchester, in Manchester Square, London. It was in and around this mansion that centred what has been called the court circle of Philadelphia society after the removal of the Federal Government from New York.

The society of which Mrs. Bingham became the acknowledged leader comprised many fresh buds engrafted on the branches of an old trunk. Thomas Willing, her father, was a link that bound the new aristocracy of Philadelphia to the old order. First of all, within a stone's throw of the new mansion, were her own kinsfolk and those of her husband,—her father, the venerable Thomas Willing, who so narrowly escaped becoming a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and who perhaps wished in his old age that he had put his name to the immortal instrument; her uncle, Samuel Powell, whose wife, Elizabeth Willing, was described

by Mrs. John Adams as the best informed of all the ladies she had met in Philadelphia, besides being friendly, affable, good, sprightly, and full of conversation ; another aunt, who had married William Byrd, the third, of Westover, thus linking the Willings of the Delaware with the cavaliers of the James ; her sister, also Elizabeth Willing, who married Maj. William Jackson, a distinguished soldier of the revolution and one of President Washington's secretaries ; her cousin, Chief-Justice Edward Shippen, the cousinship being a little remote as it came through Anne Shippen, Mrs. Bingham's grandmother ; and another cousin, Mrs. Harrison, being among her immediate neighbors. Besides these there were near by many of her more remote kinsfolk, and those of her husband,—notably Mrs. Blackwell, Mr. Bingham's only sister, the wife of the Rev. Robert Blackwell, whose daughter her brother George had married. It will thus be seen that Mrs. Bingham's right to rule in society was hereditary as well as by conquest.

Scarcely less potent than Mrs. Bingham as a society leader at this period was Mrs. Robert Morris. She was Mary White, of Maryland, the sister of Bishop William White, and had married Robert Morris, the ambitious young merchant, before their social aspirations had begun to take the high flights to which they afterwards attained. It was probably her Maryland birth as well as her stateliness of demeanor that recommended Mrs. Morris to the friendship of Mrs. Washington. The biographers and historians have united in painting these ladies in attitudes as stiff and unbending as their attire. Only the somewhat unconventional Senator William Maclay, Mr. Morris' colleague, gives us a glimpse of the human side of the stately Mrs. Morris. At one of the President's dinners, at which Mr. Maclay was a guest, the bucolic palate of the farmer statesman assured him that the milk of which the ice cream had been made had soured. Mrs. Morris tasted it and doomed it to neglect, but Mrs. Washington swallowed it without a suspicion of its unworthiness. Thereupon the first American Democrat saw Mrs. Morris make a grimace that he interpreted as rather contemptuous for one stately dame to manifest toward another. The Washingtons, however, were necessary to the social ambitions of the Morrises, and, whenever the world was looking on, it saw one grand dame standing by the side of the other. Whether Mrs. Bingham and Mrs. Morris were social rivals as well as social leaders is a question that neither history nor tradition has taken the trouble to answer, but it is impossible to penetrate very far into the Republican Court, as Dr. Griswold called the society that surrounded our first President, without becoming aware of the contrasts presented by these two noble women of their time. Mrs. Bingham suggests Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough, at the court of Anne of Denmark, but Mrs. Morris was without a counterpart among the women in the court circles of Anne and the Georges. In their own little world Mrs. Bingham was the more brilliant and her set was the more fashionable and fascinat-

ing, but around Mrs. Morris gathered many of the young Philadelphia beauties to whom the Bingham splendor was too dazzling.

The social life of Philadelphia, when the removal of the government from New York again stimulated it into activity, may be said to have begun with Mrs. Washington's first drawing-room on Friday evening, December 24, 1790. These were something entirely apart from the President's levees, the first of which occurred on the 8th of December, just ten days after Washington reached the city. The Presidential levees were looked upon by Washington as visits paid to him as President of the United States, and not on his own account. They were too brief and formal and too severe in their simplicity to be regarded as savoring in any sense of the royal functions after which they were supposed to be modeled. They began at 3 o'clock in the afternoon and lasted only an hour. The receptions took place in the dining-room at the rear of the house, in which there was standing room only. Every visitor on entering the room was introduced to the President by name, who bowed to all, but shook hands with none. This ceremony lasted only fifteen minutes, when the doors were closed against all comers. After the introductions the visitors arranged themselves in a circle and the President passed round the room, exchanging a few words with each of them in turn. He then resumed his place and the visitors passed before him and with a bow took their leave. "This was levee day," wrote Senator Maclay in his Journal on the 14th of December, "and I accordingly dressed and did the needful. It is an idle thing, but what is the life of men but folly?—and this is perhaps as innocent as any of them, so far as respects the persons acting. The practice, however, considered as a feature of royalty, is certainly anti-republican. This certainly escapes nobody. The royalists glory in it as a point gained. Republicans are borne down by fashion and a fear of being charged with a want of respect for General Washington. If there is treason in the wish, I retract it, but would to God this same General Washington were in heaven! We would not then have him brought forward as the constant cover to every unconstitutional and irrepublican act." The first American Democrat of the Jeffersonian pattern was terribly afraid of a little ceremony in which the President of the United States is a factor.

Mrs. Washington's drawing-rooms were less formal and more in the nature of a social function. In the levees the court ladies, as Mrs. Adams called them, had no share, but the drawing-rooms were sacred to them. Even the President mingled with the brilliant throng as a simple, private gentleman. At his own receptions he wore a long sword, with a finely wrought and polished steel hilt, in a white polished leather scabbard. In his hands he held a cocked hat with a cockade, and the edges adorned with a black feather about an inch deep. At his wife's receptions he had neither hat nor sword, and conversed without restraint, generally with the ladies, who had few opportunities of

meeting him. "I went with Charles[1] to the drawing-room," wrote Mrs. Adams to her daughter on the 26th of December, "being the first of my appearance in public. The room became full before I left it, and the circle very brilliant. How could it be otherwise when the dazzling Mrs. Bingham and her beautiful sisters were there, the Misses Allen and Misses Chew,—in short, a constellation of beauty?" One of the Misses Allen referred to by Mrs. Adams, a daughter of Andrew Allen, the loyalist, was a girl of remarkable beauty, who afterward married George Hammond, the British Minister. The Misses Chew of whom she speaks were younger sisters of the Meschianza belles, Juliana and Maria, now grown up to take their married sisters' places. "You never could have had such a drawing-room," Sally McKean, daughter of Chief-Justice Thomas McKean, and afterward the wife of the Marquis d'Yrujo, wrote to one of her New York correspondents of the same event; "it was brilliant beyond anything you could imagine; and though there was a good deal of extravagance, there was so much of Philadelphia taste in everything that it must be confessed the most delightful occasion of the kind ever known in this country." It must be admitted, however, that such claims as these were not always conceded. People from other parts of the country were disposed to cavil and find fault. Even Mrs. Adams, although she praised the constellation of beauties at Mrs. Washington's receptions, would not permit herself to be so well pleased with the dancing assemblies. The dancing, she says, was very good, and the company of the best kind; the room, however, was despicable, and the etiquette,—"it was not to be found." Mrs. Adams's ideas of etiquette were probably those she had received from glimpses of society abroad.

There are no lists that approach anything like completeness of the ladies that attended Mrs. Washington's drawing-rooms, or of the guests who sat at the President's table at this period. When Mrs. Adams spoke of dining "with the President, in company with the ministers and ladies of the court," she probably meant the members of the cabinet, and what would now be called the cabinet ladies. But whether she went to Mrs. Washington's receptions, or to the balls of the Dancing Assembly, or to the theatre when the President attended, the company she met was nearly the same. When the Assemblies, which had begun as early as 1748, were revived after the Revolution has not been established. They were certainly in existence before the army was finally disbanded, for De Chastellux describes one in the winter of 1780–81, of which Col. James Wilkinson was the manager, and at which the Count de Dumas had Mrs. Bingham for his partner and the Viscount de Noailles had Miss Shippen. It is not unlikely that these balls were continued with considerable regularity during the ten years that inter-

[1] Charles was the second son of John Adams, John Quincy being his elder and Thomas Boylston his younger brothers. Abigail Adams, the wife of Col. William S. Smith, to whom the letter was addressed, was the eldest of the family. Charles became a great favorite in society.

vened between that at which de Chastellux was a guest and that to which Mrs. Adams alludes with so much asperity. In the interval, however, the younger belles of the old aristocracy and the reigning beauties of the new order had taken their places in these typical functions of Philadelphia society. We have already caught glimpses of a few of them,—the Misses Allen, afterward Mrs. Greenleaf, and Mrs. Hammond, the Misses Chew, and Miss Sally McKean, whose languid beauty, a modern writer has said, seemed made for a Southern court. There were others, however, whose names and faces as a part of this record are new to us,—the fascinating young Widow Todd, "Dolly" Payne that was in her Quaker girlhood, and "Dolly" Madison that she was to be in her wifehood and second widowhood; Mrs. Stewart, born Deborah McClenachan, a very accomplished woman, the wife of Gen. Walter Stewart, reputed the handsomest man in the Continental army; Mrs. Henry Clymer, a sister of Mrs. Bingham and the daughter-in-law of George Clymer, one of the Signers of the Delaration of Independence; and many others equally charming and beautiful whose descendants figured in the Philadelphia society of later epochs.

If it were possible to follow the President and Mrs. Washington to the old Southwark theatre on the 5th of January, where the "School for Scandal" was acted for the first time during the season of 1790–91, with the "Poor Soldier" as the after-piece, we would meet Philadelphia society in all the varieties described in the letter of "Viator" to "The Trifler" in the *Columbian Magazine* in 1788,—the cream, the new milk, the skim-milk and the canaille; the dresses, the eaters, the drinkers, the singers, the tattlers, the politicians and the dozers. The visit was the occasion for more display than would be the case in these days. The bare old play-house was festooned and decorated. The President and his party occupied the east front box, over which was the coat of arms of the United States. In the adjacent boxes were the beauty and fashion of the capital. The young beaux, the literary set, and the critics of plays occupied the pit. In the gallery were "our menial citizens," as that genial tuft-hunter, Samuel Breck, called them, and besides the servants, the mechanics, the small tradesmen, and an old soldier of the Revolution here and there. On the stage were the favorites of the "Old American Company,"—that irascible Irishman, John Henry, as *Sir Peter*, the stately Mrs. Morris as *Lady Teazle*, and the bewitching Mrs. Henry as *Mrs. Candour*. In the farce, which was a favorite with Washington, Wignell played *Darby*, in which he was said to be inimitable. Hallam was not in either of the casts, but it was said in one of the papers that he was posted in the boxes to keep order. Washington was a frequent attendant at plays, but not oftener at the grand new theatre in Chestnut street, which was opened in 1794, than he had previously been at the rickety old play-house in Southwark.

It is on record that the revival of luxury in Philadelphia at this

time reached a great height of folly and extravagance. "You have never seen anything like the frenzy which has seized upon the inhabitants here," wrote a friend to Col. Humphreys, who was then at Lisbon; "they have been half mad ever since this city became the seat of government; and there is no limit to their prodigality, and, Ellsworth might say, profligacy. The probability is that some families will find they cannot support their dinners, suppers, and losses at loo, a great while; but generally I believe the sharp citizens manage to make the temporary residents pay the bills, one way or another. There have been a good many delightful parties, and I have been at Chew's, McKean's, Clymer's, Dallas', Bingham's, and a dozen other houses lately. Among your more particular friends there is more quiet and comfort, and it is not impossible that the most respectable people are not heard of." Whether the Philadelphians, in spite of their luxury, were as inhospitable as was sometimes alleged, is a question not worth settling. The dissatisfied traveler, Bulow, who was in Philadelphia in 1791, tells a story of an Englishman who burnt all his letters of introduction because they nowhere procured him anything better than a glass of brandy and water. Perhaps there were reasons why this particular Enlishman was not entitled to more. "The Philadelphians are from the highest to the lowest, from the parson in his black gown to the *fille de joie*, or girl of pleasure, a set of beggars," wrote Jeremiah Smith, a member of Congress from New Hampshire, to his brother. "You cannot turn round without paying a dollar." Nobody will claim that Jeremiads like this have any significance. Such complaints are common in regard to society in every city and in every age.

That there was a good deal of vanity and affectation, and even a little snobbery, in the society of the epoch is undeniable. When Lord Wycombe, the eldest son of the Marquis of Lansdowne, better known to Americans as Lord Shelburne, was in Philadelphia Miss Sophia Chew insisted that his lordship should dance with her, although the tall, awkward, gawky young nobleman was unable to dance. She was determined to dance with a lord, she said.[1] Lord Wycombe was dined by the Binghams and other fashionable people, and William Smith, member of Congress from South Carolina, gave a ball in his honor. Lord Wycombe was the forerunner of a long list of distinguished visitors. Among the most noteworthy of these were the exiles cast on our shores by the French Revolution. One of the first to arrive was the Viscount de Noailles, the brother-in-law of La Fayette, who came about the time of the beginning of the pestilence of 1793. Mr. Breck saw him standing in the doorway of his lodgings while the epidemic was claiming its hourly victims. Seeing Breck, De Noailles called him and asked what he was doing in town. "Fly," he said, "as soon as you can, for pestilence is all around us." Dr. Griswold[2] says

[1] Breck's "Recollections," p. 135.

[2] "Republican Court," p. 323.

that while in Philadelphia his means became so limited that Mr. Bingham gave him the use of some third-story rooms in a building that stood at the west end of his garden, with an entrance from Fourth street. "Here on one occasion," the chatty historian avers, "he gave a dinner to several noblemen and gentlemen, who, while the table was being laid were obliged to sit in his sleeping-room, using the bed for want of chairs." Were it not for the fact that he turned speculator with the wreck of his fortune and made money on 'Change, we might be persuaded that he even taught dancing for a living, for while showing the Misses Bingham a difficult *pas* he sprained his ankle so badly that he was lamed for life. After the Viscount de Noailles, in the Spring of 1794, came the exiled Bishop of Autun, the famous Prince de Talleyrand. In Philadelphia he lived at Oeller's Hotel but his stay was brief, although he received many attentions notwithstanding he was excluded from the President's table for political reasons. Following the footsteps of Talleyrand came a more agreeable character in every way—the not less famous Duc de la Rochefaucauld-Liancourt. As President of the National Assembly at the beginning of the French Revolution he had earned distinction for his moderation and virtues that grows brighter with the flight of years. In Philadelphia he was especially intimate in the families of General Knox and Judge Peters. He left behind him in his books some precious mementoes of Philadelphia society and people. Among the other Frenchmen, other than those who came on diplomatic missions, who were in Philadelphia during this epoch and mingled with Philadelphia society were M. Talon, who came over with the Viscount de Noailles; M. Beaumet, who accompanied the Prince de Talleyrand; M. Volney, General Moreau, and Count Alex de Tilly. More noteworthy than these, however, was the visit in 1796 of M. d'Orleans,—the Duke of Orleans, afterward King Louis Philippe,—who was soon joined by his two brothers, the Dukes of Montpensier and Beaujolais. After their return from a trip to the west the three princes took humble lodgings in Fourth street, near Prune, where they kept only one servant. "We could have done very well without any servant," M. d'Orleans told Mr. Breck, "and took one entirely for the sake of the horses." They went very little into society but were intimate with Mr. Bingham's family, one of the fables about the Duke of Orleans being that he sought one of Mr. Bingham's daughters in marriage. "Should you ever be restored to your hereditary position," the senator is reputed to have remarked to the duke, "you will be too great a match for her; if not, she is too great a match for you." Mr. Bingham might, perhaps, with more justice have made this remark to Count Alex de Tilly, who in 1799 printed an advertisement in a newspaper[1] offering $1,000 reward for the recovery of "Maria Matilda, Countess de Tilly, late Maria Matilda Bingham, daughter of

[1] Porcupine's Gazette, April 27, 1799.

William Bingham Esq." What a toothsome bit of gossip this affair must have been in the school for scandal of old Philadelphia.

There were many Englishmen of distinction besides Lord Wycombe in the city during the decade that Philadelphia was the capital of the United States. Among them were the young Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria; John Singleton Copley, the son of the American artist of that name, afterward Lord Lyndhurst; and Alexander Baring, afterward Lord Ashburton, who married Anne, the eldest daughter of William Bingham.

It may be a question whether the diplomatic circle was as brilliant as in more recent years, but it was certainly very resplendent in a society that was more showy than that which circles about the White House in our day. "We dined to-day with the President and Mrs. Washington," Mrs. Cushing, the wife of Justice Cushing, wrote in her Journal, April 2, 1795, "in company with Mr. and Mrs. Hammond, the Chevalier and Mme. Frere (who is truly an elegant woman), Don Philip Jaudennes and his lady, Mr. and Mrs. Van Berckel, Mr. and Mrs. Randolph, Mr. and Mrs. Wolcott, Mr. and Mrs. Pinckney, and Mr. and Mrs. Coxe. Madame Frere and Madame Jaudennes were brilliant with diamonds." George Hammond was the first Minister sent by Great Britain to the United States. He was described as "a fine looking man, stout and rosy faced, wearing a full-powdered wig," but Oliver Wolcott says he was "a weak, vain and imprudent character, very much in the company and under the influence of sour and prejudiced Tories, who wished to see the country disgraced." He had already emphasized his Tory proclivities by his marriage with Andrew Allen's beautiful daughter. The Chevalier Frere was the Portuguese Minister, and Jaudennes Minister from Spain. The latter was succeeded in 1796 by the Marquis d'Yrujo. "He is a young man," Washington wrote to Pickering, then Secretary of State, "very free and easy in his manners, professes to be well disposed toward the United States, and as far as a judgment can be formed on so slight an acquaintance appears to be well informed." After his marriage with Sally McKean, the daughter of the Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania, he affiliated with the party opposed to the administration, and was sometimes an ugly thorn in the side of President John Adams. It will be observed that on the occasion spoken of by Mrs. Cushing there was no French Minister at Washington's table. At the time the relations between France and the United States were very much strained. Citizen Genet, who came over in 1793, had set the pace for his immediate successors. Genet's career was too brief and too violent to afford him an opportunity to play a part in the court circle of Philadelphia society. M. Fauchet, his immediate successor, afterward Baron Fauchet, gave offence to the Spanish Commissioners in 1794 by being placed on Washington's right at the birthday ball, and the acclaim by which he was received by the gallery caused Minister Hammond to withdraw from the theatre with a show of displeasure. He

was still in Philadelphia at the time of the dinner at which Mrs. Cushing was a guest, but notwithstanding he had a very handsome wife, his violent partizanship and hostility to the administration excluded him from Washington's table. In a few months, through an unfortunate letter of Fauchet, Edmund Randolph, the successor of Jefferson as Secretary of State, was excluded from the same board and went back in disgrace to Virginia. It was a time when politics ran so high that even the first President of the United States was compelled to refrain from showing courtesies to visitors of distinction for political reasons. The Viscount de Noailles attended Mrs. Washington's drawing-room on the evening of his arrival in Philadelphia, in 1793, whereupon the Republican papers raised a false cry that he was closeted with the President nearly all night, as ambassador from the exiled princes at Coblentz. Although de Noailles had served under Rochambeau and Washington in the Revolution he refrained afterward from seeing his old Chief, except in public, to avoid giving offense to the French faction. Washington declined to see Talleyrand from a like motive. "It is a subject of no small regret to me," he wrote to the Marquis of Landsdowne, who had given the exile a letter to the President, "that considerations of a public nature, which you will easily conjecture, have not hitherto permitted me to manifest towards that gentleman the sense I entertain of his personal character and of your lordship's recommendation; but I am informed that the reception he has met with in general has been such as to console him, as far as the state of society here will admit of it, for what he has relinquished in leaving Europe." Singularly enough when George Washington La Fayette, the son of the Marquis, then a youth, was counseled by Washington not to mingle with society because his father was a prisoner at Olmutz,—the President even recalling the acceptance of an invitation to dine with Vice-President Adams,—the Republican papers caluminated him by charging him with inhospitality toward the son of one to whom the nation owed a great debt of gratitude.

Among the men in public life who entertained liberally during this period were Thomas Jefferson, when he was Secretary of State and afterward when he was Vice-President; Aaron Burr, the brilliant but profligate Senator from New York; and Gouverneur Morris, after his return as Minister to France. Colonel Trumbull left us a graphic account of a breakfast at Mr. Jefferson's, in which that philosopher fails to shine as advantageously as we could wish. Among his other entertainments Colonel Burr gave a dinner to Brant, the Indian chief, that was attended by Volney, Talleyrand, and other notabilities. "Unfortunately the chief's English," says Parton, "though innocent and infinitely amusing to the guests, cannot be repeated to a fastidious public, and, therefore, the humors of that banquet must remain forever unrecorded." "Yesterday I dined at Mr. Morris' where hospitality is always precious," wrote John Adams. "A company of venerable old

rakes three-score years of age, or a little over or a little under, sat smoking cigars, drinking Burgundy and Madeira, and talking politics till almost eleven o'clock." It was a late hour for the sage of Quincy. "This will do once in a great while," he said; "not often for me."

There were splendid entertainments also at the house of the other Morris,—Robert, the partner of Thomas Willing, in the firm of Willing & Morris for thirty-nine years, 1754–93. Robert Morris was an Englishman,—a plebeian by birth, but an aristocrat by instinct. The revolution, in the finances of which he bore a conspicuous part, brought him into close touch with General Washington, to whom he attached himself socially until after the complete wreck of his fortune through ill-considered speculations and a singularly foolish attempt at building a palace in Philadelphia. Few pedestrians in Chestnut street in these days are aware that the block between Seventh and Eighth and Chestnut and Walnut streets, now dissevered by Sansom street, was the site of Morris' "Folly." Had the dream of its projector been realized, it would have eclipsed in ostentation and magnificence its only rival in Philadelphia in the last years of the eighteenth century,—the mansion of William Bingham. As the matter turned out, our memories of aristocratic Philadelphia in the days of the Republican court will always cluster round the Bingham house.

The rivalry between the Morris and Bingham houses at this period must have been very keen. Samuel Breck, who was a competent witness in such matters, tells us there was luxury in the kitchen, table, parlor, and street equipage of Mr. and Mrs. Morris that was to be found nowhere else in America. Mr. Bingham, he says almost in the same breath, lived in a style the most showy of any American. It was the pure and unalloyed that the Morrises sought to place before their friends,—no badly cooked or cold dinners at their table, no pinched fires upon their hearths, no paucity of waiters, no awkward loons in their drawing-rooms. The luxury at the Binghams was "more gaudy, but less comfortable." The forms at their house were not only unsuited to the manners of the time, but the pageantry was often marred by the blunders of the servants. On great occasions the names of the guests were announced in the English fashion. At the drawing-room door stood a liveried footman, on the stairs was another, at the door of the mansion was still another. This affectation—copying, it might be called—was discontinued in consequence of a ludicrous mistake of which Dr. Kuhn, an eminent physician of the time, and his step-daughter, Miss Peggy Markoe, who soon afterward became the wife of Benjamin Franklin Bache, were the victims. When Dr. Kuhn and his step-daughter drove up to the door a servant asked who was in the carriage. "The doctor and Miss Peggy," was the answer. "The doctor and Miss Peggy," bawled the footman at the door, and the cry was caught up on the stairway and re-echoed at the door of the drawing-room. If this incident put an end to the

practice, as Mr. Breck declares, it was because the forms of an older civilization were incongruous under newer conditions,—the sense of the ludicrous, always an American characteristic, was so strong as to render the blunder ludicrous.

Luxury in furnishing was the inevitable accompaniment of luxurious living. "The greatest expense is for furniture, which must be all made of mahogany," Bulow wrote in one of his splenetic fits. "Travelers have been often astonished to find handsome carpets and mahogany tables and desks,—and in log-houses, or, rather, huts." Carpets came into general use at a very early period,—"elegant carpets," De Warville said in 1788. "I dined with Mrs. Bingham, to whom I had letters of introduction," Wansey, an English traveler, wrote in 1794. "I found a magnificent house and gardens in the best English style, with elegant and even superb furniture,—the chairs of the drawing-room were from Seddons, in London, of the newest taste, the backs in the form of a lyre, with festoons of crimson and yellow silk; the curtains of the room a festoon of the same; the carpets one of Moore's most expensive patterns." The mirrors in this apartment reflected the figures of the company, so that inexperienced guests sometimes saluted the looking-glasses instead of the master and mistress of the house. An attempt to enumerate the appointments of this splendidly equipped mansion would prove tedious, but those who are curious in such matters can study the subjoined catalogue,[1] made from the advertisement of the auctioneers of William Bingham's effects in 1805. Other advertisements of other well-appointed houses of the same period are almost equally bewildering.

In the matter of equipages the Philadelphians of the epoch were luxurious and in some cases ostentatious. President Washington, although not given to display in other respects, was not averse to being seen in a gaily-decorated chariot, drawn by splendidly-caparisoned horses, and preceded by outriders. Two footmen always occupied their places on the coach. Washington kept a stud of twelve or fourteen

[1] CATALOGUE OF THE BINGHAM SALE.—In the drawing-room were a looking-glass seven feet six inches by five feet, a glass chandelier, four girandoles, four gilt candlesticks, three sofas, eight sets of blue satin window-curtains with gilt cornices, two gilt branch candlesticks, six large arm-chairs, two fire-screens, with shovel, tongs, and fender, carpet, with vases, figures, and artificial flowers. The parlor was furnished with ten looking-glasses, two rush-bottom settees, ten arm-chairs, and ten single chairs, dining tables, mantel ornaments, Venetian blinds, and one harpsichord. The dining-tables probably were placed there for convenience. The furniture of the dining-room was a mahogany side-board, wine-cooler, twenty-four mahogany chairs with morocco bottoms, brass and iron fenders, shovels, tongs, and bellows, with chandeliers, girandoles, brass lamps with reflectors, shade lamps, and a very large assortment of china, dinner, and tea sets, with bottles, decanters, and glassware. In the ball-room—probably placed there for convenience and sale—was a mahogany bedstead seven feet square, with canopy, curtains, and mattress complete. The chambers were supplied with bedsteads with damask curtains, chairs with damask stuffed bottoms, yellow and pink chairs, and sofas with silk bottoms, and bureaux in japan, gold, and mahogany. There were figures in all the rooms, and in one of them a full-length portrait of Mrs. Siddons as the "Grecian Daughter," with vases and other ornaments. Silver plate was composed of tureens, vases, dishes, candlesticks, waiters, urns, bowls, goblets, trays, forks, spoons, etc., and weighed nearly two thousand ounces, in addition to which were several articles of plated ware. In the hall were twelve windsor-chairs, pedestals of composition and marble, with busts of Voltaire and Rousseau, three busts of Franklin, bronze and composition figures, two marble medallions in gilt frames, and a dial on a composition pedestal. In the library were three mahogany book-cases, a secretary, a copying-machine, four bronze figures, two urns, two busts, and a centrepiece placed on the top of the bookcases, with a costly collection of paintings and prints.

horses in Philadelphia. "My equipage and attendance," he said in his diary, when he started on his Southern tour in 1791, "consists of a charriot and four horses drove in hand, a light baggage wagon and two horses, four saddle horses besides a led one for myself, and five, to wit, —my valet de chambre, two footmen, coachman, and postillion." In Philadelphia he sometimes was driven with six horses. The "state coach" was built either in New York or Philadelphia, and was neither a present from Louis XVI., nor had it been owned by Governor Penn. "When I arrived in Philadelphia," Chateaubriand wrote, "the great Washington was not there; I was obliged to wait a fortnight. At last he returned. I saw him pass in a coach, which whirled rapidly past, dragged by four mettlesome horses. According to my ideas Washington must necessarily be a Cincinnatus. Now, Cincinnatus in a coach disturbed somewhat my republic of the year of Rome 296. Could the Dictator Washington be any other than a rustic, urging his oxen with a goad and holding the handles of his plow? But when I went to carry my letter of recommendation to that great man I found the simplicity of the old Roman." The Democrats objected to Washington's coach as well as to Mrs. Washington's drawing-rooms, as tending to give them what Wansey calls "supereminency," but Mrs. Washington had her own opinions of the Republicans, and she expressed them once very forcibly after her grand-daughter, Nellie Custis, had received a visitor in regard to the identity of whom she was in doubt. As to his quality she had no doubt whatever. The young man unfortunately had rested his head against the newly painted wall behind the settee on which he sat, and left a tell-tale mark of his visit. "Ah, he was no Federalist," exclaimed the indignant lady, looking at the spot; "none but a filthy Democrat would mark a place with his good-for-nothing head in that manner."

It was during this epoch that the change in dress began that marks the difference in costumes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Washington, however, made no concessions to the new fashions. He always wore plain, black velvet, the coat worn over the sword, when it formed part of his attire, so that the hilt and the part below the coat behind were in full view. His hair in full dress was powdered and gathered behind in a large silk bag. Knee and shoe-buckles, of course, were indispensable. John Adams affected less sombre colors, and when he was inaugurated in 1797 he wore a full suit of light drab, with loose cuffs and wrist ruffles. Jefferson on this occasion was dressed in a long blue frock coat, single breasted, and buttoned down to the waist. His red hair was slightly powdered and queued with black ribbon. More brilliant in every way, except in his intellectual gifts, was the young Spanish Minister, the Marquis d'Yrujo. He appeared in a dark-striped silk coat, lined with satin; white waistcoat, black silk breeches, white silk stockings, shoes and buckles. His hair was powdered like a snow-ball and he carried his chapeau, tipped with

white feathers, under his arm. It was an epoch when dress still marked the pretensions of the wearer. The sober minded old gentlemen clung to the English fashions, but the young men, especially the Republicans, affected French styles and French ways. The Parisian beaux of the time were called *muscadines*. Philadelphia had its *muscadines*, also, with the parallelogramic waistcoat and the waistcoat circular; the bolstered neckcloth and the cravat puddingless; the cape velvet, the cape cloth, the cape up and the cape down; the slash sleeve and the close sleeve; the London broadcloth and the Paris narrow back; the lapelle and the single breast; the covered queen's nipple, death's head, and metal button; the culotte long, the culotte short, and the bow. Cockades became almost universal. The American cockades were black. They were of ribbon, folded nearly circular, four full inches in diameter, and on the cocked hats were worn under the loop. On a round hat the cockade was on the left side well up toward the crown. When the young Federalists, twelve hundred of them, gathered at the City Tavern in May, 1798, and marched to John Adam's house to present an address to the President, they saw with delight that he, too, had mounted a black cockade.[1] But the tricolor was to be seen at the coffee-house and on every street corner, and in a little while feeling ran so high that every man that wore a black cockade did so at his peril.

The ladies' dresses of the time may be studied in the pictures of the period by American artists,—the portraits of Mrs William Bingham (Anne Willing), Mrs. James Madison (Dolly Payne), and the Marchioness d'Yrujo (Sally McKean) by Gilbert Stuart; Mrs Alexander Hamilton (Elizabeth Schuyler) by Earle; Mrs. Thomas M. Randolph (Martha Jefferson) by Sully; Mrs. John Jay (Sarah Livingston) by Pine; and Mrs. Charles Carroll (Harriet Chew) by Trumbull. In the contemporary prints, Oswald's *Gazette* and the *Minerva* especially, we read of the fashions of the period in polite assemblies,—the turban, the shot dress, and the ruffled sleeves; the satin waist, with trails of mull loose, and jaconette, gauze, crape and light stopper; the hair up, the hair down, the frieze and the frizzles, the straight and the curled; and the Spanish leather, the Danish kid, the tamboured and the plain slipper, and Roman sandals with flat English heels, and perch-sky-scraper heels. At the theatre the ladies wore small bonnets of the English fashion, some of chequered straw; some full dressed, with caps; and a very few in the French style,—the younger ladies with their hair flowing in ringlets on their shoulders. Jewelry, of which the ladies made a brilliant display, was little worn by the men, although a satirist of the time exclaimed—

> But it excites my wonder more
> To see them wear their watch before,
> Like warming-pans of monstrous size!

[1] Porcupine's Gazette, May 8, 1798.

Watches were generally of silver, but in spite of their size some extremists wore two, one on each side. Gold chains would have been a wonder then; those in use were of silver or steel from which dangled a bunch of watch keys, seals and charms.

The changes in fashions that marked the beginning of the nineteenth century had their inception in the closing years of the eighteenth, but they were resisted so strenuously that their history more properly belongs to the succeeding epoch.

V.

SOCIETY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

With the beginning of the nineteenth century society in Philadelphia took on a tone of greater reserve than had characterized it while the city was the seat of government, and as this tone has been maintained through unbroken sequences down to the present time, the untitled aristocracy of the Quaker City has become possessed of something very like hereditary attributes. Many of the old families, it is true, have become extinct, especially in the male line, but there is still an appreciable number of historic names on the lists of the dancing assemblies and other social functions of the new Philadelphia. There has been no revolution. The changes have been wrought so slowly, and the new blood has been mingled with the older strains so gradually, that the evolutions were accomplished almost unperceived. The fashions have changed with the times, but society has radiated from the hearth-stones, and its spirit is much the same that it was when the grandfathers of this age were the beaux and the grandmothers the belles of the gay coteries that came and went year after year, leaving behind them traditions of which we can gather only faint traces,—threads of memory that never can be woven into the web and woof of a fabric deserving the name of history.

If we could go back to the early Wistar parties,—that one, for instance, that was given in honor of the Baron von Humboldt in 1804,—we might see the manners and customs, furnishings and apparel, in transition. In the portraits of the period, including that of Dr. Casper Wistar, at whose hospitable mansion the Wistar parties were given, we may see the gentlemen of the old school in their habits as they lived. Coats were in the fashion since called "swallow-tail," cut high in the waist, with broad lappels and very high collars. Cravats were very high and stiff. Vests were shortened, either single or double-breasted, cut low, with broad lappels, and small straight collars. Breeches as yet were not entirely banished, but trousers, sometimes

fearfully and wonderfully made, were beginning to obtain general acceptance. Watson quotes an account of his first outing written by a well-dressed man of the period. "The coat I wore," says this writer, "was such as fashion enjoined; the skirts were long and narrow, like a swallow's tail, two-thirds at least of the whole length. The portion above the waist composed the other third. The waist was directly beneath the shoulders; the collar was a huge roll, reaching above the ears, and there were two rows of brilliant buttons in front. The pantaloons, over which I wore the boots, were of non-elastic corduroy. It would be unjust to the tailor to say that they were fitted like my skin; for they sat a great deal closer. When I took them off, my legs were like fluted pillars, grooved with the cords of the pantaloons. The hat that surmounted this dress had three-quarters of an inch rim, and a low tapering crown. It was circled by a ribbon two inches wide." The boots were Suwarrows, so-called after the famous Russian general. "I remember my first pair of Suwarrows," said the writer just quoted; "they made part of the great equipment with which I came from college into the world. Four skeins of silk did I purchase of a mercer, and equal expense did I incur with the sweeper, for aid in twisting them into tassels for the boots. I would incur double the expense now to have the same feeling of dignity that I enjoyed then, walking in those boots! I stepped long and slowly, and the iron heels, which it pleased me to set firmly in the pavement, made a greater clatter than a troop of horse—'shod with felt.' But if I wore them with pride it was not without suffering; nor did I get myself into them without labor. Before I attempted to draw them on I rubbed the inside with soap, and powdered my instep and heel with flour. I next drew the handle of the two forks through the straps, lest they should cut into my fingers; and then commenced the 'tug of war.' I contracted myself into the form of a chicken, trussed for the spit, and whatever patience and perseverance Providence had given me I tested to the utmost. I cursed Suwarrow for a Scythian, and wished his boots 'hung in their own straps.' I danced round the room upon one foot many times, and after several intervals for respiration and pious ejaculations, I succeeded in getting my toes into trouble, or I may say purgatory. Corns I had as many as the most fanatic pilgrim could desire for peas in his shoes, yet I walked through the crowd, who were probably admiring their own boots too much to bestow a thought upon mine, as if I were a carpet knight *pelonaising* upon rose leaves. I was in torment, yet there was not a cloud upon my brow,—

SPEM VULTA SIMULAT, PREMIT ALTUM CORDE DOLOREM."

Bonapartes were in vogue at the same time with the Suwarrows, and Napoleons and Wellingtons came later. Hats were made of beaver, or of the skins of the muskrat, otter and raccoon. Faces were close-shaven, and the hair was generally queued behind, but some adventur-

ous Republicans adopted the French style, the hair square-cut on the forehead, as seen in the early pictures of Bonaparte, and discarded the queu.

At the time that Baron von Humboldt was a guest at the Wistar parties Anacreon Moore was the curled darling of the drawing-rooms. He trilled his sweetest lyrics for the belles that lionized him, and when he turned away from the cottage on the Schuylkill, still standing in Fairmount Park, he sang his regrets in melodious verse:

> The stranger is gone—but he will not forget,
> When at home he shall talk of the toil he has known,
> To tell, with a sigh, what endearments he met,
> As he stray'd by the wave of the Schuylkill alone.

What would we not give for a glimpse of the beautiful creatures who flattered the poet with their praises and assured him that they found in his heart something sweeter than fame? It was the epoch of low-necked dresses and bare arms even in the streets. The new fashion was assailed with much coarse verse in the newspapers but the satire was not effective, probably because of its vulgarity. In one of the poems this style of dress was attributed to Queen Charlotte. In 1803 a basque of a different material and color from the dress was received with much favor, and a pelisse of a different color from the underdress became the fashion in 1805. About this time the small bonnets of checquered straw gave place to what was called the "poking bonnet." It was known in later years in modified forms of ugliness as the "poke bonnet" and the "coal-scuttle bonnet." Strange to say it was adopted by the Quaker matrons after it ceased to be fashionable, and it has reappeared in one of its modifications in recent years as the prescribed head-gear of the Salvation Army. A walking hat of fur for winter, with a rim and bell crown, like the men's round hats, succeeded the "poking" bonnets, and the straw bonnets for summer began to be tastefully decorated with ribbons and flowers. As the Empress Josephine had defective teeth she carried a rich lace handkerchief in her hand to conceal them when she laughed. The ladies of the French court took to flourishing lace handkerchiefs in consequence, and in due time the fair daughters of Philadelphia adopted a fashion that, it must be confessed, was a very pretty one.

Philadelphians have always been fond of badinage,—sometimes in the display of wit and humor but oftener in the recourse to gibes and puns. Even the grave philosophers who gathered at the Wistar parties enjoyed a joke when it was barbed with wit. Washington Irving in "Salmagundi" bears testimony to the skill of Philadelphia women in the art of punning, and he cites some painful examples of this species of wit from which he suffered while at the mercy of the punsters among the young men. The newspapers and magazines, such as the *Tickler*, and even the *Port Folio*, were overburdened with puns and

witticisms, that were often inane and too often malicious. The dinner-table talk bristled with *jeux d'esprit* of varying quality. Among the wits of the first quarter of the century were Dr. Nathaniel Chapman and Nicholas Biddle, for many years President of the Bank of the United States; Richard Peters, Judge of the United States District Court, and Joseph Hopkinson, who became his successor; Peter S. Du Ponceau, the eminent lawyer, and Jared Ingersoll, who declined the office of Chief-Justice of the United States; and, besides many others less noteworthy, John Vaughan, whose breakfasts were as famous in their way as Dr. Wistar's evening parties. At Vaughan's matins, as they may be called, politics were discussed, as they were in after years at Henry C. Carey's vespers. There were many other houses in Philadelphia where the hospitality was equally profuse and the company equally brilliant.

Nothing could more clearly mark the change that has come over Philadelphia society in a few years than the indifference manifested toward Joseph Bonaparte, the upstart and deposed king of Spain, during his residence at Landsdowne House in 1816–17. At an earlier period there would have been a succession of *fêtes* in his honor, but coming when he did he found the seclusion he affected to seek. At his own house his hours were unseasonable for Philadelphians, his breakfasts being at 11 and his dinners at 8 o'clock, but when Miss Julia Rush, the daughter of Dr. Benjamin Rush, called upon him "between meals" he set before her a repast that was excellent. She found him "a very good looking man," and his manners urbane and polished. Very different was the reception accorded to La Fayette when he visited Philadelphia in 1824. Philadelphia hospitality, which was exerted to its utmost on this occasion, culminated in the grand civic ball given to the guest of the nation on the 5th of October. Among those who participated in that ovation was Mrs. Robert Morris, long a widow and long withdrawn from society. At one of the many dinners that were tendered him his son, George Washington La Fayette, who accompanied him, was called upon for a speech, in reply to a toast. "I am zo happy to be ze son of my fadder," was all the younger man, struggling with his emotions, was able to say. It was enough.

Early in the second quarter of the century visitors to Philadelphia described it as the gayest of American cities. As late as 1838 the venerable John Vaughan, then in his eighty-third year, was still typical of the Philadelphia hospitality of the olden time, for in that year he entertained Captain Marryat, the sailor novelist, at his rooms at the Philosophical Society, with Clement C. Biddle, Condy Raguet and Henry C. Carey, among the guests. Until the end of his life he remained interested in everything that concerned Philadelphia,—taking strangers whom he knew under his special care, baiting his hook differently, as he once said, for different fish at his famous breakfasts. Philadelphia was less given to extravagance in dress at this period

than other American cities, but there was, however, a very fast set, both of men and women. There was a circle of young men, who had no apparent business or profession, and no fortunes, but took life as if it was intended only for enjoyment. The hours for dining at that time were two and half-past two, but for dinner parties as late as four o'clock. The dinners were luxurious, including expensive wines,— Madeira, sherry and port chiefly, champagne not yet having asserted its supremacy. Balls were given at eight and rarely lasted after twelve o'clock. When a dancing party was given there was always a supper. Cotillions and *contra-danses* were usual; sometimes a Virginia reel and a dance called the "Spanish dance." The galop was introduced about this time; the polka came later. Waltzing was frowned upon but the "fast" set, small as it was, faced the opprobrium, while groups gathered around the waltzers as much to enjoy the wickedness as the novelty of the dance. The music often was furnished by "Johnson's band"—colored men—who made themselves rather obtrusive by joining in the measures with their voices. It was good dance music, however. Faces continued to be smooth shaven, mustaches when the venturesome youth attempted to cultivate them being treated with derision. Only a few years were to elapse, however, before full beards, and whiskers of every variety of cut, began to be received with favor, and then the mustache, now almost universal, asserted its right to exist.

"Among other things," Thomas Moore wrote from Passaic, "my reception at Philadelphia was extremely flattering. It is the only place in America that can boast of a literary society, and my name had prepossessed them more strongly than I deserved. But their affectionate attentions went far beyond this deference to reputation. I was quite caressed while there, and their anxiety to make me known by introductory letters to all their friends on my way, and two or three little poems of a flattering kind, which some of their choicest men addressed to me, all went so warmly to my heart that I felt quite a regret in leaving them; and the only place I have seen which I had one wish to pause in was Philadelphia."

Other visitors of inferior literary pretensions were not so heartily gratified. Henry Bradshaw Fearon,[1] a London surgeon, who visited Philadelphia in 1816–17, was set down by Sydney Smith as "no friend of America, and a little given to exaggerate his views of vices and prejudices." Capt. Basil Hall,[2] whose visit was made in 1827–8, was an equally captious critic. Capt. Thomas Hamilton,[3] in 1833, indulged a similar spirit of detraction. Another of these envenomed critics was Mrs. Trollope, who was the heroine of the satiric poem called the "Trollopiad." "I would not advise either Mrs. Trollope, Basil Hall, or Capt. Hamilton ever to set their feet upon this ground again, unless they are ambitious of being stoned to death," Fanny Kemble wrote in

[1] "A Narrative of a Journey 5,000 Miles Through the Eastern and Western States of America."
[2] "Travels in North America." [3] "Men and Manners in America."

her Journal. "I live myself in daily expectation of martyrdom; and as for anybody attempting to earn a livelihood here, who has but said as much as that he prefers the country where he was born to this, he would stand a much better chance of thriving if he were to begin business after confinement in the penitentiary." Mrs. Kemble defined the society that ranked first at that time, by self-arrogation, as "a purely dancing society, where a fiddle is indispensible to keep its members awake." Of the fact that there was a better society she was not fully aware. "A friend of mine," she said, "was depicting to me a family whose manners were unexceptionable, and whose mental accomplishments were of a high order; upon my expressing some surprise that I had not met with them, my informant replied,—'Oh, no, they are not received by the Chestnut street set.'" Such reflections mean nothing because they apply to the "sets" in all cities.

The best society of the time when Fanny Kemble wrote was distinctively not a purely dancing society. It numbered among its leaders such intellectual and accomplished women as Elizabeth Bordley Gibson, then past middle-life, but a grand dame who had been the girl friend of Nelly Custis; Mrs. Henry D. Gilpin, the wife and widow of two eminent American statesmen, and the early friend of Madame Moreau; Louise Davezac de Castera, who became Mrs. Edward Livingston, and Mrs. George M. Dallas, a granddaughter of Benjamin Chew. But the real queen of Philadelphia society—the woman whose social achievements and splendid entertainments were to outshine all that went before them—was yet to come. She was at this time a youthful bride, the wife of Dr. James Rush, in no haste to assume her sovereignty, but a very few years were to be passed before she appeared to assert her supremacy.

Ann Ridgway was the daughter of Jacob Ridgway, a Phildelphia merchant, who amassed a fortune scarcely inferior to that of Stephen Girard. She was devoid of personal beauty, but she possessed the artistic temperament and had a genius for leadership. She was educated in Europe, where she acquired the taste for the elegancies of life that she afterward displayed in her mansions in Philadelphia. It was not, however, until after she occupied the splendid mansion in Chestnut street, since known as the Aldine Hotel, that her parties, balls, and receptions attained their full proportions, and reached that stage of perfection that made them famous. This was in 1849. During the ensuing seven years she gave an annual ball at which there were as many as eight hundred guests. Invitations to these crush affairs, and indeed to all of her parties, were not confined to the "Chestnut street set"; they were distributed with a generous but discriminating hand. It was her pleasure to break down the distinctions that were fostered by the traditions of the Dancing Assemblies. The sons and daughters of small tradesmen, if they possessed personal worth, were on her invitation lists, as well as the beaux and belles in the third or fourth gen-

eration of Philadelphia society. A society queen less sure of her sovereignty would have been unable to carry Mrs. Rush's ideas of a social democracy into her drawing-rooms, but she succeeded because her sovereignty was absolute. An old Philadelphian described her as a second Semiramis. "This community," he said, "requires a despotism to move it from its frigidity." She was the despot and fashion accepted, not only her will, but even her caprices.

Mrs. Rush regarded her annual balls as a duty to society,—a necessary sacrifice to fashion. On these occasions the entire house, including the conservatories, was thrown open to the guests. The splendid mansion, with all its appointments, belonged to the company. The drawing-rooms were spacious and sumptuously furnished; the dancing saloons were in themselves an invitation to the dance; the conservatories were a dream of exotics gathered from every clime. Mrs. Rush was passionately fond of flowers, and it was a proof of the generosity of her nature that her treasures were freely opened for the enjoyment of all. A lavish supper was always a part of her entertainments. The supper-room was capable of seating two hundred and fifty guests. The tables were set the entire length of the room, with cushioned seats of blue damask, and a service of china, glass, and gold and silver plate, that was prodigal in its splendor. When all the seats at the tables were filled the servants, wearing broad blue ribbons, interdicted the entrance of more. The hostess herself, in a robe of pompadour velvet, looped with marabout feathers and diamonds, and wearing an underdress of white satin covered with laces, was ubiquitous while the festive scenes lasted. Her greetings were cordial, her manners were charming, her conversation was lively and unaffected. But unless the wagging tongues of the gossips belied her, there was a fly in the ointment of her happiness. There was one part of the spacious mansion that was closed to the tripping feet and gossamer wings of the gay butterflies of fashion,—the library. There among his books, worthy alike of the book-lover, the bibliophile, and the bibliomaniac, Dr. James Rush often hid himself from the giddy whirl without, heeding neither the coming nor the departing guests. Was he unhappy with a partner for life whose ways were not his ways? No one ever said so,—no one ever dared more than hint at a skeleton in the house. "You ought to be a happy man," said a Philadelphia lady to Dr. Rush, when he was showing her the plants in the conservatories. "I always have been a happy man," was his answer.

Mrs. Rush's dinner parties and weekly receptions were exceptionally brilliant. They were almost always remarkable for the number of her guests. Her dinner parties for gentlemen were the exceptions. On either side of her on these occasions was a seat at the table for a favored guest. These were always chosen by the hostess, pledged never to ask her to partake of an especial delicacy, or to manifest any unwillingness to accept any dainty that she might order, and ceremoni-

ously installed. It was her undisguised fondness for the society of men that caused the endless gossip about her even in the circles within her own sphere. When she invited ladies to her dinners or receptions she was careful to select attractive and accomplished women. Her Saturday morning receptions often had some special or unusual feature to amuse her guests. Sometimes it would be a famous soprano or fashionable tenor. Grisi and Mario were both tempted to sing in her music-room at one of her parties. Actors of distinction were induced to declaim for her company. Sometimes she had a bevy of gifted children to amuse her guests with recitations and dances. Even the Aztecs, before they became common through public exhibitions, were exhibited as a curiosity. In spite of these innovations in a society noted for its conservative spirit, she was still regarded, even by her detractors, as "one of the few relics of the old school." Her last ball was given in January, 1857. After the ball her money and jewels—a thousand dollars in gold put aside to pay tradesmen's bills, and diamonds valued at $20,000—were stolen. This was the first of the great diamond robberies which have since become so common. She died in the following autumn at Saratoga, where she had gone for the summer.

The Philadelphia belle of the war-time epoch most noted for her beauty and accomplishments was Miss Emily Schaumburg, who was introduced into society by Mrs. Henry D. Gilpin. She was a skillful musician and vocalist, but gained special distinction as an actress in the amateur performances, given for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission at the once famous "Drawing-Room." She afterward married Colonel Hughes-Hallett, of England. When she left Philadelphia she left no one behind her that could fill her place on the amateur stage, and this form of amusement for charity has since fallen into disuse in society. Although the city is still famous for its beautiful women, Miss Schaumburg must be classed as the last of the famous Philadelphia beauties.

The change in fashions must be studied in the fashion plates of the last fifty years. In the days of Mrs. Rush's supremacy women wore immense hoops and great coal-scuttle bonnets. Men had only begun to cultivate their beards and train their mustaches. Since then the changes have been infinite, but there has been no time in the history of the city that surpassed the last decade of the century in the simplicity and beauty of attire.

LANDMARKS AND FOOTPRINTS OF TWO CENTURIES.

I.

HISTORIC HOMES OF PHILADELPHIA.

THE earliest of the historic mansions of Philadelphia—the Letitia House and the Slate-Roof House—owe their importance to their ownership and associations, rather than to their size or grandeur. The former was built in the middle of the proprietary's lot, which had a front of 402 feet in High street, and extended southward 172 feet in Front and Second streets, half way to Chestnut. It was originally intended as a residence for Penn and his family, its erection, it is claimed, having begun before his arrival in the province. It was a very plain structure[1] built of brick. Some writers have asserted that the bricks were brought from England, but this is unlikely, as very good bricks were made at the time in the immediate vicinity by Daniel Pegg, who owned the land afterwards known as the Northern Liberties. When Penn lived in this house he must have kept "Bachelor's Hall," as his wife and his daughter Letitia—his first wife died in 1693—remained in England. In 1701 he conveyed the property to his daughter, from whom it afterward took its name, the Letitia House. After undergoing many vicissitudes it was taken down and rebuilt, brick for brick, in Fairmount Park, where it remains a memorial of old Philadelphia.

During his stay in Philadelphia upon the occasion of his second visit Penn lived in the Slate-Roof House, built by Samuel Carpenter. It was so called because it was covered with slate. It stood in Second street, at the corner of Norris alley. It was a curious structure,[2] built

[1] PENN'S COTTAGE.—The Letitia House, so-called, was two stories in height, with a spacious garret, and a small back building. The doorway was in the centre, with a bracketed porch-roof above it and a window on each side. The entrance opened into two rooms, one on each side. The second story front had three windows, and there was a square-headed dormer window in the roof opening into the loft. In the northern wall there were two windows in the first story, one in the second, and two under the eaves. The cornice in front under the roof was heavy and plastered, and extended around on the northern wall to the second story window, where it was cut through for a window decoration, and then continued along the rest of the wall. The eaves on the northern side were also trimmed with a heavy plastered cornice. Along the northern side of the house, which looked into High street, was a road, or path ,that led toward Second street, where the Governor's Gate was established, immediately opposite the great meeting-house. It was on a part of the grounds that the old London Coffee House at Front and High streets was afterward built. In later years, when the entire lot had been alienated and appropriated to other uses, the house fronted in Letitia Court, which extended to High street, and was subsequently cut through to Chestnut street.

[2] SLATE-ROOF HOUSE.—It was Alexander Graydon in his "Memoirs" who suggested that this old Philadelphia mansion was built in the form of a fortress, with bastions at the wings and "abundance of angles both salient and re-entering." The main entrance to the house was between the bastions, so-called. Each of these bastions had two little chambers, one on the first and one on the second floor. The upper chambers had odd little chimney-places in the corners and were approached by steps leading down from the main second story apartment. On the first floor were two rooms,

in the style of a fortification, with its two wings projecting upon the street after the manner of bastions. It is probable that Carpenter lived in this house at the time of Penn's arrival, in 1699. It was in January, 1700, that Penn, with his second wife, Hannah Callowhill, and "Tishe," as he was in the habit of calling his daughter Letitia, took possession of the Slate-Roof House. Their stay was a brief one. "I cannot prevail on my wife to stay, and still less with Tishe," he wrote from his manor house at Pennsbury to James Logan in the summer of 1701. "I know not what to do. Samuel Carpenter seems to excuse her in it; but to all that speak of it, say I shall have no need to stay, and a great interest to return." Before the close of the year the Penns were back in England, but they left behind them associations with the Slate-Roof House that will always make its history potent with Philadelphians. It was in this house that John Penn, commonly called "the American," was born. In this house the proprietary conducted the business of the city and province and received his friends. There was a great show of hospitality, no doubt, and, if Francis Bugg[1] may be believed, not a little ostentation. "Our present governor, William Penn," wrote this apostate Quaker turned red-hot churchman, "wants the sacred unction, tho' he seems not to want majesty, for the grandeur and magnificence of his mien (tho' his clothes be sordid in respect to his mind, being not arrayed in royal robes) is equivalent to that of the Great Mogul, and his word in many cases as absolute and binding. The gate of his house (or palace) is always guarded with a janisary armed with a varnished club of nearly ten foot long, crowned with a large silver head, embossed and chased as an hieroglyphic of its master's pride. There are certain days in the week appointed for audience, and as for the rest, you must keep your distance. His corps du guard generally consists of seven or eight of his chief magistrates, both ecclesiastical and civil, which always attend him, and sometimes there are more. When he perambulates the city, one bareheaded, with a long white wand over his shoulder, in imitation of the Lord Marshal of England, marches grandly before him and his train, and sometimes proclamation is made to clear the way." Thus it will be seen there was a miniature court at the Slate-Roof House, the proprietary maintaining the pomp and dignity of a great nobleman.

When William Penn arrived in Philadelphia, in 1699, he lodged for a month at "Shippey's Great House," as Gabriel Thomas called the splendid mansion of Edward Shippen. The Shippen house, which was built by Mr. Shippen soon after he settled in Philadelphia in 1693, stood on the west side of Second street, north of Spruce. Its dimensions

separated from each other by an immense chimney with a great fire-place for the kitchen apartment. The upper stories were divided into rooms connected with each other by intricate passages. The garret rooms were high and well lighted. The house was very spacious. It is probable that the slates with which it was covered were quarried in the neighborhood of the city. It was once proposed to make this house the home of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, but the project fell through, and the building was afterward demolished.

[1] "News from Pennsylvania," London, 1703.

made it noteworthy for one of the three things for which he was distinguished as possessing,—"the biggest person, the biggest coach, and the biggest house." Its situation at the time it was built and for many years afterward was very attractive. It stood on a small eminence overlooking the rising city, with a green lawn gently sloping to Dock Creek and the Drawbridge. The prospect to the Delaware and the Jersey shore was unobstructed. The garden, which enclosed it on both sides, extended to Laurel or Levant street. In this garden, at the rear of the mansion, was a row of tall yellow pines, two of which were still standing at the beginning of the present century. In the middle of the garden was a pleasant summer house, around which grew an exuberance of plants—tulips, carnations, roses and lilies, besides many wild flowers transplanted from the adjacent country. It is not difficult to imagine Edward Shippen's granddaughter, Anne, receiving something of her robust beauty from her kindred flowers in the great garden and orchard before young Charles Willing came to woo. It was in Mayor Shippen's house that the splendid hospitalities began that have characterized Philadelphia for two centuries. He lodged William Penn, with his young wife and self-willed daughter, Letitia, in 1699. Lord Cornbury and his entire retinue of nearly thirty persons were lodged and dined there in 1702. After Mr. Shippen's death the house was tenanted by Sir William Keith, from which it took its name of the "Governor's House." At a later period it was occupied by Governor Denny. In time it passed into the possession of Ellis Lewis, and was the home of his widow during the Revolution. Major Baurmeister, a Hessian officer, was quartered on the Lewis family during the British occupation, and there is a tradition that Earl Cornwallis was also there. Unlike Penn's cottage and the Slate-Roof House, the Shippen house was never degraded to common uses, so that its history would belong to the chapter on inns and ordinaries. It was pulled down in 1790 to make way for "modern improvements" in the erection of a block of five houses that were known as "Waln's Row."

Clark's Hall, which owes much of its historical importance to the fact that it was taken in 1703 by James Logan to meet the enlarged views of William Penn, the younger, and sheltered at the same time those gay bachelors, Governor Evans and Judge Mompesson, was in its day the largest, if not the finest, house in Philadelphia. It was built about 1694-5 by William Clark of Lewes, Delaware, who was a member of the first Provincial Council of Pennsylvania. Although situated as far down Chestnut street as the south-west corner of Third, it was at the time of its erection on the outskirts of the city. The house was of brick, with a double front and hipped roof. As the lot on which it stood had a frontage of 99 feet in Chestnut and 250 feet in Third street, there was ample room for a fine garden. The locality had suburban attractions for many years. The ground rose gently

from Dock Creek toward Chestnut street in a succession of terraces, and there was a low fence along Third street that allowed a full view of the garden. The property passed out of the control of the Clark family in 1718, and afterward came into the possession of Andrew Hamilton, whose title was subsequently adjudged defective. James Hamilton, the son of Andrew, finally effected a compromise with the claimants, and in 1745 conveyed the house and lot to Israel Pemberton. It continued to be the home of members of the Pemberton family down to the close of the last century.

During Logan's occupancy of the Slate-Roof House the property came into the possession of William Trent, a member of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, and the founder of Trentstown or Trenton, in New Jersey. When Trent offered to sell it in 1709, Logan urged Penn to buy it. "I wish it could be made thine," Logan wrote, "as nothing in this town is so well fitting for a governor." But Penn did not buy, and it soon afterward passed into the possession of the first Isaac Norris. Norris lived in it about ten years, until the completion of his seat at Fairhill. This famous mansion was the first of the great country houses that have always been such a marked feature of suburban Philadelphia. The house was built in 1717–19. Norris' original intention was to build on the manor of Williamstadt, now Norristown, which he bought from William Penn, the younger, and called Norriton Manor, but finding it too remote he acquired a large track of land, comprising about one thousand acres, on both sides of the Germantown road, and extending from Seventeenth street eastward to Gunner's Run. The mansion stood east of the road and north of York street, on the line of Marshall street. It was an imposing structure, two stories in height,[1] and surmounted with a cupola. A carriage way led through the lawn to the Germantown road, which was bordered with trees and shrubbery. The fine forest trees were allowed to remain, and the grounds were laid out with gardens, walks, a green-house and a fish-pond. Pastorius, the German scholar, and Pietist leader of Germantown, pronounced the gardens at Fairhill the finest he had seen in the country. The trees and plants were not only indigenous but included many exotics. Some of them were brought from France; there were catalpas from the Southern colonies, and a willow, the first grown on the Delaware, which sprang from a twig that Franklin saw sprouting in a basket on a ship, lately arrived, and

[1] FAIRHILL. — Although usually described as two stories in height, the Fairhill mansion had a basement, a considerable part of which was above the ground, and this, with the lofty hip roof, lighted by dormer windows, three in front and three at the rear, made the house, in fact, one of three stories. It was a square building, having a front of 60 feet, with a recessed doorway approached by a flight of six steps. There were two main-floor windows in the recess, one on each side of the doorway. There were also doorways leading into the basement, one on each side of the steps. A large, wide hall ran through the centre of the principal story, with four rooms opening from it. The wainscoting was of oak, but in one of the parlors of red cedar. At a later period the library was papered, and mahogany substituted for the red cedar woodwork. On the head of the waterspout were engraved the initials of the owner's name, I. N. The whole estate is now cut up into busy streets of a great city.

carried off as a gift to Miss Deborah Norris, whom he held to be the most successful cultivator in the neighborhood. The gardens, of course, were laid out in parterres in the prim and formal English style of the period, but the universal testimony was that they were very beautiful withal. On this estate Isaac Norris, the elder, and his son, Isaac Norris, "the Speaker," made their home summer and winter, and the house contained what was unusual in American establishments at that time—a fine library sedulously gathered by father and son during an epoch that covered half a century. After the death of the second Isaac, John Dickinson, who had married Mary Norris, had a life interest in the mansion, and it was during his occupancy of the house that it was destroyed by the British. Nearly the whole of the library shared the fate of the mansion. The books that were saved were afterward given to Dickinson College at Carlisle. Near the close of the last century Isaac Norris, the third, rebuilt the mansion at Fairhill, a one-story structure, without any resemblance to the great house that had preceded it.

The hospitality of Fairhill, both under the first and second Isaac Norris, and afterward when it was tenanted by John Dickinson, was proverbial. Strangers among the Friends who visited Fairhill meeting near by were always sure of an invitation to dinner, and Deborah Logan said, "A good table and warm welcome awaited them." The members of the Assembly were often entertained there during the lifetime of Isaac Norris, the Speaker, and sometimes, it is said, that body convened there when its venerable presiding officer was too ill to go into town. Professor Kalm, the Swedish traveler, was a guest at Fairhill in 1748. John Adams dined there with John Dickinson, when he was a delegate in Congress in 1774. Isaac Norris, the Speaker, lived all his life at Fairhill, "quite in the country way," but his son Charles built a fine mansion in Chestnut street on the site of the present Custom-House about 1750. It was from the roof of this mansion that his daughter Deborah saw the flames when the house built by her great-grandfather was burnt. This building was a double house of three stories, with a front of sixty feet in Chestnut street. It had a flat roof with a balcony around it. Wide halls ran both ways through the house, the side halls opening upon broad piazzas. The main stairway, which was made of cherry wood having the appearance of mahogany, was very grand. When the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed in the State-House yard it was distinctly heard in this noteworthy mansion. It was in this house that "saucy Debby Norris," before she became Deborah Logan, met many of the most distinguished men of the Revolution. The mansion disappeared in 1819 to make way for the United States Bank.

The earliest of the colonial seats still standing, and one intimately associated with the memories of Fairhill, of which it was the rival, is Stenton, the home of James Logan. It was in praise of this old home-

stead and her long residence there that Deborah Logan, in 1815, wrote her famous sonnet :

My peaceful home! amidst whose dark-green shades
And sylvan scenes my waning life is spent,
Nor without blessings and desired content!
Again the spring illumes thy verdant glades
And rose-crowned Flora calls the Æonian maids
To grace with song her revels, and prevent,
By charmed spells, the nipping blasts which, bent
From Eurus or the stormy North, pervades
Her treasures,—still 'tis mine among thy groves
Musing to roam, enamor'd of the fame
Of him who reared these walls whose classic lore
For science brightly blazed, and left his name
Indelible—by honor, too, approved,
And virtue cherished by the Muses' flame.

James Logan was a prominent man in the province almost from the outset, but his salary of £100 a year and the meagre perquisites of his office failed to commend him as suitor when he aspired to the hand of the willful Letitia Penn, and later to that of the fair Rebecca More. In good time, however, Logan was compensated for his disappointments, for he married Sarah, the daughter of Charles Read, a merchant, who made him a true helpmate and bore him "children not undutiful." He never became a very rich man, considering his opportunities. Most of his money seems to have been made in business as a member of the firm of Logan & Shippen. Among his acquisitions was a tract of land that touched the east side of Germantown road, above Nicetown. Wingohocking Creek, afterward known as Logan's Run, ran through it. It was not originally one tract, but was acquired from different holders. On this property, about 1728, he built the mansion that he called Stenton, a plain, two-story brick house, with a pent roof and attics.[1] Why the place was called Stenton has not been explained, but the application of the name Wingohocking to Logan's Run has a romantic history. Logan often had the Indians from the interior as his guests at Stenton —sometimes as many as three or four hundred at a time. On one of these visits the chief, Wingohocking, standing with Logan by the

[1] STENTON.—Mrs. Sarah Butler Wister, in a sketch of Deborah Logan in "Worthy Women of Our First Century," draws a graphic picture of a visit to Stenton. "Round the house," she says, "there was the quiet stir and movement of a country place, with its large gardens full of old-fashioned flowers and fruits, its poultry-yard and stables. The latter were connected with the house by an underground passage which led to a concealed staircase and a door under the roof, like the 'priest's escape' in some old English country-seats. . . . . The offices surrounded the main building, connected with it by brick courts and covered ways. They were all at the back, and so disposed as to enhance the picturesque and dignified air of the old mansion, the interior of which is as curious to modern eyes as it is imposing. One enters by a brick hall, opposite to which is the magnificent double staircase, while right and left are lofty rooms covered with fine old-fashioned woodwork, in some of them the wainscot being carried up to the ceiling above the chimney-place, which in all the apartments was a vast opening set round with blue and white sculptured tiles of the most grotesque devices. There are corner cupboards, and in some of the rooms cupboards in arched niches over the mantelpieces, capital showcases for the rare china and magnificent old silver which adorned the dinner-table on state occasions. Half of the front of the house in the second story was taken up by one large finely-lighted room, the library of the book-loving masters of the place."

beautiful stream that wound through the plantation proposed that they should exchange names as a token of their brotherhood. "Do thou, chief, take mine," Logan said, after explaining the legal difficulties in the way of a complete exchange, "and give thine to this stream that passes through my fields, that when I am passed away it shall flow and bear thy name." The legend is a beautiful one, even if its authenticity is doubtful. Logan had intended Stenton only as a summer house, but the accident that disabled him in 1729, soon led him to make it his permanent home. As early as 1732 he described himself as "James Logan of Stenton." Here he lived among his books so far as public business and his private interests would allow until his death in 1751.

It is probable that James Logan lived at Stenton for a number of years before the great house was built. It is said that William Logan, the oldest of his sons, was born there in 1718 and a letter written to Thomas Story, in 1724, affords a glimpse of plantation life. "Sally" Logan said, "besides her needle, has been learning French, and, this last week, has been very busy in the dairy at the plantation, in which she delights as well as in spinning; but is this moment at the table with me, reading the 34th Psalm in Hebrew, the letters of which she learned very perfectly in less than two hours' time." Sarah Logan married Isaac Norris, the Speaker, and thus became the mistress of Fairhill, as her granddaughter, Deborah Norris, afterward became the mistress of Stenton. The Virginia Commissioners visited Mr. Logan at Stenton in 1744 and took tea with him but William Black, their secretary, says they found him "hid in the bushes"[1] and somewhat reserved. He showed them his library, however, "a very fine Collection of Books, both Ancient and Modern," and "seem'd to regrate that none of his sons knew how to use them, and that he designed them as a legacy to the City when he Died."[2] Black went into ecstacies over Logan's stately daughter, Hannah, and declared, "I burnt my lips more than once, being quite thoughtless of the warmness of my Tea, entirely lost in Contemplating her Beauties." With the Commissioners Black also dined with William Logan in the city where he also enjoyed "a Cheerful Glass" after dinner. William Logan took possession of Stenton after his father's death, but died in England a year before the house was occupied by General Howe as his headquarters during the battle of Germantown. William Logan, the second, afterward occupied Stenton until his death, when it passed into the hands of Dr. George Logan, who was born and died in the old mansion. It was there that the venerable Deborah Logan died in 1839 and her son Albanus P. Logan in 1854. Although still standing its hospitalities are only a memory

[1] Cannassetego, chief of the Onondagas, in a treaty made at Philadelphia in 1742 thus expressed himself in regard to Logan: "Brethren, we called at our friend, James Logan's, on our way to this city, and to our grief found him hid in the bushes and retired through infirmities from public business."

[2] Now the Loganian Library in connection with the Philadelphia Library Company.

and the plantation has met a fate not unlike that of Fairhill, with which Stenton had so many associations.

"Please to procure me Parkinson's Herbal," James Logan wrote to a friend in England in 1729; "I shall make it a present to a worthy person, worthy of a heavier purse than fortune has yet allowed him. John Bartram has a genius perfectly well turned for botany; no man in these parts is so capable of serving you, but none can worse bear the loss of his time without a due consideration." At the time Logan wrote Bartram was building, it is claimed with his own hands, the house since called Bartram Hall, and creating the botanical garden, the first of its kind in America, that gave fame to the house and its owner. The house was of stone, solidly built, with a small tower in the middle. Like Stenton it is still standing in a fair state of preservation. The gardens were low ground that was originally a putrid swamp reclaimed by draining and ditching. The trees and plants were collected in all parts of the country from Canada to Florida. Bartram Hall and gardens are on the west side of the Schuylkill, below the lower ferry on the Darby road. When John Bartram died in 1777, he was succeeded by his son William, who was also an eminent botanist, and at his death in 1823 the property came into the possession of Robert Carr, who had married Ann, the daughter of William's nephew, John Bartram. Upon Col. Carr's death his widow removed from the house and sold the estate, but after being alienated from the Bartram name and blood for nearly half a century the property is in a fair way of becoming the heritage of the people of Philadelphia as a public garden.

"My eye though not my heart is upon Fairmount," William Penn wrote to Logan in 1701, "unless the unworthiness of some spirits drive me up to Pennsbury or Susquehanna for good and all." Penn attempted to establish a vineyard in this neighborhood at a very early period, and his youngest daughter, Margaret Frame, is credited by Watson with building a green-house at Springettsbury early in the last century in conjunction with one of her brothers. One of the wings of a projected mansion for the proprietaries was erected and a fine garden laid out in the English taste of the period. This place was known as the "Proprietaries' Garden" down to the Revolution, when the house was accidently burnt. Daniel Fisher, an Englishman, settled at Williamsburg, in Virginia, when he visited Philadelphia in 1755[1] inspected the garden and also viewed that at Bush Hill, previous to a visit to the country house of Chief-Justice William Allen at Mount Airy. Fisher described Allen's house as small, "close to a large much frequented Road, which often occasions the Dust to be very troublesome," and owing to its elevated situation "much exposed to the sun and to bleak winds." The house was built of stone. "A small Portico," he said, "facing the South East is a good contrivance and to my thinking

[1] Penna. Mag., Vol. XVII., p. 263.

the very best about the house." The Chief-Justice seated his visitor in the portico, refreshed him with a tankard of small beer, showed him the garden, "consisting of Edibles only," and "staid" him "to drink tea with his lady, a daughter of the late Governor, Mr. Hamilton, which I did not know till I, unluckily, in relating (at their asking) my observations of what I had seen, gave the preference to the 'Proprietors' garden' which I could perceive was not overpleasing, tho' they no otherwise manifested their dislike than after informing me of that circumstance by saying that the generality of People, who were Judges, thought Mr. Hamilton's garden greatly superior to the Proprietaries'." It was the famous Bush Hill that this presumptuous Englishman had found less attractive than the smaller grounds at Springettsbury.

The Bush Hill estate was originally a part of Springettsbury and comprised 153 acres between Vine and Coates streets, the latter now Fairmount avenue, and from Twelfth to Nineteenth streets. It will thus be seen it was in the heart of the present city of Philadelphia. The mansion-house stood on an elevation overlooking the city with a green lawn in front sloping down to Vine street. In the rear were avenues of stately cedars. The house was a large square mansion, three stories in height, with a hip roof. There were three windows on each side of the spacious doorway in front, and seven windows in each of the two upper stories. Each story was lighted by four windows on the sides. There was a gable in the front roof over the attic. A handsome cottage for the servants stood at the side but toward the rear of the mansion and the green-house led to an avenue of poplars and the gardens. The garden, Fisher thought, was not disposed with judgment. The land was conveyed to Andrew Hamilton, the elder, as compensation for legal services to the proprietary, and the Bush Hill mansion was built about 1740. Andrew Hamilton did not live long to enjoy a seat that was one of the most attractive adjacent to the city, and it passed into the occupancy of his son James, who became Lieutenant-Governor of the province in 1748 and again in 1759. It was the scene of numerous and splendid festivities while it was occupied by its bachelor owner, but after James Hamilton's death it ceased to be a residence for the family, William Hamilton preferring the Woodlands across the Schuylkill. After the Revolution the estate was sold to what would now be called a syndicate with a view of turning it into city lots. The project proved disastrous and the investment was sacrificed. John Adams lived in the house for some time after he came to Philadelphia as Vice-President; in 1793 it was used as a hospital for yellow fever patients; and at a later period it was for some time a place of entertainment under the direction of Bates and Darley, two actors belonging to the company at the Chestnut Street Theatre. The house was burnt in 1808. The walls were not finally demolished until 1871, the building being used for many years as an oil and floor cloth factory. The new United States Mint will be adjacent to the site for so many years famous as Bush Hill.

The Proprietaries' Garden, which Daniel Fisher preferred to that of James Hamilton, was on an eminence north-west of Bush Hill, affording a view of nearly two miles. From the house, which was built of brick, there was a gradual descent to a level road cut through the woods. There was a neat little park on the slope on the left hand descending from the house. The green-house was bricked. It must have been very pretty, as it extorted the admiration of a visitor who withheld his approval of the more elaborate green-house and garden adjacent to it.

A mansion that is only a memory, that was built before either Bush Hill or The Woodlands, was Walnut Grove, the scene of the famous Meschianza. It was a plain but substantial country-seat in the style of the period. The building was two stories in height with a projection and gable at the main entrance. Steps led to the principal doorway. The apartments were numerous on every floor including the attic. This house stood on a plat of 18 acres in the township of Wicaco, on the west side of Moyamensing road. Had it remained standing the building would be on the west side of Fifth street, below Washington avenue. Joseph Wharton, the owner and builder, sometimes called "Duke" Wharton, was an unbending Quaker and was the father of a large family, his youngest son, Robert Wharton, being many years Mayor of Philadelphia. Joseph Wharton died in 1776 and the house, which was afterward said to be haunted, was unoccupied at the time of the British occupation. After his death the mansion house passed successively into the hands of Isaac and Thomas Isaac Wharton, his son and grandson, and in time it became a coachmaker's shop and then a school-house. The house was torn down in 1860 and the Wharton school-house built on the site.

Walnut Grove completes the list of noteworthy country-seats adjacent to Philadelphia in the early colonial period, neither the edifice in Woodlands Cemetery, known as The Woodlands, nor the house in Fairmount Park, still called Belmont, having been erected until the dawn of the Revolutionary epoch. Of the original mansion on The Woodlands estate we have no accurate knowledge, but it must have been, in comparison with Bush Hill, only a small villa; for when William Hamilton gave his celebrated *fête* to his classmates at the Academy of Philadelphia in 1762, when he was graduated, he was compelled to erect a temporary structure for the accommodation and entertainment of his guests. Although the original house at Belmont was of stone it was an equally small affair and is scarcely deserving of being classed with the famous seats of the colonial epoch.

William Hamilton, the builder of The Woodlands, was a grandson of Andrew Hamilton, the first, and a nephew of Governor James Hamilton. The land was acquired by Andrew Hamilton, and at first comprised about 300 acres, but was afterward doubled in extent by other purchases. It began on the Schuylkill near Market street and

extended to the Nauganesy or Mill Creek. A house was built in which Andrew Hamilton, the second, lived until his death, when the estate became the property of William Hamilton, who built the present mansion[1] about the time of the Revolution, and died there in 1813. The interior of the mansion was decorated with great splendor and furnished with everything, including works of art, that the wealth and taste of the owner could supply. It has been said that some of the fine furniture in the drawing rooms once adorned those of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, and that Benjamin West aided in the selection of the paintings. The grounds and gardens were more noteworthy than any that went before or have come after them. The Woodlands became noted as the best example of landscape gardening[2] in this country and it was claimed had no superior in England. Among the trees was the tall, tapering Lombardy poplar, but only the male, brought to consort with the weeping willow of which we had only the female in this country. Other trees were the female Ginko, or Salisburia, brought from Japan, one of which was struck by lightning on the night when the first Japanese embassy arrived in Philadelphia. Among the gardeners were Pursh, the florist, and McArran ; and even Michaux, the celebrated French botanist, was for a time in Mr. Hamilton's service.

William Hamilton at The Woodlands, according to Dr. Griswold, "lived in a manner more marked by ostentation than by dignity." Whether this characterization was deserved or not, it is certain that his hospitalities were profuse and that he was not averse to display. We got a glimpse of the gaities of The Woodlands from one of the letters of Miss Rebecca Franks to her sister when she was an exile in New York and staying with the Van Hornes on Long Island. "Yesterday the grenadiers had a race at the Flat Lands," she wrote, "and

[1] The Woodlands.—In 1830, The Woodlands mansion was thus described : "The building embraces three different orders of architecture, but the Doric prevails. The north trace is ornamented in the front by six Ionic pilasters, and on each side is a pavilion ; the south front has a magnificent portico, twenty-four feet in height, supported by six stately Tuscan columns. The vestibule at the north entrance is sixteen feet in diameter, from which a corridor leads on the east side to an elegant dining-room of an oval figure, the length of which is thirty feet and on the breadth twenty-two. Another corridor on the west side leads to the library, a square room with two bows, thirty by eighteen. In the library are many fine specimens of art, among which are several family portraits by eminent British and American artists. With these rooms communicate two others of smaller size, decorated with the works of several of the ancient painters from the Italian, Dutch, and Flemish schools—many of which pieces are of great merit. The grounds are in extent about ten acres, and contain a variety of indigenous and exotic trees and plants, chosen for their foliage or fragrance ; and the scene is diversified by land and water in a very tasteful manner. A winding walk leads through the shrubberies and copses. At one spot there is a charming prospect of the city ; at another a large expanse of water is visible. At the descent is seen a creek, overhung with rocky fragments and shaded by the gloom of the forest. Ascending from thence, the green-house appears in view, the front of which, including the hot-house on each side, measures one hundred and forty feet and contains nearly ten thousand plants. There is surely no city on the continent in whose vicinity more beautiful country-seats can be found than in the vicinity of Philadelphia ; and among these The Woodlands are conspicuous for their taste and elegance. The admirers of rural beauty may here find many objects to arrest their curiosity and to invite their observation."

[2] Michaux, who visited Philadelphia in 1802, speaks of The Woodlands in this manner : "The absence of Mr. W. Hamilton deprived me of the pleasure of seeing him ; notwithstanding, I went into his magnificent garden, situate upon the borders of the Schuylkill about four miles from Philadelphia. His collection of exotics is immense, and remarkable for plants from New Holland ; all the trees and shrubs of the United States, at least those that could stand the winter at Philadelphia after having once removed from their native soil ; in short, it would be impossible to find a more agreeable situation than the residence of Mr. W. Hamilton."

in the afternoon this house swarmed with the beaux, and some very smart ones. How the girls would have envied me, could they have peeped in and seen how I was surrounded! and yet I should have been as happy, if not more so, if spending the afternoon with the Thursday party at Woodlands." If his Thursday parties were gay Mr. Hamilton's Sunday dinners seem to have been the occasions of even greater hilarity, for Sunday was the day he chose for his Bohemian entertainments, when his guests were artists, strangers and good livers. He was served by a retinue of careful servants, his stables were filled with spirited animals, and when he went into the city his chariot and four, driven by Riley, the crack whip of the time, was attended by postillion-boys in the Hamilton livery. Hamilton Village, as part of West Philadelphia was once called, was laid out during his life-time. The family is now extinct in the male line.

The property still known as Belmont was purchased by William Peters, brother of the Rev. Richard Peters, Secretary of the Province, in 1742. It comprised 220 acres. Mr. Peters built the little stone house with its bay overlooking the Schuylkill, in 1743, but whether the present large structure was erected by him or by his son, Judge Richard Peters, is uncertain. The characteristics of the large mansion were a broad hall and small dormitories, small window glass and heavy sashes, high wooden, highly ornamented mantelpieces, a comfortable dining room and open fire-places. It was not until the estate passed into the occupancy of Judge Peters that Belmont became the scene of the elegant hospitalities for which it is famous. Washington was a visitor there during the Revolution and a frequent guest afterward. Many of the officers of the patriot army, including La Fayette and Steuben, were entertained there during the war for independence, and nearly every distinguished stranger that visited Philadelphia in later years enjoyed the hospitalities of Belmont. John Quincy Adams dined there with La Fayette and the son of the Marquis, George Washington La Fayette, in 1824. "Judge Peters showed us in his garden a Spanish chestnut tree, the nut of which was planted by General Washington just before his retirement from the presidency," Mr. Adams wrote in his diary. "Miss Peters, the judge's daughter, who keeps his house, was the only lady present." In 1832 the attractiveness of Belmont as a place of residence was marred by the construction of an inclined plane for the Columbia Railroad from the Schuylkill to the brow of the hill, within a hundred feet of the mansion. After the death of Judge Peters the estate was devoid of historical associations until 1867, when it became a part of Fairmount Park. The mansion was then turned into a park restaurant, and a portico built round three sides of it for the accommodation of diners. In 1876 other improvements and changes were made, so that neither the house nor its surroundings now possess much of their former stately simplicity.

Among the historic houses of Philadelphia before the Revolution

was that known as the Loxley House. It stood at Second and Little Dock streets, and was built by Captain Benjamin Loxley about 1760. It was a frame structure of quaint construction, with a balcony in front above the first story, over which the roof projected. From this balcony it is said George Whitefield preached. An apochryphal story in connection with the Loxley House is that within its walls Lydia Darrach overheard two British officers planning a surprise for Washington that she was the means of preventing. Other noteworthy houses built about the same time with Loxley's were the residence of the Rev. Dr. Jacob Duchè at the northeast corner of Third and Pine streets, and Richard Penn's house in Market street, built by the widow Masters, whose daughter he married. Duchè's house was patterned after one of the wings of Lambeth Palace. It was afterward occupied by Governor Thomas McKean. The Richard Penn house was built by Mrs. Masters in 1761, and was a wedding gift to her daughter. The mansion was occupied by Sir William Howe during the British occupation, and immediately afterward by General Benedict Arnold. The house was burnt in 1780, and was afterward rebuilt and occupied by Robert Morris. President Washington lived in it from 1790 to 1797, and President John Adams from 1797 to 1800. It will thus be seen that it was the executive mansion while Philadelphia was the seat of the Federal government.

A mansion built in the same year with the Richard Penn house was even more intimately associated with the meteoric career of Arnold in Philadelphia in 1778–80. This was the fine country-seat on the east bank of the Schuylkill, opposite Belmont, known as Mount Pleasant. The house was built in 1761 by Captain John MacPherson, of the privateer *Britannia*, who grew rich by the capture of French and Spanish prizes. MacPherson's original purchase was something over 31 acres, but subsequent purchases extended the plantation to 120 acres. According to John Adams, who dined at Mount Pleasant in 1775, MacPherson had "the most elegant seat in Pennsylvania, a clever Scotch wife and two pretty daughters." The house was on an eminence overlooking the Schuylkill, and the situation was singularly romantic. The natural forest was undisturbed. The mansion was of stone, two stories in height, and had the hip roof usual to country houses of that period. MacPherson originally called his seat Clurice, but afterward changed the name to Mount Pleasant. During the Revolution the owner of this retreat tired of a country life and sold the place to General Benedict Arnold, who made it a marriage gift to his intended wife, Miss Peggy Shippen. Arnold lived in the house with his bride in 1779–80, and it was during his residence there that he began the treasonable correspondence that ended in his downfall. After Arnold's treason the property was confiscated and the traitor's life interest in it was bought by Colonel Richard Humpton, of the Pennsylvania Line. From Humpton it passed into the possession of Blair McClenachan, and from

McClenachan in 1784 to Chief-Justice Edward Shippen, the father of Mrs. Arnold. General Jonathan Williams, a distinguished soldier of the Revolution, obtained title to it in 1792, and it remained in the Williams family until 1853. It is now a part of Fairmount Park.

Two old houses in Germantown are intimately associated with the battle for which the ancient village is memorable—Wister's "big house opposite Indian Queen lane," now No. 4661 Main street, and Cliveden, better known as Chew's house, at the upper end of the town. The Wister house was built by John Wister in 1744. Its ownership is still in the Wister family. It was built of stone, with two doors leading from the street. The stone was quarried on the ground, and the timbers, joists and rafters of oak were cut in "Wister's Woods." The British General, Agnew, occupied the house for a week previous to the battle of Germantown, and after being wounded near by he was carried back to it to die. The Chew house, historically, has always occupied a more important place in the memories of the battle than the Wister house. During the advance of the Americans a detachment of the British took possession of the mansion, barricaded the doors and turned it into a fortification. The divisions under Conway, Sullivan and Wayne had pressed on and engaged the enemy, and it was not until the reserve under Nash and Maxwell had reached the Chew house that the little garrison was discovered. Then occurred the skirmish in the rear to which many writers have attributed the loss of the battle. This caused some delay, but Colonel Wilkinson was of opinion that it saved Washington from a more disastrous defeat than that which overtook his little army. The assault on the house proved abortive, because the thick stone walls were impenetrable to Knox's artillery. The Chew house, to which Benjamin Chew, by whom it was built in 1763, gave the name of Cliveden, was of two stories, with a central door and wide hall. After the evacuation Mr. Chew sold the place to Blair McClenachan, who lived in the house until 1797, when Chew repurchased it for $25,000, an increase of $16,000 over the purchase money he had received for it. La Fayette was a guest at Cliveden in 1825, when he made his last visit to Philadelphia.

On a part of the Springettsbury Manor, near the site of the present Lemon Hill Mansion, Robert Morris built a country-seat in 1773 that he called The Hills. It was a two-story square structure, probably of stone, with a basement partly below ground, and a high hip roof. There was a chimney at each of the four corners of the flattened top. A semi-circular bay, with three windows to each story, rose from the ground to the top of the building. There were piazzas on two sides of the house. This mansion was a favorite retreat with Morris, and the scene of much hospitality when he resorted to it in summer. It was here that he shut himself up from his creditors at the time of his failure in 1797. "I have sworn to let nobody inside my house, and not to go outside the walls myself," he wrote shortly before his

arrest. "If I see them it is out of a window, I being up stairs and they down; when I snuff the open air, it is on the top. Do I write like a man in distress or one deranged? Perhaps I am both." When the property was sold by the sheriff in 1799, the southern part was bought by Henry Pratt, a son of Matthew Pratt, an artist, some of whose tavern-signs were famous. The old house was torn down by Mr. Pratt, and a more attractive building, which is still standing, erected in its place. In time the gardens became a favorite place of resort, but the grounds were kept as secluded as possible, entrance being obtained only by ticket. Among the distinguished visitors to Lemon Hill, who afterward wrote about it, were William Howitt and the Duke of Saxe-Weimer. Howitt described the garden as a little paradise. "It is one of the grand resorts of fashionable company in summer," he said. "These obtain admission by a ticket from the proprietor or his select friends—none without—and yet they are most crowded in fine weather." A committee of the Horticultural Society of Pennsylvania in 1830 went into ecstacies over the perfections of the place[1] After Mr. Pratt's death in 1838, the property was acquired by the United States Bank, so-called, and sold by the trustees of that institution to the city of Philadelphia for $75,000. The bank had paid $225,000 for it. The conveyance was made in 1844. Nothing was done with the Lemon Hill estate until 1855, when it was dedicated as a public park. This was the beginning of the splendid pleasure ground now world famous as Fairmount Park.

Simultaneously with the loss of The Hills was the sacrifice of the pretentious structure Robert Morris was rearing in Chestnut street—"Morris's Folly." Mr. Morris had acquired the ground between Chestnut and Walnut, Seventh and Eighth streets in 1791. The erection of the building was begun in 1795, as the result of a suggestion of Major L'Enfant, who was afterward intrusted with the task of laying out the city of Washington, but it was never completed. It was of red brick, two stories in height, with a mansard roof. The porticoes, doorways, window heads and frames were of marble. According to the well-known view by Birch, there were to have been a central doorway, with pillars, and two portico doorways supported by two marble columns. Elaborate ornamentation was designed, and some of it executed, which afterward figured in other buildings. Two elegant semi-circular tablets in bas-relief, representing Tragedy and Comedy,

[1] Lemon Hill.—This beautiful garden, so creditable to the owner, and even to the city of Philadelphia, is kept in perfect order at a great expense. Few strangers omit paying it a visit—a gratification which is afforded to them in the most liberal manner by the proprietor. Nor can any person of taste contemplate the various charms of this highly-improved spot without being in rapture with the loveliness of Nature everywhere around him, so chastely adorned by the hand of man. Undoubtedly, this is the best kept garden in Pennsylvanna, and when associated with the green- and hot-house department, may be pronounced unrivalled in the Union. The gravel-walks, espaliers, plants, shrubs, mounds, and grass-plats are dressed periodically and minutely. . . . . There are some pretty bowers, summer-houses, grottoes, and fish-ponds in this garden, the latter well stored with gold and silver fish. The mansion-house is capacious and modern, and the prospects on all sides extremely beautiful.—*Report to the Horticultural Society of Pennsylvania.*

were placed over the heads of the windows in the wings of the Chestnut Street Theatre. Tablets representing sculptured festoons of flowers were used in a row of houses in Race street, and two marble dogs that were to have guarded Morris's portals stood for years in front of a marble yard. The entire structure was quickly demolished after the sale of the property, and Sansom street was cut through the square where the building had previously stood. There is nothing in the neighborhood to suggest memories of Morris's Folly.

When Henry Pratt acquired a part of Springettsbury Farm, to which Robert Morris gave the name of The Hills, the other parcel was sold to William Crammond, who built a large Gothic mansion on an elevation 80 feet above the Schuylkill, north of Lemon Hill. It was erected in 1800, and was the first attempt to introduce the Gothic style in the country houses in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. The house was of two stories, with hip roofs, 75 feet in length and of nearly the same depth. There were porticoes supported by eight columns at the front and rear, each of which was flanked by arcades at the corners. At the sides were bays rising to the roof, through which were entrances protected by porticoes. Mr. Crammond lived in this fine mansion until 1806, when he became bankrupt. It was the country-seat of Samuel Mifflin, 1806–12, and of James C. Fisher, 1812–36. During the next twenty years the estate was much neglected, and when the property was made a part of Fairmount Park in 1857, the house had fallen into such decay that its removal was necessary.

On the plateau, where the Horticultural Hall was erected for the Centennial Exposition, stood the splendid country house once known as Lansdowne. John Penn, who built this mansion, was the grandson of the founder. He was deputy governor of the province, 1763–71, and became governor in 1773, superseding his nephew, Richard Penn. Although his authority became vested in the Supreme Executive Council in 1777, he remained in the country, and died in Bucks county in 1795. He built Lansdowne House while the Revolution was impending. This mansion [1] was the last of the Philadelphia country-houses of the colonial epoch. The approach was by a drive at the west of the enclosure, through an avenue of trees nearly a quarter of a mile long. The fine old forest trees on the grounds were preserved, and romantic ravines and valleys opened toward the Schuylkill. A beautiful garden was laid out, and the lawns were ornamented with busts and statues. John Penn occupied this stately house as a summer residence until his death, bequeathing it to his widow, Ann, a daughter of Chief-Justice

[1] Lansdowne House.—It was of stone, partially in the Italian style, modified in some details by French taste, and different in appearance and arrangement from any house standing at that time in Pennsylvania. There was a centre and wings, a bay-windowed apartment at each end, and a steep roof. The front showed in the centre a pillared portico and pediment of two stories, supported at each story by pillars in the Ionic style, double clustered at the corners, with double pilasters. This portico rose from a truncated pyramid of steps. There was a balustrade at the second story. The roof was hipped, terminating in an observatory with open railing. Upon the rear of the building was a portico of one story heavily arched and pilastered.—*Westcott's Historic Mansions of Philadelphia.*

William Allen. Mrs. Penn sold the property to James Greenleaf, one of the partners of Robert Morris in the real estate speculations that ruined all the men concerned in them. It was bought by William Bingham at sheriff's sale in 1797, who occupied it in connection with his town-house until Mrs. Bingham's death. Both under the Penns and the Binghams it was the scene of elegant hospitalities. General Washington was a guest there when he was a member of the Federal Convention of 1787. While Mr. Bingham had possession of Lansdowne a smaller house called The Hut was built on the river road, which was occupied by Alexander Baring, afterward Lord Ashburton, who had married Ann Louisa Bingham. After Mr. Bingham's death in 1804, the property passed to the Barings, who occasionally occupied the mansion, but, except in 1816–17, when Joseph Bonaparte lived at Lansdowne, the house was generally in the keeping of a care-taker, whose home was at The Hut. The mansion was accidentally destroyed by fire, July 4, 1854, being ignited from fireworks used by boys who were celebrating the anniversary of Independence. The property was retained by the Baring family until 1866, when it was purchased for consolidation with Fairmount Park. The walls of the mansion were still standing at that time, but they were precipitately removed and all traces of the old building obliterated.

In 1783 John Penn, the son of Thomas Penn, and cousin of John Penn of Lansdowne, came to Pennsylvania to look after his proprietary interests. Soon after his arrival he made what he called "a dear purchase of fifteen acres, costing £600 sterling, and on the banks of the Schuylkill." This "dear purchase" was on the west side of the river below Girard avenue, and is now the site of the Zoological Gardens. On this property Mr. Penn built a small square house with a portico fronting the Schuylkill, to which he gave the name of The Solitude. One side of the mansion was occupied by a hall nine feet in width, which extended along the entire western front. The stairway was in the southwest corner and the library on the southeast corner. Adjoining the library was a small bedroom on the north, with an alcove sufficiently large to hold a single bed. The second story was fitted up with bedrooms and closets, and the roof story had two bedrooms. This house, "just big enough for a bachelor and cosy enough for a poet," was first occupied by Mr. Penn in 1785. It was still unfinished. Here he lived almost in seclusion until 1789, engaged in study and the composition of poems and plays. After Mr. Penn returned to England The Solitude was unoccupied except by a care-taker until 1851, when Granville John Penn, a son of John Penn's brother, Granville Penn, made his appearance in Philadelphia. As the last representative of the proprietaries to come to Pennsylvania he was lionized as none of his forerunners had ever been, and to requite the civilities he received, he gave a *fête* at The Solitude, when the mansion and grounds were used for the last time by a Penn for the entertainment of his friends. The

property, like the other historic estates north of it, is now a part of Fairmount Park.

At the time that William Bingham bought the Lansdowne estate he owned a country-seat in the neighborhood, north of the Lancaster road, but this seat fell short of the attractiveness of his new acquisition and far behind the grandeur of his town-house. This house was in Third street, on the west side, and was surrounded by ample grounds and gardens. It was modeled after the mansion of the Duke of Manchester in London, and was built after Mr. Bingham's return from abroad in 1786. It was even larger and more ornate than its English model. It stood about forty feet back from the line of Third street in grounds that extended westward to Fourth. The enclosure comprised nearly three acres. The grounds were protected by a high fence, except in Third street, where a low wall, surmounted by balusters, gave the walks and parterres privacy without seclusion. The entrance to the mansion was reached by a circular carriage sweep of gravel, access to which was had at each end of the wall by swinging gates of iron wrought in open tracery. The interior of this superb mansion was even more elegant than its exterior and surroundings. A step brought the visitor from the outside of the great front door to the tesselated pavement of the magnificent hallway and the broad stairway of white marble that led to the drawing-rooms. On the left of the passage below was a suite of parlors, and on the right Mr. Bingham's study, with the library behind it. Adjacent to the lower parlors on the south was an extensive conservatory with access from the mansion, and to the west toward Fourth street were offices and other tasteful outbuildings. After Mr. Bingham's death there was no one to occupy a mansion so palatial and it was turned into a hotel, being known for many years as Head's "Mansion House." The house was pulled down in 1850, and fifty-four fine buildings replaced what was once only one princely abode.

Adjacent to the Bingham mansion in the last decade of the last century dwelt the wealth and fashion of Philadelphia. In Third street at the corner of Willing's alley was the house of Thomas Willing, a large, double structure, demolished in 1856. It was built for Charles Willing in 1745. In the same square, now No. 244 South Third street, was the house of Samuel Powel. It is still standing. The old Chief-Justice, Benjamin Chew, lived at No. 110. Archibald McCall's house, built in 1762–3, was at the northeast corner of Second and Union streets. The garden extended along Union and was noted for its exotics. North of McCall's and west of Second street was Bathsheba's Bower. At the southeast corner of Second and Pine streets was the house of John Ross, in which the Marquis d'Yrujo, the Spanish minister, lived in 1806. John B. Bordley lived in Union street above Front. This house was once occupied by Joseph Bonaparte. The house built by Gen. John Cadwalader was in Second street below Spruce, opposite

the Loxley House. Cadwalader's was the headquarters of the Hessian General, Knyphausen, during the British occupation. Chief-Justice Edward Shippen's house, built in 1745–6, was on the west side of Fourth street below Walnut. It was a grand house for the time,—three stories in height, 42 feet front and 44 feet deep. It was in this house that Peggy Shippen was married to Benedict Arnold. Judge Shippen lived in it until his death in 1806. Robert Waln, Charles Wharton, and George Hammond, the British minister, lived in Second street above Spruce, and Joshua Fisher in a house in Front street, now No. 226, built in 1753. His son, Samuel Rowland Fisher, continued to reside there until his death in 1834. In Water street above Market was the residence of Stephen Girard, his counting-room being on the first floor. John Swift, Collector of the Port, in colonial times, and afterward Isaac Wharton and Henry Pratt lived in the large double house in Front street below Race. The dwelling of Alexander James Dallas was in the same square, nearer to Arch street. The home of Charles Biddle, vice-president of the Supreme Executive Council, was in Chestnut street below Fifth, where the Pennsylvania Company for Insurances on Lives now has its offices, and that of Peter S. Du Ponceau at Sixth and Chestnut, where the *Ledger* building now stands. It would be futile to attempt to trace the uptown movement from Sixth street to Broad and from Broad street to the Schuylkill, which began early in the century. Among the noteworthy buildings in this section of the city were the "Gothic Mansion," built by John Dorsey on the north side of Chestnut street below Thirteenth, and the house of James Rush, above Nineteenth, now the Aldine Hotel. Any further enumeration would be tedious.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century both sides of the Schuylkill were occupied by numerous country-seats of eminent Philadelphians, in addition to the historic mansions already described. West of the river, on the bluff above what are now the yards of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, was the mansion of John Hare Powel, after whom Powelton was called, and whose name survives in Powelton avenue. Among the later occupants of the Powel mansion was E. Spencer Miller. The western part of the estate is now the site of many beautiful villas, one of the most charming of which is the artistic structure at Thirty-fourth street and Powelton avenue. At Thirty-second and Market, where the Centennial Bank building stands, was the oldest house for many miles around, once called "The Mansion," and on the northeast corner of Chestnut and Mansion streets was "The Black Castle," built in 1820, and for many years the home of Joseph C. Keen. In the grounds of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane is the house, long occupied by Thomas S. Kirkbride, which was built by Paul Busti, the agent of the Holland Land Company. Below Belmont, on the bank of the Schuylkill, is Sweetbrier, the villa of Samuel Breck, which he built in 1797 and occupied until 1838. The small house

known as "Tom Moore's Cottage" is near by. On the opposite side of the river are Strawberry Hill and the mansion on the jutting promontory overlooking the stream. Near Strawberry Mansion are Ormiston, once the seat of Joseph Galloway, the loyalist, and Edgeley, the original Laurel Hill, for many years occupied by Samuel Shoemaker. Strawberry Mansion, then called Summerville, was the residence of William Lewis, an eminent lawyer, and Dr. Philip Syng Physic lived at Edgeley. Higher up the river are Falls Village, and the mouth of the Wissahickon, which comes swirling down the picturesque valley, full of historic memories and romantic associations. Above the Wissahickon Valley is Chestnut Hill, from which stretch the suburban villages and superb villas to the Delaware on both sides of the Schuylkill.

II.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

Intimately associated with the social and domestic life of early Philadelphia were the buildings in which the public business was transacted. The first structure entitled to the name of State House was Penn's cottage, afterward called Letitia House. It is more clearly proved that Penn did business there than that he actually lived in it. William Markham, the deputy governor, had his residence there after Penn's departure in 1683 until his death, and it was the meeting-place for the Provincial Council. Penn turned the Slate-Roof House to similar uses. Upon his return to England for the second and last time, in 1701, he gave James Logan, the secretary of the province, permission to remain in it until the year was up, but Logan continued to reside there for an indefinite period afterward, "there being no accommodation to be had elsewhere for public business." When Lord Cornbury came to Philadelphia in 1702 to proclaim Queen Anne, Logan entertained him in the Slate-Roof House. "I hasted down to make provision," he said, writing to Penn, "and in a few hours' time had a very handsome dinner, really equal, they say, to anything they had seen in America." It was in this house that William Penn, the younger, had his home in bachelor quarters with Logan, and made its quaint chambers and intricate passages ring with his revelries. Soon after this accession to his establishment Logan went with William Penn, Jr., Governor Evans and Judge Mompesson to Clark Hall, at the corner of Third and Chestnut streets. It was taken because no other house in the town was spacious enough to meet the enlarged views of the younger Penn. Clark Hall continued to be the official residence of the governors of the province for a number of

years, probably until Sir William Keith occupied Edward Shippen's "great house," about 1720. In later years, under Washington's second administration, and afterward, while Philadelphia remained the capital of the United States, the eastern part of it was occupied by the treasury department. It was then No. 100 Chestnut street. Previous to the building of the "Guild Hall," or "Great Towne House," as the old Court House was first called, even the Assembly met in private rooms, each member paying his proportion of the expense, but it has been assumed that after the erection of that noteworthy structure in 1710 it became the home of every department of the provincial government, including the Assembly.

According to Gabriel Thomas, Philadelphia had "a noble Towne House, or Guild Hall, also a handsome Market House and a convenient Prison," as early as 1698. If such a building as a "towne house" actually existed, it was not a court-house, for ten years later the county courts had no better place to hold their sessions than an ale-house. The initial steps for building a court house were taken in 1707, but the project was retarded by the unwillingness of the townspeople to contribute toward two new bridges that were needed by the country folks, and the refusal of the county to levy a tax for the town hall unless the bridges were conceded. It was finally agreed that the city should erect the court-house at its own expense, and that the county should build the bridges. In consequence of these disputes the structure, small as it was, was not completed until near the close of 1710.

The old court-house, which remained standing until 1837, was built at the eastern end of the market-house in High street between Second and Third. It was a quaint, old-fashioned building. It stood upon arches resting upon brick pillars, the basement being open for market stalls. It had a balcony over the door in front, with flights of steps leading up to it. From this balcony nearly all the out-door speech-making was heard. Over the roof was a little cupola and a bell. Although the court-house was nominally completed in 1710 it was presented by the Grand Jury in 1717 as still unfinished, and there is reason to believe that it never proved acceptable as a state house. Mr. Frank M. Etting, in his "Historical Account of the Old State House," denies that it ever was the meeting-place of the Provincial Council or of the Assembly. It is likely that the building was intended for a state house, court-house, and town house, but that it proved inadequate for these uses and so recourse was again had to private houses for the sittings of the Assembly.

The uses to which the old court-house was put from the time it was built until it was dismantled, were not such as to give it a high place in the regard of Philadelphians. When it was first built the markets on its western side were unsightly shambles that were not removed until 1720. Before it, on the eastern side, were the stocks and pillory. The basement story had an auction room in one corner and a part of it

was the meal market. The balcony and the stairways leading up to it have few associations that make them sacred in the same sense that are the purlieus of the State House. They were the scene of many disgraceful riots, including the "bloody election" disturbances of 1742. It has been inferred that from this balcony the royal proclamations were made and the inaugural speeches of some of the governors delivered. It is more certain that itinerant preachers sometimes used it as a pulpit, the celebrated George Whitefield among others. Watson says that it was on this stand that Michael Welfare, "one of the Christian philosophers of Conestoga," appeared in 1736, wearing a linen hat and full beard, and carrying a pilgrim's staff, to announce the vengeance of the Almighty against the wicked province. If the venerable structure left any memories behind it they were only those of a "Towne House." As each of the mayors of Philadelphia went out of office it was customary to have a feast at the court-house to celebrate the expiration of his term. Within a few years of its erection the State House supplanted it in most of the public uses in which the people were interested, and for many years it was used only by the Mayor and Common Council and for the Mayor's and Recorder's Courts.

The need of a building for the accommodation of the Assembly, the Provincial Council and the Supreme Court had long been apparent but it was not until 1729 that the movement to erect a State House took practical shape. In an Act for the emission of £30,000 in Bills of Credit passed early in that year, £2,000 was appropriated for the erection of a building for the use of the Representatives of the freemen of the province, and Thomas Lawrence, Andrew Hamilton and John Kearsley were appointed a committee "for Building and Carrying on the same." For three years the building committee did nothing but dispute in regard to the site for the new State House and the plans for the projected edifice. Kearsley was the refractory member. In a petition presented to the Assembly in February 1729, High street near the prison was expressly named for the State House in connection with a market. Kearsley favored this locality, opposing the site in Chestnut street, between Fifth and Sixth streets, agreed upon by his two colleagues, Lawrence and Hamilton. In regard to the style and character of the building there were differences equally irreconcilable between Lawrence and Hamilton on the one hand and Kearsley on the other. Dr. Kearsley had designed Christ Church and considered himself an architect of no mean pretensions. He submitted a plan for the building but to his surprise and chagrin it was rejected by Lawrence in favor of one prepared by Hamilton. In consequence of Kearsley's opposition the ground for the State House was acquired by private purchase, William Allen, Hamilton's son-in-law, becoming the purchaser and paying his own money for it. This was in October, 1730. The Allen purchase comprised 198 feet in Chestnut street, running back half way to Walnut, besides two smaller lots, one at the corner of Sixth street and one

in Fifth street. In 1732 Mr. Hamilton made some additional purchases in his own name. Ground was not broken for the new building until the Assembly had formally approved the site selected and the plans agreed upon, but the work was begun in earnest in the autumn of 1732. In March, 1733 two offices were ordered to be built adjoining the State House for the Register-General of Wills, the Recorder of Deeds and the Master of the Rolls. These were square buildings, two stories in height, with hip roofs. The second story of each was reached by a stairway leading from an open arcade. Years passed before the building was finished, but as finally completed it was substantially the same in appearance as the original drawing of the elevation of the State House, except that it had no steeple and belfry before 1752.

The Assembly Chamber was not officially occupied until October, 1736, but before the Provincial Assembly convened for the first time in the east room on the first floor there was a civic banquet in "the long room" above, given by William Allen, the Mayor, to the leading citizens of the city and province and to strangers of note sojourning at the capital. The Long Room and the adjacent ante-rooms in after years were often the scenes of festivities of a semi-official character. In 1752 after a dinner at Bush Hill, in honor of the king's birthday, Governor James Hamilton gave a grand ball in these apartments, the affair winding up with a sumptuous supper. Governor Robert Hunter Morris gave a supper and ball there in 1754, and in 1756 Governor William Denny was banquetted there soon after his arrival in the province. The city corporation feasted the Earl of Loudoun, the commander of his Majesty's forces in North America, there in 1757; and the merchants of Philadelphia there gave a dinner to John Penn in 1763, and to Richard Penn in 1771. The last of the noteworthy *fêtes* at the State House in the colonial epoch was a dinner to the first Continental Congress in 1774.

The Assembly had occupied its chamber, now Independence Hall, five years before it began to manifest its impatience with the incompleteness of every part of the building. Even its own chamber needed plastering and glazing. In 1743 a plan was approved for finishing the court room and piazzas, and it is supposed the building as originally designed was completed before the close of 1744. In 1750 it was ordered that "a building should be erected on the south side of the State House to contain a stair-case with suitable place for hanging a bell." The present brick tower with the wooden steeple above it was completed toward the close of 1751, or early in 1752. The early history of the old Liberty Bell, now the most sacred relic in Independence Hall, was told with sufficient fulness in the first volume of this work, but its later fortunes and misfortunes are too memorable to be overlooked.

True to its mission to "Proclaim liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof," the State House bell was rung on the 8th of

July, 1776, when the people assembled in the State House Yard to hear the Declaration of Independence. The next year, previous to the entry of the British, it was removed from the tower and carried to Bethlehem for safety. When the danger was passed it was brought back to the State House belfry, but in 1781 the original wooden steeple, which had become much decayed, was taken down and the bell was lowered to the roof, where it was hung in an open belfry supported on four posts. When the steeple was removed the tower was covered with a low hip roof, surmounted by a short spire with a vane. In 1828 it was determined to erect a new steeple. In the restoration the shape of the old steeple was followed, but it was increased in height by an additional story. A new bell was cast for it by John Wiltbank, but like the old Liberty bell it was twice recast before it gave satisfaction. The old bell, however, was placed in the lower story of the new steeple, to be rung only on particular occasions. Its first service in its new situation was when the news arrived of the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act by the British Parliament in 1828. On the morning of July 7, 1835, half a century lacking one year after it had summoned the people to hear the Declaration of Independence, it was cracked while tolling a funeral dirge for Chief-Justice Marshall, whose body was being carried through the streets, before being placed on a vessel to be conveyed to Richmond, Va. After this it was rung a few times but the sound was doleful, and finally on Washington's Birthday, February 22, 1843, it became mute forever. Of late years it has been kept as a sacred relic on a pedestal in Independence Hall, but it has made three historic journeys to distant parts of the country,—once to the International Exposition at New Orleans in 1885, once to the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, and once to the Southern Exposition at Atlanta in 1895.

The State House has had three clocks, and three bells—the first clock was made in Philadelphia by Peter Stretch in 1752; the second in 1828, for the new steeple, by Isaiah Lukens; and the third by the Seth Thomas Clock Company, of Thomastown, Conn., in 1876. The old Stretch clock was displayed under the east and west peaks of the main building, and the Lukens clock on four sides of the steeple in semi-transparent dials capable of illumination at night. The Centennial clock was a present from Henry Seybert, and it was accompanied by a new bell cast by Menealy & Kimberley, of Troy, N. Y. The last bell, like both of its predecessors, was twice recast.

At an early period low oblong wooden sheds were erected on the Fifth and Sixth street sides of the State House lot for the accommodation of the Indian delegations that frequently visited the city during the colonial period. These buildings were turned into arsenals and military store-houses during the Revolution. Finally in 1785 the Assembly voted £3,000 out of the money received from the sale of the old jail at Third and Market streets to the city for the erection of a

City Hall in Chestnut street at the corner of Fifth and a like sum to the county for a court-house at Sixth and Chestnut. Both structures were finished between 1787 and 1789. South of the City Hall in Fifth street the American Philosophical Society obtained the grant of a lot from the State in 1785, and built a hall there for its own uses in 1787. The square buildings east and west of the State House were taken down in 1813, and the two story brick offices familiar to the present generation of Philadelphians replaced them. After the erection of these structures no important changes were made in the exterior of the buildings on the State House grounds for the life-time of an octogenarian, but with the removal of the courts and the city and county offices to the new City Hall came suggestions for the demolition of all the edifices not intimately associated with the charter of American Independence.

The east room on the first floor of the State House was occupied by the Assembly without interruption until the second Continental Congress was accorded the privilege of holding its sessions in the Chamber. During this period the Provincial Council was accustomed to meet in the west room on the same floor. The Congress convened in the Assembly chamber for the first time May 10, 1775, and at once proceeded to provide for the defence of the United Colonies, including the selection of a Commander-in-Chief for the army. The Congress continued to meet in this room until its deliberations were interrupted by the British occupation in 1777, and there all its measures for a successful Revolution were perfected, including the immortal vote of July 4, 1776, which was to give to the chamber its sacred name of Independence Hall. After the battle of Germantown the entire building was used as a hospital by the British, many of the wounded Americans being taken there for treatment after the victors had cared for their own men. After the evacuation, in 1778, M. Gerard, the first Minister from France to the United States, was formally received by Congress in the historic chamber. It was in this chamber that the Federal Convention of 1787 framed the Constitution of the United States, and it was here also that the Constitution was ratified by the Pennsylvania Convention on the 13th of December in that year. After the removal of the State government from Philadelphia, in 1799, the State House suffered from the neglect consequent upon disuse, and from uses that had no relation to the associations connected with the building. In 1802 the building was granted to Charles Willson Peale for a museum, but at the request of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania he relinquished Independence Chamber for its use. In the "long gallery" or banqueting hall Mr. Peale placed his Portrait Gallery, the portraits being arranged in two rows over cases twelve feet in height that contained a large collection of birds classified and arranged according to the system of Linnæus. A perfect skeleton of a mammoth found in New York was placed in one of the ante-rooms. The "Marine Room"

contained many amphibious animals as well as a variety of fishes. Insects properly classified were exhibited and minerals and fossils displayed. There was a charge for admittance and a sign-board containing the word "Museum" was placed over the front door. Mr. Peale retained possession of the main building, with the exception of the Judicial Chamber, until his death.

When the seat of the Federal Government was removed from New York to Philadelphia in 1790 the new Court House at Sixth and Chestnut streets was turned over to Congress for the use of the two houses. It was accordingly known during the ensuing ten years as Congress Hall. The Representatives met on the lower floor, the whole of which was in one chamber with the exception of a vestibule in front, opening through the main door in Chestnut street. The Senate chamber was on the floor above, entrance being had by means of a stairway from the vestibule. In the Representatives' chamber there was a gallery on the east side with a doorway leading into the street. The Speaker's chair, with a seat "of plain leather and brass nails," was on the western side of the chamber, the members' seats being ranged in three semi-circular rows in front. The Senate above was furnished in a style superior to the plain accommodations of the House. The Vice-President, or President of the Senate, sat on the south side of the chamber. The public was not admitted to the deliberations of the Senate until 1795, when a small gallery was placed along the northern side of the chamber. This gallery was not removed until 1835, when it was taken down to conform the apartment to its intended uses as a court-room. In this building two Presidents of the United States were inaugurated —George Washington for his second term, in 1793, and John Adams, in 1797; it was on the floor of the House that the first fracas in Congress occurred,—that between Roger Griswold of Connecticut and William Lyon of Vermont, in 1798; and it was in these chambers that the announcement of the death of General Washington was made, in 1799.

The City Hall, at the corner of Fifth and Chestnut streets, was used by some of the various departments of the City Government from the time of its completion, in 1790–91, until the removal, after more than a century, to the Public Buildings in Penn square, but from 1791 to 1800 the Supreme Court of the United States held its sittings in the long back room on the second story, known for many years as the Common Council Chamber. After Select Council was established, in 1796, it occupied the eastern room on the same floor,—that afterward used by the clerks of Councils. This arrangement lasted until after the passage of the Consolidation Act of 1854. Then the second floor of the main building—Independence Hall—was remodeled to meet the requirements of the city legislature.

In 1816 the Legislature passed an Act by which the city of Philadelphia became the owner of the State-House grounds, including the State-House yard. The consideration was $70,000, and the deed of

conveyance was formally executed June 29, 1818, but no determined effort was made for a number of years to restore any part of the building to the condition in which it was, in 1776. In 1824, when La Fayette visited Philadelphia, it was thought it would be an appropriate tribute to the distinguished visitor to fit up the Independence Chamber to enable him to receive the citizens in an apartment so replete with memories of the Revolution. This use of Independence Hall served to call attention to the neglected state of the building and in the end was fruitful of results. In 1828, as already noted, the new steeple was built. In 1830 petitions were presented to Councils asking for the restoration of the historic chamber, and praying that for the future it should be used for "dignified purposes only." In 1833 Councils appropriated $1,200 for such restoration. The old wainscoting and carvings were replaced, so far as they could be found, and the ancient chandelier, a relic of colonial days, was restored to its old place. A wooden statue of Washington, by William Rush, was purchased and set upon a pedestal at the east end of the apartment, and portraits of eminent men connected with the history of the State and country began to adorn the walls. The earliest of these portraits were a full-length of La Fayette, by Sully, and one of William Penn, by Inman. The old Liberty Bell was brought down from the roof and placed on a wooden pedestal, ornamented by Roman fasces, liberty caps, and festooned flags. A number of historical portraits of varying degrees of excellence, including thirteen of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, were purchased at the sale of Peale's gallery in 1854, and hung in the chamber. From time to time other purchases were made and numerous offerings accepted by the city authorities until the chamber became a store-room for trash that had neither historic nor artistic interest. Among the portraits were those of Brant, the savage, forever infamous in Pennsylvania history, and of Red Jacket; a likeness of an obscure political agitator did duty as a counterfeit of Charles Lee, himself a hero of more than doubtful acceptability; and a wretched daub, unfit for a tavern sign, was deemed fit to represent General Jackson. With the exception of the fine old chandelier, not a single piece of furniture of the original equipment of the chamber had been replaced. Such was the condition of the room in which the Declaration of Independence was adopted down almost to the eve of the Centennial year.

The actual restoration of Independence Chamber to something like its condition in 1776 was completed in 1875, the work being performed by a committee of which Col. Frank M. Etting was chairman. The first contribution toward this restoration was one of the original chairs used in the Hall. It was presented by Mrs. William Meredith, the elder, a niece of Gouverneur Morris, who had secured it when the furniture was scattered. Two more of the chairs were discovered in use in the Senate Chamber at Harrisburg, the legs of which had been

elongated for the convenience of the Sergeants-at-arms. Application was made for the return of these chairs to the Legislative chamber to which they originally belonged. This was eventually done, and with them the famous Speaker's chair, in which John Hancock, as President of Congress, sat when the Declaration of Independence was adopted, and the table on which that immortal instrument, the Magna Charta of our liberties, was subscribed, were restored to the hall where they properly belonged. Another chair of the original equipment was found in the possession of the American Philosophical Society. It had been secured by Francis Hopkinson, the author of the "Battle of the Kegs," when the furniture was dispersed, by whom it was presented to the Society. It, too, was returned. Subsequently four more of the original chairs were reclaimed. These were presented to the city by their respective owners,—Mrs. William Biddle, Mrs. E. A. Foggo, John J. Smith, and C. C. Dunn. To these were afterward added five more of the original chairs, making thirteen in all,—one for each of the United Colonies. This restoration was rendered still more complete by the return, in 1875, of the original silver inkstand, into which the signers of the Declaration of Independence dipped their pens preparatory to placing their names to that sacred State-paper. It was made for the Assembly in 1752 by Philip Syng at a cost of £25 16*s*. It was used by all the Speakers of the Provincial Assembly afterward, by the Presidents of the Continental Congress, by George Washington, as President of the Federal Convention of 1787, and by the Speakers of the State House of Representatives until 1849. It was restored to its place on the Speaker's table in Independence Hall June 7, 1875, with appropriate ceremonies.

The work of reclamation was not more difficult than the task of restoration. The committee intrusted with this duty, which was appointed in 1872, found the doors, cornices, wainscoting, and architectural designs of Independence Chamber concealed by an incongruous collection of pictures; the floor was littered with the dilapidated furniture rejected by former Councils; one of the windows was barricaded by a block of marble ordered by the city of Philadelphia for the Washington National Monument. Under such conditions it was necessary that restoration should begin with renovation. The portrait-gallery was arranged so as not to conceal the architectural embellishments of the chamber, only such of the pictures being retained as were associated with its history. The old Liberty Bell was removed to the vestibule, where it was suspended from the original beam and scaffolding, and protected by an iron railing, which was found essential to its preservation. The President's dais was replaced at the east side of the chamber in conformity with contemporary descriptions of it, and the identical chair and table used by Hancock were placed upon it. Two of the reclaimed chairs which retained the original leather covering, which, although much worn, is to be preserved, were placed upon the

steps of the dais. The other chairs were placed along the sides of the apartment, with a light railing to protect them from intrusion. The pillars that had formerly sustained the ceiling were replaced by similar ones made from exact descriptions furnished by the late venerable Horace Binney, then the only living man who remembered them. Changes on the roof and steeple were found to be indispensable. The lofts, which had been used as a store-house for books and other combustible material, were closed to unnecessary intrusion, and the family that had lived in the steeple was dispossessed. The whole front of the building, bricks, mortar, and even the marble trimmings and ornaments, had been daubed with paint, and the interior in all its parts had been painted and otherwise disfigured. A skillful mechanic was found whose touch disclosed the ancient bricks and marble, and the ornamental carving in the vestibule and stair-case, all done by hand, and the delicate tracery of the panels, were again brought to light. A great transformation was effected, and happily in time for the centennial celebration of American Independence.

A feature of the new epoch of the old building was the creation of a National Museum in the west room on the first floor—the Judicial Chamber, as it was called. It was determined to devote this room to the illustration of the history of the province and State from the settlement down to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. Among the treasures of the museum is the charter of incorporation of the City of Philadelphia, with Penn's signature attached, and West's painting of the Treaty at Shackamaxon was placed on its walls by the late Joseph Harrison. There are numerous portraits, including a copy by Henry J. Wright of the picture of William Penn painted by Place, and a copy of that by the same hand of Hannah Callowhill, Penn's second wife. The receptacle cases contain relics and memorials of many eminent men of the period, 1682–1787, and on the platforms erected for the purpose is a display of furniture and apparel of the colonial epoch and the period of the Revolution. At the present time the collection is only a nucleus for what ought to be made the most important adjunct of Independence Hall.

The history and associations of the State House Yard, now Independence square, are inseparable from those of the State House itself. When the Act of 1736 vesting the State House in trustees was passed, it was provided that the parts of the State House lot not built upon "should remain a public green and walk forever." At that time the depth of the ground was about 330 feet. In 1762 an appropriation was made for the purchase of the rest of the square through to Walnut street, and the purchase was consummated in 1769. The few buildings that had been erected in Walnut street were then removed, and a brick wall seven feet high was built on the three sides of the yard, with a brick arch for two heavy doors in the middle of the southern wall. No trees were planted before 1785, and the square was only a large

unpaved inner court at the time of the Revolution. When public meetings were held at the State House, the crowds often overflowed into the State House Yard. Joseph Stansbury, the Tory poet, gave a sarcastic picture of one of these overflow meetings in his doggerel account of an effort to appease the popular discontent over the depreciation of the Continental money in 1779 :

> And now the State House Yard was full,
> And orators so grave, so dull,
> Appear'd upon the stage ;
> But all is riot, noise, disgrace,
> And Freedom's sons thro' all the place
> In bloody frays engage.

The most interesting incident connected with the history of the State House Yard is the fact that it was within this enclosure that the Declaration of Independence was first heard, July 8, 1776. "Joined the Committee of Safety, as called," Christopher Marshall wrote in his diary on that day ; "went in a body to State House Yard, where, in the presence of a great concourse of people, the Declaration of Independence was read by John Nixon. The company declared their approbation by their repeated huzzas." The exact place where Nixon stood while reading the Declaration has not been definitely determined. Watson says it was the observatory erected by the American Philosophical Society for observing the transit of Venus in 1769. The observatory stood about 40 feet due west from the rear door of the old Philosophical Hall. It was the popular rostrum for many years. On July 4, 1876, there was a fitting celebration of the centennial anniversary of American Independence in Independence square in connection with appropriate ceremonies in Independence Hall. A platform capable of seating five thousand persons was erected on the south side of the building, and was filled with distinguished guests. Among the visitors from abroad who assisted on that occasion were Dom Pedro II., Emperor of Brazil, and Count Rochambeau, grandson of General Count Rochambeau, who commanded our French allies in the Revolution. The latest historic assemblage in the "State House Yard" was that which gathered there September 17, 1887, to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States by the Federal Convention. Again a vast platform was erected on the south side of the building, and a great assemblage of distinguished visitors assisted in the ceremonies. President Cleveland presided and made an address, and Justice Miller of the Supreme Court of the United States delivered the oration. Many occasions will be found in the future to turn this sacred ground to patriotic uses.

It was through the exertions of Samuel Vaughan that trees were finally planted and walks laid out in the State House yard in 1785. Of the trees one hundred were elms presented by Colonel George Morgan,

of Princeton, N. J. Some of these were among the oldest trees in the square in recent years, but they became so worm-eaten that it was necessary to cut them down. During a violent storm, October 23, 1878, many of the oldest trees then standing were blown down. In 1791 the east and west walls were lowered and an iron railing, fixed into a stone coping, erected. In 1813 a new brick wall, surmounted by an iron railing, was built around the entire State House yard, and the cumbersome doors in Walnut street replaced by a handsome iron gate, flanked by substantial marble posts. Finally in 1875–6 the wall and railing were removed and the present low granite wall with its extra entrances was made, and the walks were newly laid out and the flower beds planted. Other improvements have been made in recent years and the grounds are in good condition, although bearing no resemblance to the State House at the time of the Revolution. A proposition of the Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati to erect a monument to Washington in Independence square was vigorously resisted, and at last reluctantly abandoned.

The State House has been the scene of a number of votive as well as patriotic pageants during the last half century. The remains of John Quincy Adams, sixth President of the United States, lay in state in Independence Hall on the night of March 7, 1848; the body of Henry Clay reposed in the same chamber on the night of July 2, 1852; early in the morning of February 22, 1861, Abraham Lincoln assisted in raising a flag over the building while on his way to Washington to be inaugurated, and on Saturday, April 22, 1865 the casket containing the remains of the martyred President was carried through Independence square and placed in Independence Hall. More agreeable and scarcely less impressive scenes followed these mournful pageants, and in the centenary year of American freedom the venerable structure was consecrated anew as the sacred temple of our liberties. The time had not yet come, however, when the entire building could be surrendered to the perpetuation of patriotic memories, but in 1895 the second floor of the old State House, where the Common and Select Councils had been domiciled since 1854, the old City Hall, which had been occupied by the Mayor for more than a century, and the old Court House, used by the courts and county officers since 1800, were vacated by the removal of their occupants to the new Public Buildings. The future of the venerable edifices is yet to be settled. A committee of the Pennsylvania Society of the Daughters of the Revolution is seeking a restoration of the second floor of the State House, the societies of Colonial Dames and of the Colonial Wars have found homes in the Court House, and the Mayor's office and the wings of the State House have a variety of occupants whose tenure has not been determined.

Two buildings were erected in the State House yard that have no associations with the State House except those of proximity. One of these is the hall of the American Philosophical Society, in Fifth street,

erected in 1787, under a grant from the State made in 1785. The society was restrained from selling, transferring or even leasing it. An effort is now making to secure a new home for the society so that the old building may be removed. The other is the brick structure in Sixth street, built in 1865, for the criminal courts. It proved a failure in its acoustic qualities and was inadequate for the uses for which it was intended. Its removal has been determined upon and no one will regret its disappearance.

A building that is intimately associated with the memories of Independence Hall is the little structure in the rear of Chestnut street, between Third and Fourth streets, famous as the meeting-place of the first Continental Congress in 1774. It was built by the Carpenters' Company in 1770 as a Carpenters' Hall. The lot on the south side of Chestnut street, on the back part of which it was built, originally had a front of sixty feet, but the company sold all of it except what was needed for a narrow entrance to the building. The hall was first occupied by the Carpenters' Company January 21, 1771, but it was not fully completed until 1792. In the early days of the Revolution it was occupied by three noteworthy bodies,—the conference of the Pennsylvania Committees of Observation, July 15, 1774; the Continental Congress, September 5, following; and the Pennsylvania Convention called to enforce the measures recommended by the Congress of 1774, January 23, 1775. The delegates to the first Continental Congress, eleven States being represented, met at the City Tavern in the morning and walked to the hall to inspect it before accepting the tender of the use of it that had been made by the Carpenters' Company. "They took a view of the room and of the chamber where there is an excellent library," John Adams wrote. "There is also a long entry where gentlemen may walk, and also a convenient chamber opposite the library. The general cry was that this was a good room, and the question was put whether we were satisfied with this room? and it passed in the affirmative. A very few were in the negative and they were chiefly from Pennsylvania and New York." It was here that the Rev. Jacob Duchè made his celebrated prayer, September 7, 1774 on the opening of the Congress, and read the Collect of the the day, the xxxvth Psalm, of which Adams said, "It seemed as if Heaven had ordained that Psalm to be read on that morning." The Congress remained in the Carpenters' Hall until its adjournment, but when it was reorganized it removed to the more noteworthy chamber in the State House. Besides the uses already described, Carpenters' Hall became the headquarters of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety and it was used in 1779 by General Henry Knox, as Commissary General of Military Stores. The British seized the building after the capture of the city, using it as a hospital and as a military store-house. During the first century of its existence the building had many tenants. The Philadelphia Library found a home in it from 1773 to 1791. The first Bank of the United

States had possession of the entire hall from 1791 to 1797, and the Bank of Pennsylvania in 1798. Among its other tenants were the Commissioners of the Pennsylvania Land Office, 1797–8; the officers of the United States Customs, 1802–19; the second Bank of the United States for nearly five years; the Musical Fund Society, the Apprentices' Library, the Franklin Institute, and the Hicksite Branch of the Society of Friends. Then it was for many years an auction mart. In 1857 the Carpenters' Company resumed possession of their ancient building, and in 1876 it was opened for the reception of Centennial visitors. As many as 72,000 names were registered in the books kept there during the Centennial Exposition. It is now maintained by the Carpenters' Company as a museum sacred to its memories and is visited by many strangers.

Many of the historic buildings of Philadelphia rendered famous by the events of the Revolution and by the departments of the Federal Government, 1790-1800, have disappeared. The house at the southwest corner of Seventh and Market streets in which the Declaration of Independence was written was torn down in 1883 and replaced by the Penn National Bank building. Mr. Jefferson occupied two rooms on the second story of the old building, the front room for a parlor and the other as a bed-room. In the parlor the Declaration was drafted. "Fort Wilson," the residence of James Wilson, one of the Signers, so called because of an attack upon it by a mob in 1779, in consequence of a cargo of flour consigned to Blair McClenachan and Robert Morris having been taken for the use of the French fleet, was a large brick house at the corner of Third and Walnut streets. It was for many years the residence of William Lewis, the celebrated lawyer. Wilson at one time lived in the house in which the Declaration of Independence was written. An ordinary three-story brick house with a front of only 12 feet, in Sixth street above Chestnut, was occupied by Robert R. Livingston as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in 1782–3. The buildings occupied by the Federal departments during the administrations of Washington and Adams have no associations that render an account of them necessary. A little house, No. 239 Arch street, still standing, and known as the Betsy Ross house, has come in for an unusual share of veneration in recent years because the first American flag was made within its walls.

During the eighteenth century the Collectors of the Port had their offices at their dwellings or stores. The Collectors whose places for doing the public business have been ascertained were Peter Evans, 1733–43, at his dwelling; William Alexander, 1743–5, at John Nelson's house in Chestnut street; John Swift, 1762–72, Front street between Arch and Race; Sharp Delany, 1784–91, Front street at the corner of Black Horse alley; George Latimer, 1792–5, southeast corner of Second and Walnut, and 1795–1802, No. 119 South Front street; Peter G. Muhlenberg, 1802–07, John Shee, 1807–09, and John Steele,

1809–19, in Carpenters' Hall. In 1810 the United States authorized the purchase of a lot of ground for the erection of a Custom House, and after considerable delay a desirable location was secured on the west side of Second street, below Dock, at the corner of Elmslie's alley. On this ground the Custom House, that was occupied from 1819 to 1845, was built. It was a plain structure, three stories in height, the first story being of marble. The upper stories were brick. There were three long arched windows in the front of the second story, with small square windows above them. The roof, rising above the third story, was gable fashion. A niche near the apex contained a statue of "Commerce" cut in wood by William Rush. The entrance was by a central doorway in front which led to the main business room on the second story. The building stood back more than forty feet from the street. Large warehouses were built back of the main building. In Second street was a heavy brick archway with a wide passage in the centre for carts and drays and protected by an iron gate. There were smaller archways on each side of the main archway and low walls surmounted by iron palings. In 1845 the massive structure in Chestnut street, above Fourth, built for the Bank of the United States, was purchased by the government and has been used by the officers of the customs ever since. It was built on the site of the mansion of Charles Norris in 1819–24. It is of white marble and was modeled after the Parthenon at Athens. The terrace upon which the edifice stands is 119 feet wide and 256 feet deep. The main building, with the steps and approaches, is 87 feet front and 187 feet deep. A massive portico of eight columns, 27 feet in height, supporting a pediment, gives the building an imposing appearance. A similar portico is in the rear. The main business room is 41 feet wide and 81 feet deep. It has an arched ceiling with moulded panels and supported by Ionic columns. The southern part of the building in Library street is occupied by the United States Sub-Treasury. Large as it is it was found inadequate, and in 1871 a large brick structure five stories in height, known as the Appraisers' building, was erected on the ground running from Second to Dock street formerly occupied by the Bank of Pennsylvania.

The Post Office in Philadelphia was at Andrew Bradford's in Second street, 1728–37; at Benjamin Franklin's in Market street, 1737–71; at Foxcroft's, Market street near Fourth, 1771–5; at Goddard's Constitution Post, Coffee House, Front and Market, 1775–82; Front street south of Market, 1782–4; Front and Market streets, 1784–5; Front and Chestnut streets, 1785–91, No. 36 South Front street, 1791–4; No. 34 South Front street, 1794–9; No. 27 South Third street, 1799–1814; Third and Market, 1814–15; No. 27 South Third street, 1815–17; No. 116 Chestnut street, 1817–27; No. 107 Chestnut street, 1827–34; Philadelphia Exchange, 1834–54; Jayne's Building, Dock street, east of Third, 1854–62; Chestnut street, next to the Custom House, 1862–84; and Ninth street, between Chestnut and Market, since 1884. During

the yellow fever epidemics of 1793, 1797 and 1798, the post office was temporarily removed to less exposed situations. The post office building in Chestnut street above the Custom House was the first owned by the government in Philadelphia. It was of brick faced with marble. It was opened for public inspection, February 23, 1862, with appropriate ceremonies in which Postmaster-General Blair, Governor Curtin and Mayor Henry participated, and for the transaction of business February 27. It was soon found to be inadequate, and eleven years later ground was broken for the new Post Office building at Ninth and Chestnut streets which required eleven years for its completion.

The Philadelphia post-office is of gray granite. It is five stories in height, with a central dome that is heavy but not high. The front in Ninth street is 425 feet, the Chestnut and Market street sides 175 feet, and the height from pavement to dome 164 feet. The entrances are in Ninth street. It has five porticoes, one in Chestnut, one in Market, and three in Ninth street, the central portico, which forms the main entrance, being the most elaborate. The character of the architecture may be described as Romanesque. The building is set far back from the curb line, and has low railings between the projecting porticoes, which add to the architectural effect. The woodwork throughout is dark-red mahogany. The first floor and basement are devoted to the postal service, and the other floors to the United States courts and Government offices. The building stands on the site of the mansion finished in 1797 that was intended for the use of the President of the United States, but was afterward purchased by the University of Pennsylvania.

The first building erected and owned by the United States was a plain brick structure in Seventh street, at the corner of Farmer's alley, now Filbert street, used as the Mint from 1792 to 1833. It is still standing and is known as Nos. 37 and 39 North Seventh street. The corner-stone was laid by David Rittenhouse, the first Director of the Mint, July 31, 1792, and the coining of half-dimes was begun in the following October. The coining and melting rooms were in old wooden buildings in the rear, to which access was had by a gateway in Farmer's alley. Until 1816, when steam was introduced, the work of coinage was done by hand or horse power. In 1829 Congress made provision for a new mint, and on the 4th of July of that year the corner-stone of the building at Chestnut and Juniper streets was laid by Dr. Samuel Moore, the Director. It was completed and occupied in 1833.

The Mint, which is still one of the most attractive landmarks in Chestnut street, is in the form of a quadrangle. The building is of white marble, and is of the Grecian style of architecture, being modeled after the famous temple of the Ionic order, on the Ilyssus, near Athens. The lot on which it stands has a front of 150 feet and is 204 feet deep. The structure presents a front in Chestnut street and in Penn square of 123 feet, each front being ornamented by a portico of 60 feet sup-

ported by six Ionic columns. The actual building space is 123 feet wide by 139 feet deep, leaving small open spaces on the east and west sides of the Chestnut street front. There was formerly a court-yard, 84 by 85 feet, in the centre of the structure and surrounded by piazzas to each story of the building. Many changes have been made in the interior arrangements of the building, some of the additions not being in harmony with the classic character of the original structure. The bullion vaults were not rendered fire-proof until 1856. The original cost of the edifice, machinery and fixtures, was only $173,390, and with the ground and enclosure, $209,230. In 1885 an effort was made to enlarge the facilities of the Mint by adding another story to the building, but the project was afterward abandoned and a new Mint upon a more eligible site authorized by Congress.

The selection of the site for the new Mint was long held in abeyance because of the opposition of property-owners within the limits of situations suitable for the purpose. Several locations, including one facing Independence and Washington squares, were rejected by the Secretary of the Treasury because of this opposition and the high valuations put upon the necessary lots by the owners and lease-holders. Finally the piece of ground between Spring Garden and Buttonwood and Sixteenth and Seventeenth streets, formerly a part of the Bush Hill estate, was purchased, and the plans for the new Mint have been announced by Supervising Architect William M. Aiken. The building is to occupy the entire square, with the main front in Spring Garden street. The building will have a frontage of 316 feet, with a terrace the entire length of the lot. The depth of the lot is 208 feet. The Sixteenth and Seventeenth street frontages will be 180 feet. The rear of the building is to be on the line of Buttonwood street. The building is to be of granite to the top of the terrace balustrade; above that it will be white marble, including the balustrade of the roof. The roof will be of copper. The structure is designed to be three stories in height, with a basement for the main storage vaults. The building is in the form of a hollow square, with a court-yard opening to the sky. The side entrance in Sixteenth street, to be used by the workmen, is at a lower level than the Spring Garden street entrance, and leads through a covered driveway into the court-yard. From the terrace entrance will be had through the vestibule into the public lobby which communicates with a waiting-room for visitors and a room for the guides. The entrance to the second floor is by two broad flights of stairs leading from the terrace. The mezzanine floor will be reached by the staircase from the public lobby. From the corridors of this mezzanine floor the workshops not accessible to the public can be seen. The mezzanine floor will contain only the museum or numismatic room. It is placed in the centre of the court-yard, the corridors forming a sort of balcony from which the visitor looks into the workshops below. Congress fixed the cost of the building at $2,000,000. Of this sum $347,497.10

has been spent for the purchase of the ground and the preparation of the plans.

Previous to consolidation under the Act of 1854 each of the nine outlying districts had a town hall for its local administration, but these were too scattered to prevent the overcrowding of the city buildings when the needs of the enlarged municipality began to be felt. As a consequence the question of new public buildings at once began to be agitated. Public sentiment seemed to indicate Penn square as the proper location, but a strong preference was also shown for Independence or Washington square. At the close of 1860 public feeling ran very high in favor of, as well as in opposition to, the selection of Penn square, but the agitation was checked by the outbreak of the civil war, and was not renewed until after the return of peace. In 1870 the question was decided in favor of Penn square by a popular vote of 51,623, as against 32,825 votes for Washington square. The work of erecting the new City Hall was committed to a Public Building Commission named in an Act of the Legislature passed in 1870, and this commission, which still exists, has carried the undertaking almost to completion.

Penn or Centre square, as it was first called, was in the original plan of the city, but it remained without any enclosure or important improvement for fully a century. It was for many years a common. In 1760 it was turned into a race-course, and in 1799 it was chosen as the site for a reservoir and pumping-house in connection with the Schuylkill Water Works. The works were opened in 1801. The Centre House, with its pillared portico and dome, was long a conspicuous object in the middle of the square, which was subsequently enclosed with a circular fence of wooden pickets, the streets being continued around the enclosure. Walks were laid out, trees planted, and in 1809 an attractive fountain was placed on a mound in front of the main entrance to the Centre House. In 1829 the Centre House was removed as an obstruction to business; some of the trees were cut down, and Broad and Market streets were continued through the enclosure, thus dividing the square into four small parks. It thus remained until ground was broken for the new Public Buildings, the corner-stone of which was laid with Masonic ceremonies and an oration by Benjamin Harris Brewster, July 4, 1874.

The great structure that now stands in the centre of the square is in the form of a quadrangle, the length of the north and south fronts being 470 feet, and of the east and west fronts 486½ feet. Four grand archways, 18 feet wide and 36 feet high, embellished with polished sculptured columns, lead into an open courtway 200 feet square. From early morning until late at night a ceaseless tide of travel surges through this splendid plaza from each of the four archways. Corridors traverse each of the four floors of this noble building, the upper stories being reached by elevators and by broad stairways, to which

access is had by entrances from the square. The material principally used, both for the building and the enormous tower, is white marble from the Berkshire hills in Massachusetts. This tower is 90 feet square at the base, and its walls are 23 feet thick. Its height to the crown of the hat that surmounts the Penn statue is a fraction over 547 feet. This magnificent bronze figure is 37 feet high, and weighs 52,400 pounds. The great clock, the dial plates of which have a diameter of 23 feet, is visible from all parts of the city, the centre dial being 361 feet above the sidewalk. The facades of the building, the corridors and the principal apartments are all highly embellished. The comprehensive scheme of emblematic treatment—finely chiseled figures and picturesque groups which embraces every part of the building, facades, corridors and chambers—is rich in allegorical suggestion and symbolic statuary. The furnishings throughout are substantial and sumptuous. In this great building are gathered the offices of the city and county, and the courts and their adjuncts.

There are many public buildings in Philadelphia besides those described in this chapter. Such of them as require notice will be treated in the special departments relating to education and the penal, reformatory and other institutions.

III.

CLUBS AND CLUB LIFE.

Philadelphia has always been remarkable for its clubs and club life, beginning with the famous "Colony in Schuylkill," founded in 1732, and, as the "State in Schuylkill," still in vigorous existence. This club is not only the oldest having a continuous history in America, but in the world, antedating as it does the Beef Steak Club of London by three years. The colony was founded for hunting, fishing and feasting, and was governed in the colonial manner. The legislative and judicial functions of this self-created government were committed to a governor, an assembly of five members, a sheriff, a coroner, and a secretary, who was also the treasurer. The colonists were all men of substance and social position. The colony affected to exercise the rights of eminent domain over the streams and the woods for fishing and hunting purposes, but held an acre of land on the Schuylkill, on the estate of William Warner, long known as Egglesfield, by free socage. Warner was dubbed "Baron" Warner, and the annual payment of three sun perch, the first catch of the season, was made with great ceremony. The first of May was fixed upon as Gala Day to mark the opening of the fishing and fowling

season, and the first Thursday in October, which was its close, was Election Day. During the season meetings were held on alternate Thursdays. The meetings were for feasting as well as fowling and fishing, and each of the colonists had his share in the preparations for the feast. All "Schuylkillians" were required "to make diligent search" for the "rabbits, squirrels, pheasants, partridges, and others of the game kind" that "presumed to infest the coasts and territories of Schuylkill in a wild, bold and ungovernable manner," with the exception of the members specially detailed to be upon the river at daybreak to catch the early tide and secure a basket of fish for the banquet. The fish were duly inspected by the coroner, and assigned to some member of the colony, now state, to be cooked. Planked shad has succeeded to the fried sun perch of the colonial epoch, and the skill of the "tosser" has become almost a lost art. It was the duty of this functionary to turn the fish, and as he effected it with a lateral movement of the pan and a skill that could only be acquired by practice, the whole company was accustomed to gather round him to see the "toss." In these later days "planking" the shad has become a matter of ceremony. Attired in long aprons and broad-brimmed hats everybody is busy helping to prepare the meal. The senior apprentice claims the right to hold and turn the first shad for the "coroner." Then the juniors are allowed to learn the art of cleaning and splitting a shad properly. The club is a family of cooks. One is specially intrusted with the duty of preparing the roe sauce for the shad. Another prepares the pig sauce, for roast pigs, split and laid open upon a girdiron and "barbacued" on a bed of burning coals, are features of the feast. Each dish is prepared under the superintendence of a councillor, the humbler tasks, including the setting of the table, being performed by the apprentices. Neither fork nor knife is allowed to penetrate the meats of these epicures; no juice is permitted to escape; not a grain of seasoning is used. At the stroke of four the caterer announces to the governor that dinner is served and the feast begins.

The first governor of the colony in Schuylkill was Thomas Stretch, who held the office from 1732 until his death in 1766. He was succeeded by Captain Samuel Morris, the famous "Fighting Quaker" of the Revolution. A list of the members, although their number was always restricted to twenty-five, comprises the best known names in the city for a period covering fully two centuries. Every candidate for membership must serve a trying apprenticeship, and receive unanimous support to secure election. Under Governor Stretch the colony was so prosperous that in 1747 it was able to build a "court-house" in a grove of stately walnut trees on the slope facing the river on the west bank, a little north of the present bridge, at Girard avenue. In 1782 the colony adopted a declaration of independence and became a sovereign state, the name of the court-house being changed to the

Castle of the State in Schuylkill. A Legislative Executive Council took the place of the Assembly, and Baron Isaac Warner, the lord of the manor, became simply Chief Warder of the Castle. In 1812 a new castle was built, but the erection of the Fairmount Dam in 1822 destroyed the fishing, whereupon the "Schuylkillians" floated their "Castle" five miles down the stream to Rambo's Rock, on the east side, below Gray's Ferry. It remained there until 1888, when another removal became desirable, and the Castle was placed on the Delaware, near Andalusia. The old castle was 18 feet wide and 52 feet deep. It had two stories, the dining-room being on the first floor. The "State" has many relics, among them the "Penn platter," a large pewter dish originally presented to the "Fishing Company of Fort St. David's" by one of the Penns; a wooden bust of Governor Samuel Morris cut by William Rush, and the large bowl for the famous "Fish-House punch," with the curious wooden "dipper" that never spills, the gift of Captain Charles Ross in 1812. In this bowl, which is large enough for the immersion of a child, the citizens bring their male infants and have the governor baptize them in it, the superstition being that the heir so baptized will succeed the father in citizenship. The "State in Schuylkill" has had many distinguished guests. General Washington was entertained at the Castle, June 14, 1787, and the Marquis de la Fayette on the occasion of his last visit to Philadelphia in 1825. The one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the club was celebrated in 1882, the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania being placed to the right of the Governor of the "State in Schuylkill." This unique organization is still vigorous enough to outlast another century and a half.

Early in the eighteenth century—certainly as early as 1747—the "Fishing Company of Fort St. David's" was formed. It was modeled after the "Colony in Schuylkill," but instead of being colonists its members were warriors. The "fort" was situated on an elevated and extensive rock on the east side of the river above the Falls of Schuylkill. It was an oblong wooden building, resting on a stone foundation. This fort was capacious enough to accommodate a numerous garrison more celebrated for deeds of gastronomy than of arms. The company included many Welshmen, members of the "Society of Ancient Britons," and some of them of the Society of Friends. To them were given five large pewter platters, marked with the arms of the Penn family, the gift of the proprietary. The company languished during the Revolutionary period, and upon the return of peace the warriors of Fort St. David's united with the citizens of the "State in Schuylkill," bringing with them the gift of the "Penn platters." In 1819 these ancient dishes were stolen from the Castle, but three of them were afterward recovered.

Contemporary with the two fishing clubs already described was the Gloucester Fox-Hunting Club, organized in 1766. The kennels were

in a stable back of the old Philadelphia Academy, and on the banks of the Delaware, near Gloucester Point, N. J. The pack usually consisted of from sixteen to twenty-two couple of fleet hounds. The rendezvous was at William Hugg's inn, at the ferry. Capt. Samuel Morris was the first president of the fox-hunting club. He held the office from 1766 until his death in 1812. For many years the hounds were in charge of Captain Morris's negro man, Natt, who continued in the service of the club, after he obtained his freedom, as long as he lived. The club went out of existence in 1818.

Another eighteenth century club that was more gastronomical than piscatorial was the Mount Regale Fishing Company, which met at Robinson's tavern, at the Falls of Schuylkill, every other Thursday from June to October. Its membership list comprised such names as Allen, Chew, Francis, Hamilton, Hopkinson, Lawrence, McCall, Morris, Nixon, Shippen, Tilghman, and Willing. It is probable that this is the club "consisting of several associated families of the city," with which General Washington frequently dined at "Springsbury," while he was in Philadelphia attending the sessions of the Federal Convention in 1787. It was essentially a dining club, but by no means the first of its kind. Dining clubs have existed in Philadelphia since early in the eighteenth century. William Black, in his journal, speaks of dining with the "Beef Stake Clubb," of which Governor Thomas was a member, at the Tun Tavern, in 1744. Even the members of the Federal Convention formed a club for dining purposes, in 1787, Washington meeting with them both at the Indian Queen and the City Tavern. In these dining clubs "conversation and a cheerful glass" were always important elements, but, beginning with the famous "Wistar parties," they were all restricted in their qualifications for membership. No one was eligible as a "Wistarian" who was not a member of the American Philosophical Society. At first the "Wistar parties" were given at Dr. Casper Wistar's house on Sunday evenings, and the regale consisted only of cakes and wine. When the evenings were changed to Saturdays, in 1811, ice cream, raisins and almonds were added to the fare. At a later period, when the "Wistar parties" had a formal organization as a club and sumptuary laws, no ice cream was allowed. In time the suppers became sumptuous enough in spite of the sumptuary laws. "Philosophers eat like other men," wrote one of the guests, "and the precaution of an excellent supper is by no means found to be superfluous. It acts, too, as a gentle emolient on the acrimony of debate." These philosophers were noted wits and their badinage became historic. The modern dining clubs have retained the badinage, if not the decorum, of the "Wistar parties." Among these one of the oldest, and without exception the best known, is the Clover Club. It was founded in 1882, and since its organization no guest, however distinguished or sedate, has escaped the raillery of the Clover diners. Like the "Governors' Clubb" of 1744, it meets at a tavern. A gift for

oratory seems to be requisite for membership, probably because nobody is ever allowed to "orate." Similar organizations are the Stylus and Five O'Clock clubs. The Stylus membership consists mostly of newspaper workers. As a feature of club life there are dining clubs within most of the great clubs of the city, as the Ishmaelites in the Union League and the Roast Beef and Skillet and Pan clubs in the Manufacturers'. Another dining club that claimed something like lineal succession from the "Wistar parties" was the Saturday, founded in 1871.

The oldest of the purely social clubs is the Philadelphia. It was organized in 1833. When it was incorporated it was called the Philadelphia Association and Reading Room, but its name was changed in 1850 to the Philadelphia Club. The club has occupied its present clubhouse, at Thirteenth and Walnut streets, since 1850. It previously had rooms in the Adelphi Building, Fifth street, below Walnut; in Ninth street, above Spruce, and in Walnut street, above Ninth. The oldest and best-known families in the city are represented in its membership. The club-house is a plain brick building, but it is spacious and admirably adapted to the uses to which it is put.

The largest, the most widely-known and the most successful club in Philadelphia is the Union League. It was the outcome of the patriotic impulses in behalf of the Union for which Philadelphia was so distinguished during the civil war. It was organized November 15, 1862, as "The Union Club of Philadelphia," by a number of public-spirited gentlemen, loyalty to the Union being a necessary qualification for membership. The meetings at first were held at the houses of members on Saturday nights, a modest repast being provided by the host. At the fifth of these meetings, December 27, 1862, the Union League was organized, the Union Club being continued as a social organization. A large house was taken at No. 1118 Chestnut street, since known as the Baldwin mansion, which was thoroughly furnished for the accommodation of its members and the purposes of the League. From the outset the Union League filled a commanding place in the politics of the nation. It was an incentive for the formation of similar leagues in other cities to uphold the Union cause. A publication fund of $35,000 was subscribed and a board of publication appointed to print and issue patriotic pamphlets. By this and other means unwavering support was given to the Republican party. A committee was appointed to secure employment for disabled Union soldiers and sailors, and another committee, backed by ample means, was charged with the duty of enlisting and equipping men for the field. The sum of $80,000 was raised for this purpose, and three regiments were speedily armed and equipped. Before the close of the war the League sent to the field nine regiments and two battalions of infantry and a troop of cavalry, fully armed and equipped, at the expense of the club. No similar organization ever gave so much, either in money or patriotic effort, to

a cause involving the welfare of the whole people and the preservation of their institutions.

While the Union League was engaged in its arduous and patriotic work the lease for its Chestnut street home expired and in August, 1864, the club was compelled to seek other quarters. Previous to this, however, a lot of ground had been secured at the corner of Broad and Sansom streets for the erection of a club-house suited to the needs of the club. The building was completed in the ensuing spring and was first occupied by the club, May 11, 1865. In the meantime a temporary shelter was found on the south side of Chestnut street, between Twelfth and Thirteenth. As the membership of the League was already nearly a thousand, its temporary home in Chestnut street was entirely inadequate and when a meeting of the club was held the concert hall opposite was hired for the occasion. Considerable additions have been made to the splendid club-house in Broad street as originally planned, owing to the increasing membership and growing needs of the club. In 1865 the weekly meetings of the Union Club were superseded by an annual dinner which is given on the 27th of December, the anniversary of the organization of the Union League.

Since the war the Union League has not been so active in politics as it was while the struggle for the life of the nation lasted, but it has maintained its affiliations with the Republican party and has always exerted its influence in favor of good government. No club was ever so open-handed in its hospitalities, and some of its receptions are historic. The first of these grand receptions in the new club-house was tendered to Lieutenant-General Grant in 1865, and General Grant and his wife were entertained by the club after their return from their tour around the world in 1879. Among the other noteworthy receptions accorded to distinguished guests were those tendered to Major-General Philip H. Sheridan, in 1867; Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, in 1868; George H. Boker, upon his appointment as Minister to Turkey, in 1870, and upon his return from Russia in 1876; Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, while he was a candidate for President in 1876, and to President Hayes and wife in 1878; and Governor Henry M. Hoyt, of Pennsylvania, in 1879, and other eminent citizens of the State and nation in more recent years. Two receptions to the families of members and invited guests are given every winter.

During the war another club more purely political than the Union League was organized under the name of the National Union Club. It expired in 1872. The existing political clubs include the Americus Club at Broad and Chestnut streets, the membership of which is restricted to Democrats, the Union Republican Club at Eleventh and Chestnut, the Young Republicans' Club at Twelfth and Chestnut, the Pennsylvania Club at 1423 Walnut street, and the Young Men's Democratic Battalion at 109 South Broad street.

One of the oldest and most prosperous of the Philadelphia clubs is

the Mercantile in Seventh street, between Parish and Poplar. It was organized in 1853 and is composed almost wholly of members of the Jewish faith. Before 1879 the Mercantile Club occupied the premises at 410 and 412 Crown street, but in that year leased the property it now occupies. The building and grounds were handsomely fitted up for the use of the club and a new brownstone and pressed brick hall connecting with the club building was erected in Franklin street. The Manufacturers' Club, founded in 1888, is also a social club, although it has been since its organization a potent factor in elections as an exponent of the principle of Protection for American Industries by tariff legislation. The Manufacturers' occupies a handsome and well-equipped new club-house in Walnut street, just west of Broad. Among the other social clubs are the Rittenhouse in Walnut street, opposite Rittenhouse square, the fashionable club of young Philadelphia; the Columbia, occupying a handsome new building at Broad and Oxford streets, the fashionable "up-town" club; the Colonial, of Germantown, an aristocratic and exclusive organization; and the Caledonia, composed of a membership of Scotch antecedents. Besides these there are the University Club, occupying a fine club-house in Walnut street above Thirteenth, the members of which, as the name implies must be college graduates; the New Century Club, founded in 1877 and now occupying an attractive club-house built of Pompeiian brick and Indiana limestone, in the style of the Italian Renaissance, at 124 South Twelfth street, a club exclusively for women; the Catholic Club, originally founded in 1870 as the De Sales Institute; the United Service Club, composed of officers of the army and navy of the United States; the Lawyers' Club, confined to members of the Philadelphia Bar; and a number of other organizations of a similar character.

The literary element of Philadelphia finds its best expression through the Penn Club at Eighth and Locust streets. It was organized in 1875 as an "association of authors, artists and men of science, and amateurs of music, letters and the fine arts," and has occupied its present quarters almost from its foundation. The Penn is noteworthy for the high character of its membership and the number of distinguished guests it has entertained. The club's first reception was tendered to Carl Schurz, March 25, 1875. Among its numerous guests have been Dion Boucicault, actor and dramatist; Richard A. Proctor, astronomer; W. W. Story, sculptor; B. L. Farjeon, novelist; Bayard Taylor, poet and traveler; James E. Murdoch, the tragedian, and a long list of men eminent in politics, literature, science and art. A reception by the Penn Club continues to be a coveted distinction. Several attempts have been made to found clubs representative of the newspaper workers of Philadelphia but with only moderate success. The Journalists' Club was founded in 1882, but it lasted only a few years. Ten years later the Pen and Pencil Club, which has a spacious club-house in Walnut street, was organized. Its entertainments are called "Nights in

Bohemia." Ever since the days of Franklin's "Junto" there have been literary societies in Philadelphia in the nature of clubs but an attempt to enumerate them would be tedious.

Art in Philadelphia is represented by two well-known organizations—the Art Club occupying a handsome new club-house in Broad street, and the Sketch Club in Eleventh street, below Walnut. The latter was founded in 1860, and its membership list includes nearly all of the leading artists in the city. Both clubs give receptions every season.

Among the numerous organizations formed to meet special tastes are the Coaching Club, the Riding Club, the Turf Club, and the Sparring and Fencing Club. The aristocratic Country Club at Falls road and City Line avenue is the favorite resort of the exclusive members of the Coaching Club. The Riding Club was organized about forty years ago by a number of prominent lawyers for the purpose of promoting equestrian exercise among the members of the Bar. Many years before there was a Walking Club in Philadelphia, but its purposes failed to commend themselves to young Philadelphians, and it went out of existence. The Rabbit Club, situated near West Fairmount Park, where it has a quaint but cosy old-style club-house, is the resort of its members in their suburban drives. Besides, there are numerous sporting and athletic clubs that will receive attention in the chapter on sports and pastimes.

IV.

INNS, TAVERNS AND ORDINARIES—1682–1800.

"We have seven ordinaries for the entertainment of strangers and for workmen that are not housekeepers," William Penn wrote in 1683, "and a good meal is to be had for sixpence sterling." Whether the house that George Guest was building at the mouth of Dock Creek, when Penn and his friends came up from Chester and stepped ashore at his landing, was originally intended as an inn is not known, but it was not long until it became famous as the "Blue Anchor Tavern." This house afterward stood at the northwest corner of Front and Dock streets, and formed one of a row called "Budd's Long Row." It is credited with being the first tavern in Philadelphia. George Guest, the landlord, was a Friend, who became a man of consequence in the province, and was a member of the first Assembly. He was succeeded by Reese Price, Peter Howard and Benjamin Humphries, who were also Friends. The next in priority, probably, was the Penny Pot House at Front and Vine streets, which, like the Blue Anchor, was built at and gave its name to a landing. In

1701 it was ordained that "the landing places now and heretofore known as the Penny Pot House and Blue Anchor shall be left open and common for the use of the city." There were many other houses of entertainment at that time, among them "Ye Coffee House," the first of that name in Philadelphia, in a house in Front street, built and owned by Samuel Carpenter; the Pewter Platter, Enoch Story's inn in Strawberry alley, where William Penn, the younger, was arrested for assailing the constabulary that interfered with a debauch in which he and Governor Evans were the conspicuous spirits; the "Bull's Head Inn," where the Governor and Council met the representatives from the lower counties in 1704; the George Inn at Second and Arch streets, kept in 1700 by Nicholas Scull, and the Crooked Billet on the wharf near Chestnut street, the first house in Philadelphia entered by Benjamin Franklin.

More than a hundred years ago a venerable Quaker lady made an entry in her journal of the fact that she had just learned that "the old rough-cast house, opposite the State House, which was dated 1690, is pulled down." She had been told that it was built by one Clark, and she added, "I well remember when one of that name lived there, and kept flying-coaches fifty years ago, perhaps." It was a small two-story structure, and seems to have been used as a tavern for more than a century. According to black Alice, a slave woman, who died at Bristol, in 1802, at the age of 116 years, Master William Penn, when he was in Philadelphia during his second visit to his province, used to sit in the porch and refresh himself with a pipe, for which she always had his penny. Watson calls Clark's the State House Inn, but in colonial times it seems to have been called the "Coach and Horses," and after the Revolution the "Half Moon." It might be inferred that many historical associations with a tavern so situated would have been preserved, but such is not the case. Apparently it was only a drinking-house of the commoner sort, to which the statesmen of the capital resorted for a cheerful glass without any thought of consecrating it for posterity. It stood back from the line of the street facing the State House. In both front and rear the grounds were covered with bleached oyster shells, giving it something of the aspect of a sea-beach tavern. The only cheerful things among its surroundings were two ancient walnut trees, the remains of the forest that covered the neighborhood in Penn's time. The last of these trees was not cut down until 1818. Some of the wood was made into snuff-boxes, one of the boxes being presented to the Marquis de la Fayette when he visited Philadelphia in 1825.

It might be assumed that what Mrs. Drinker meant by the words "flying coaches" was something similar to what we now call a "merry-go-round." A more likely inference, however, especially in connection with the coach and horses on the tavern sign, is that Clark kept coaches that were so fast that they typified the rapid transit of the

period. In colonial times tavern signs in Philadelphia often had a meaning that was applicable to and descriptive of the inn to which they belonged. A modern diner off plated-ware cannot escape the suggestion of homely but abundant fare, conveyed by the device of a pewter platter that gave its name to the Pewter Platter Inn. Even more suggestive of good living, a century later, was the "Goose and Gridiron," that once invited the wayfarer in Chestnut street, not far from Clark's Inn. As a matter of course, the horse was a favorite device on old-time tavern signs, giving their names to many famous inns, as the "White Horse" in Fifth street, at what is now Commerce; the "Sorrel Horse" in Second street, opposite Christ Church, and the "Golden Horse," of a later time, in Market street, below Twelfth. The "Bull's Head" and the "Black Bear" were names given to a number of Philadelphia taverns, the bull's head on the sign of John Evans's inn in Strawberry street being painted, it was said, by Benjamin West.

The mention of West's name in connection with tavern art need stir up no unpleasant emotions in any æsthetic bosom. Matthew Pratt, while not so famous as Benjamin West, was an artist of unusual merit, and as a sign painter he was greatly West's superior. West's Philadelphia signs, or rather the signs imputed to him, were generally convivial in theme and character. Two of his signs were at one time in Swanson street, one representing the carriers of a cask of beer, and the other a man in a sitting posture holding up a glass of liquor as if looking through it. Another sign imputed to West was "The Fiddler," a name that is in itself descriptive of this work of art. Pratt's signs were more numerous and some of them more ambitious than those of his master. His first sign, which served to draw attention to his skill, was simple enough—a cock pecking at a sheaf of wheat,—but one of his last works was in the nature of a historical painting. It was a picture of the Federal Convention of 1787, painted for the "Federal Convention Inn," in South street, below Fifth. It contained thirty-eight figures, well executed, some of them said to be excellent likenesses. Beneath the painting were these lines:

> These thirty-eight men together have agreed
> That better times to us shall very soon succeed,

or, according to another and more satisfactory version:

> These thirty-eight men have signed the powerful deed
> That better times to us shall very soon succeed.

Another sign in Southwark, imputed to Pratt, represented a group of dogs barking at the moon. Below was this motto:

> Ye foolish dogs! why bark ye so,
> When I'm so high and ye're so low?

Even Gilbert Stuart contributed one tavern sign to Philadelphia, the equestrian figure of Frederick the Great for the "Prussia Inn."

Afterward the landlord had the sign lettered "King of Prussia," so that the intelligent observer might learn the subject of the artist's brush. At an early period the picture signs were often very quaint, but during the first half of the nineteenth century more curious devices were employed than at any time during the eighteenth. Any attempt to describe them must be deferred in consequence, although many of them overlap the two centuries.

The few records that have been preserved show that inn-keeping was an esteemed occupation in early Philadelphia, and that many of the early Philadelphians, prominent in affairs, were inn-keepers. Samuel Carpenter, the rich builder, besides the first coffee-house, owned the Globe Inn, the two houses being separated by a public stairway running from Front to Water street, at Carpenter's wharf, and in 1686 his brother, Joshua Carpenter, was licensed to keep an ordinary in one of these buildings. All the early inn-keepers, however, were not worthy men, and rapid increase of unlicensed taverns and drinking-houses in the next few years is indicated by the presentments of the grand jury. In 1709 a large number of tippling and disorderly houses was presented. In 1714 not fewer than thirty-five true bills were found against unlicensed taverns. In 1723 the tavern-keepers petitioned the Assembly, asking that all sellers of liquors be required to take out a license. In 1729 the Common Council reached the conclusion that the keeping of a tavern in the prison was a nuisance and asked the interference of the magistracy. It was not until 1763 that an effort was made to close the bar-rooms of the taverns on Sunday. The inns were the common resort of the greater part of the population down to the close of the eighteenth century, and public and political meetings, and even the dancing assemblies, were held at the taverns.

The early taverns showed a wonderful tenacity for continued existence. The "Blue Anchor" became the "Boatswain and Caul" at the Drawbridge, and continued to supply thirsty customers with drink down almost to the Revolution. Watson knew the "Penny Pot House" as the "Jolly Tar Inn" in his time. The George Inn continued to be a tavern for a century and a half—John Inskeep, one of the mayors of Philadelphia, was one of its landlords. Many of the historic mansions of the earlier period became inns, among them Penn's cottage and the Slate Roof House. Timothy Matlock, who was born in 1745, said "there was a famous beer-house on the west side of Letitia court, where all the fashionables would go." This, it is believed, was the Letitia House. After the Revolution it became the Rising Sun Inn, and within a comparatively recent period it was the Woolpack Hotel. It was occupied by Mrs. Elizabeth Roberts in 1794–5, and Mary Williams used it as an eating-house in 1800. Beside it stood another building built in 1700, which also became a tavern, and arrogated to itself the name of Penn Hall. It was at one time the Leopard Tavern, but at a later period it was called the William Penn Hotel, and its

landlord affected to believe it was the original Penn cottage. It also enjoyed the doubtful distinction of being the first "free-and-easy" in Philadelphia. When the Slate Roof House became a tavern is unknown. General John Forbes died at Mrs. Howell's in 1759, and Mrs. Howell was living in it at that time. Mrs. Graydon, the mother of Alexander Graydon, took the house in 1764. It sheltered many distinguished guests in her time, including Lady Susan O'Brien, the daughter of a peer, but the wife of an actor; the Baron de Kalb when he visited America in 1768-9, and John Hancock and George Washington when they were members of the Continental Congress. After Mrs. Graydon a Madame Berdeau kept the house. She, it was said, was the widow of the Rev. Dr. William Dodd, who collated the "Beauties of Shakespear," and was executed for forgery in England in 1777. Before it was pulled down one of the bastions of the Slate Roof House was used as an oyster cellar.

It is not easy to set down the noteworthy taverns of primitive Philadelphia with any regard to chronological sequence. We only know of the "Crooked Billet," because the youthful Franklin entered it in 1723. The name of the Three Tun Tavern in Chestnut street, below Second, has been preserved only because C. Marshall, druggist, mentioned it in an advertisement in 1725; that of the Queen's Head in Water street, kept by Robert Davis in 1729, because the Welsh "Society of Ancient Britons" had their annual dinners there; that of the Crown, kept by David Evans in 1731, because it was the meeting-place of the St. George's Society, and that of the Tun in Water street, below Chestnut, kept by Ralph Basnet in 1732, as the meeting-place of the Masonic lodges, and as the favorite resort of the "Beef Steak Club" in Governor Thomas' time. Governor Hamilton and his friends held their clubs at Peg Mullen's "Beef Steak House" in Water street, at the corner of Wilcox's alley. The "Golden Lion," or the "Spotted Cat" as it was more generally called, because the animal on its sign had a closer resemblance to a cat than to the king of beasts, was built as early as 1740. The Indian King in Market, below Third street, was as old as, or older than any of these. According to Franklin, the "Junto" often held its meetings at this house. It was kept for many years by John Biddle, "a very civil, courteous Quaker," according to Daniel Fisher,[1] "and his wife, not one jot behind him in rational benevolence." Biddle never sold liquor to any of his guests after 11 o'clock at night. There was also an "Indian Queen" in Market street as early as 1758. There was another "Indian Queen" in Fourth street, for which the distinction has been claimed that it was the house in which Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence. The Centre House in Centre square was in existence in 1755, for Daniel Fisher stopped there for refreshment while he was sojourning at the Indian

[1] Penna. Mag., Vol. XVII., p. 263.

King. "Here is a Bowling-Green," he wrote, "and neat people keep the House, but a strange Brute of a Landlord."

The most noted of the public-houses of old Philadelphia was not an inn, but it was a place of resort and entertainment more frequented than any of the taverns. This was the establishment known even before the Revolution as the "Old London Coffee-House." The building, which stood at Market and Front streets, was erected as early as the second year of the eighteenth century, but it was not turned into a coffee-house until 1754. It was opened by William Bradford, the third of that name in America, and a grandson of the William Bradford who was the first printer in Pennsylvania. The London Coffee-House became a favorite resort almost from the first day it opened its doors. All Philadelphia concentrated itself in and around this building for a quarter of a century. The merchants congregated at the Coffee-House to sip its beverages and meet each other. Hither the captains of ships repaired to make report to their consignees. It was there that the people went to hear the news. The dignitaries of the city and province mingled with the daily throng, adding by their presence to the animation of the scene. In front of the building public auctions were held,—sometimes the effects of an unfortunate debtor; sometimes a white bond-servant to be sold for a term of years, and sometimes a black slave for life. It was the theatre of many popular tumults and excitements. Before this house, in 1765, a harmless newspaper printed at Barbadoes was publicly burnt by an excited multitude because it bore the hated device imposed by the Stamp Act. It was to the Coffee-House that Captain Wise, of the brig *Minerva*, who brought the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act, was escorted from the wharf in May, 1766, to be presented with a cocked hat by the enthusiastic citizens, and invited to pledge "Prosperity to America" in libations from a bowl of foaming punch specially prepared for the occasion. It was here also that the effigies of Thomas Hutchinson, Governor of Massachusetts, and Augustus Wedderburn, Solicitor-General of Great Britain, were exposed to the jeers and hootings of the people, May 3, 1774, and after being hung on a gallows in front of the Coffee-House, ignited by an electric spark from a battery that belonged to Dr. Franklin. To this place in 1775 Isaac Hunt, a Tory lawyer, father of the celebrated Leigh Hunt, was carried in a cart by a company of associators and compelled publicly to recant his political errors. Dr. John Kearsley the same day met a similar fate at the same place. On the day that John Nixon read the Declaration of Independence in the State House Yard, July 8, 1776, the king's arms were removed from the State House and burnt in the street in front of the Coffee-House. It was in the Coffee-House in 1778 that Brigadier-General William Thompson, of Carlisle, declared that Congress had treated him in a rascally manner, and attempted to assault Chief-Justice McKean, whom he blamed for the long delay in effecting his

exchange as a prisoner of war. Colonel William Bradford served with the Pennsylvania militia in the campaign on the Delaware in the winter of 1776–7, and in the operations around Philadelphia in 1777. When he resumed business, after the evacuation by the British, he found that the Coffee-House had been supplanted as a place of popular resort by the City Tavern in Second street, above Walnut. Bradford relinquished the lease in 1780 to Gifford Dally, but the lost attractions of the "Old London Coffee-House" soon caused it to be turned to other uses.

The "New Tavern," or the "City Tavern" as it was afterward called, was built before the Revolution, probably in 1773. George Washington supped at the "New Tavern," September 4, 1774, and it was there the members of the first Continental Congress met on the following morning previous to seeking a place for their deliberations. On the 20th of October a banquet was given at the New Tavern by the Pennsylvania Assembly to the delegates in Congress, and it was there that M. Gerard, the first Minister of France to the United States, gave a grand entertainment in honor of the birthday of King Louis XVI. in 1778. It was to the City Tavern that the mob that attacked "Fort Wilson," in 1779, first went in search of some of the obnoxious merchants against whom their wrath was directed. Washington frequently dined there with members of the Federal Convention in 1787, and he stayed there with Mrs. Washington and her two grandchildren in 1790, while on his way from New York to Mount Vernon, before the President took up his residence permanently in Philadelphia. At 4 o'clock, on the day of his arrival, he was tendered a repast there, provided by the Corporation and attended by the President of the State, General Thomas Mifflin, and members of the Legislature and the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania. The City Tavern was afterward known as the Coffee-House.

A popular inn of the Revolutionary period and afterward was Henry Epple's, in Race street. That it was a commodious and fashionable resort is proved by the fact that an assembly was held there that was graced with the presence of Mrs. Bingham. Many political conferences took place at Epple's Inn. Among the famous Philadelphia inns before the close of the eighteenth century were the Wigwam, in Race street, near the Schuylkill, where the Tammany Society sometimes met, and the Fort St. David's Inn, at the Falls of Schuylkill. The inns in existence before 1750 included the Vintners' Arms, Plume of Feathers, Prince Eugene, the Waggon, Three Mariners, James's Coffee House, Mrs. Bridges', Fleece, Free Mason, Queen of Hungary, and Bear and Highlandman, in Front street; the Three Crowns, kept by Mrs. Jones, at Second and Water streets; the Red Lion, King's Arms, and Barrack, in Second street; the Two Sloops, in Water street; the Lion, in Elbow lane; the Mariner's Compass, and Four Horseshoes, and the Brig, and Snow, in Strawberry alley; the Dolphin, and Hen and

Chickens, in Chestnut street; the White Hart, Half Moon, Black Bull, and Fountain, in Market street; the Rose, King of the Mohawks, and A Jolly Trooper, in Arch street; the Anchor and Hope, in Black Horse alley; the Plough and Harrow, in Third street; the Lion, at Wicaco; the Rising Sun, in Germantown road; the Bear and the Blue Ball, at Frankford; the Buck, at Germantown; the Swan, at Chestnut Hill; and the Three Tuns, at Whitemarsh. The century closed with a long list of taverns that is only remembered now because of quaintness of nomenclature. Among those in existence in 1785 were the Bird-in-Hand, Faithful Irishman, Conestoga Wagon, Green Tree, Kouli Khan, Bunch of Grapes, Three Jolly Irishmen, Wilkes and Liberty, Turk's Head, the Salute, American Soldier, Red Cow, Dusty Miller and White Horse, Noah's Ark, and the Oley Wagon. There were others named in remembrance of the Revolution, as the Battle of the Kegs, in Water street, between Race and Vine; the General Washington, in Vine street, above Second; the General Wayne, at Penn and Pine streets; Dr. Franklin, at Second and Race streets; another General Washington, in Front street, between Arch and Race; and Louis the Sixteenth, in South street, between Fifth and Sixth, Many of these, and many others not named continued to exist far into the nineteenth century.

The suburban inns of the eighteenth century were numerous and attractive. Among these was Gray's Garden, at the Lower Ferry, which was a noted resort while Philadelphia was the capital of the United States. Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist, has preserved a lively picture of the road to Gray's Garden,—

> Where market maids in lovely rows,
> With wallets white, were riding home;
> And thundering gigs, with powder'd beaux,
> Through Gray's green festive scenes to roam,

were evening scenes of daily occurrence. Not far from Gray's, on the Darby road, was the "Sorrel Horse," and on the west side of the road, at Cobb's Creek, is the old Blue Ball Inn, built in 1762. It was at the Blue Ball that Washington overheard one of the three Paschall girls declare she would like to kiss him. "Which one?" he demanded, and not obtaining a satisfactory answer, said, "Then, I shall have to kiss you all." John Ord's house and garden, where his son, George Ord, the author of the "Life of Wilson," was born, were in Front street, above Christian, when there were few houses between there and "the Neck." In the northwestern part of Philadelpha there were many suburban inns, as the Rising Sun and the Fox Chase, in the Germantown road, but their history belongs to the present century.

V.

PUBLIC HOUSES AND HOTELS—1800–1897.

THE public houses and hotels of Philadelphia at the beginning of the nineteenth century were noteworthy for the artistic quality of their signs. Among the sign painters of the epoch entitled to be classed as artists, the most eminent was John A. Woodside. He was the legitimate successor of Matthew Pratt. One of his first works was a new sign for the old tavern in Fourth street, below Market, which was in his best style; but his most famous sign, perhaps, was that which he painted for the Falstaff Inn, in Sixth street, at the corner of Jayne. This house was known for many years as the "Washington Tavern," but after the Chestnut Street Theatre was rebuilt, in 1822, it became the "New Theatre Hotel." It is said that after his failure in the management of the theatre, William Warren, famous as *Sir Peter Teazle* and *Sir John Falstaff*, became its landlord. The sign painted by Woodside represented Warren as *Falstaff*. Warren soon relinquished the tenancy of the tavern, and in time the Falstaff of the sign faded out. Another sign attributed to Woodside, of which the subject was theatrical, was a representation of *Rolla* carrying *Cora's child*. This was at the corner of Front and Catherine streets. The portrait was said to have been that of George Frederick Cooke, but to this the objection is made that Cooke never acted *Rolla*. All the same the artist may have chosen to depict him in the character. Woodside sometimes painted historical subjects. One of these was "The Landing of Columbus," on a tavern sign in Beach street, and another was "The Declaration of Independence," copied from Binn's engraving, for the "Union Hotel," at Seventh and South streets. The "Union" was kept by Samuel E. Warwick. Below his picture Woodside painted this serious verse:

> Whate'er may tend to soothe the soul below,
> To dry the tear and blunt the shaft of woe,
> To drown the ills that discompose the mind—
> All those who seek at Warwick's Inn shall find.

Portraits on tavern sign were at one time very common in Philadelphia. Besides the portrait of Warren as *Falstaff*, and the imputed portrait of Cooke as *Rolla*, there was at a later period a sign with Forrest as *Metamora* for the "Metamora House," in Sixth street, above Arch. There was a number of Shakespeare inns, with signs intended to represent the Bard of Avon, among them a popular tavern in Sixth street, between Chestnut and Market, and the fashionable Shakespeare Hotel at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut. There were also numerous

Washington heads, that on the sign of the "General Washington," in Front street, above Market, being copied from the head by Stuart. Many of the lesser and later heroes enjoyed a like distinction, as "General Montgomery," Sixth street, near South; "Thomas Jefferson," at the southwest corner of Fifth and Poplar; "General Jackson," at Brown and Oak streets, and "Jackson's Head," Race street, above Seventh; "Commodore Decatur," Decatur street, near Jayne; "Commodore Porter," Callowhill street, below Second; "General Brown," Fifth and Buttonwood; "Simon Snyder," Callowhill and York avenue, and others, all by unknown painters. The picture signs, besides the "Battle of the Kegs," which belonged to the previous century, included subjects like "The Hornet and the Peacock," "Constitution and Guerriere," "Volunteer of Camp Dupont," and "State Fencibles, Second Company." The picture last mentioned was painted by Woodside. Some of the picture signs of the beginning of the century were quaint enough for an earlier epoch, as "The Quiet Woman," a woman without a head; "A Man Full of Trouble," a man on whose arm his wife was leaning, with a monkey perched on his shoulder and a parrot on his hand, while the woman carried a band-box, on the top of which was a cat; and for the Sir Walter Raleigh Tavern, in Third street, the familiar subject of Sir Walter smoking a pipe and his servant throwing water over him. Sometimes the sign painters dropped into poetry. On a sign near the Navy Yard there were a tree, a bird, a ship, and a mug of beer, with these lines:

This is the tree that never grew;
This is the bird that never flew;
This is the ship that never sailed;
This is the mug that never failed.

At Union and Second streets the sign represented a gate, with these lines beneath:

This gate hangs well,
It hinders none;
Refresh and pay,
Then travel on.

The widow Sarah Brown's sign, the "Huntsman and Hounds," at Arch street, west of Sixth, had this inscription:

Our hounds are good, and the horses too;
The buck is near run down;
Call off the hounds, and let them blow,
While we regale with Brown.

With the beginning of the century the name "Inn" began to disappear and the word "House" or "Hotel" to be used in its stead. In Third street, above Shippen, was a sign that had on it the puzzling inscription "X 10 U 8." This tavern was the "Extenuate House."

"Our House" was in Library street in the building known as Military Hall. As tippling rooms increased in number and the splendor of their appointments they took special names, as "Head-Quarters," in Franklin place, above Chestnut, enriched with pictures, busts, and views of old Philadelphia houses, and the "Castle" at Ninth and Walnut streets, an unpretentious place, with a miniature stage in the rear, where young Edwin Forrest, among others, studied as *Young Norval*, or the jealous *Moor*. Many of the famous old Philadelphia mansions became hotels. In 1800, John Francis, who had kept the "Indian Queen" in Front street, opened the Union Hotel in Market street in the house built by Mrs. Mary Masters for her son-in-law, Richard Penn, and occupied during their incumbency of the Presidency by George Washington and John Adams. Dr. Franklin's house in Franklin court became a hotel in 1802. In that year a dinner was given there to Thomas Paine in the room that had been Franklin's library. The Bingham mansion in Third street became the Mansion House Hotel in 1807, and was used as a public house until it was destroyed by fire in 1822. It was afterwards rebuilt and used as a hotel until 1847 when it was again injured by fire. Charles Kemble and his daughter, Miss Fanny Kemble, were guests there in 1832–3, and Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kean were in the house when it took fire the last time. The McCall mansion at Second and Union streets became the City Hotel in 1809, but was unsuccessful and was abandoned as a hotel in 1815. The Columbia House in Chestnut street adjoining the Arcade, was in what was once the mansion of Mrs. Elizabeth Powell. The Sans Souci Hotel was romantically situated on the cliffs on the west side of Schuylkill in what had been the country seat of the Say family. It was demolished in consequence of the widening of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad. What was once the most prominent hotel in Philadelphia occupied two dwelling houses in Chestnut street, opposite the Custom House, where the Philadelphia Bank now stands. This was the United States Hotel. It was opened in 1826 and sheltered many distinguished guests during the next thirty years. It was the stopping place of Charles Dickens when he visited Philadelphia in 1842. Judd's Hotel at 27 South Third street, opened in 1819, occupied the building that had been the post-office for many years. Another hotel known by different names but generally called "Jones's" was in two dwelling houses on the north side of Chestnut street between Sixth and Seventh. In 1858, Judge Richard Peters's fine old mansion in Walnut street above Third became Petry's restaurant. The last of the historic houses of Philadelphia to become a hotel was the mansion of Dr. James Rush in Chestnut street, above Nineteenth. It was and is still called "The Aldine" and was opened in 1877.

The first building in Philadelphia erected especially for hotel purposes was at the corner of Eleventh and Market streets, where the Bingham House now stands. It was built in 1813 and was called the

Mansion Hotel, because William Renshaw by whom it was opened had previously kept the Mansion House Hotel in the Bingham mansion. It retained the name of the Mansion for many years. The other houses built for hotel purposes before 1850 were the Merchants' in Fourth street, above Market, opened in 1837, and the Franklin House in Chestnut street at the corner of Franklin place, 1842. In the year that marked the middle of the century there were one hundred and sixty-seven hotels in Philadelphia besides the drinking houses and other tippling resorts. Among these there were only a few that bore their ancient names—the Black Bear, 222 North Front street; the Thomas Jefferson, Fifth and Poplar; the Decatur in Decatur street; the Fox Chase and Rising Sun in the Germantown road; "Our House," 10 Library street, and the "Seven Presidents," Coates street, above Ninth. There were others that bore ancient names but they were not on the ancient sites, as the "Bull's Head" and "Red Lion" in Market street, four "White Horses," four "Washingtons," the Plough in Second street, the General Wayne in Germantown, the Green Tree in South Second street and the Phœnix at Fifth and Callowhill. The famous Phœnix Tavern—a great resort in its day—was between Fifth and Sixth streets, at what is now Oxford street. There was no longer a "General Jackson" or "Jackson's Head" but instead there was a "Cass and Butler." The only hotel now in existence that bears the name it had in 1850 is "Guy's" in Seventh street near Chestnut.

There have been many famous bonifaces in Philadelphia during the century. Major Graves, a prominent politician, kept the Lemon Tree, in Sixth street between Noble and Buttonwood, famous for its Fourth-of-July dinners and Democratic ox-roasts after elections. There was a tavern, kept by William Newton, at the corner of Eighth and Buttonwood streets, where the elections for the Spring Garden district were held. Newton, who was an ardent Democrat, had a bottle strung on a pole for a sign. As the sign was hung while David R. Porter was a candidate for governor the house was called the "Porter-Bottle." John Weaver who kept a tavern and hay-scales, at Fifth and Green streets, was afterward elected Register of Wills. Hines Causland, who kept the Bell Tavern in Eighth street, was another active politician. His house was much frequented by men of his own class, and it is said General Jackson was first nominated for the Presidency at the Bell. Watson says that Robert Bogle the "colorless colored man," as Nicholas Biddle called him in the "Ode to Bogle," who lived next door, at No. 46, where he kept a small confectionery shop, and was both a caterer and undertaker, also occupied the Bell before Causland's rule. Charles Alexander, who conducted the "Head-Quarters" was also the proprietor of the *Daily Chronicle* and other publications. He kept an "exchange" or reading-room for the accommodation and comfort of his guests. A famous Philadelphia landlord was Michael Dennison, an Englishman, who kept the George at Second and Arch streets,

early in the century. He became rich and returned to England to enjoy his fortune. His retirement was the occasion of some verses,[1] which, though not so polished as Biddle's "Ode to Bogle," are equally worthy of preservation. Samuel Hymas, another Englishman, built the Phoenix about the close of the war of 1812, and Peter Boon kept the tavern at the foot of Shackamaxon street, on the Delaware, with the famous sign, "Shooting the Deserter." Famous in his day was "Old Johnny Upton" in Second street, near Dock, whose painted sign of fish, game and meats was so tempting that a passing dog once made a jump for the counterfeits. Jim Bath, a noted pugilist, kept the "Bob Logic Tavern," which was the resort of the "Corntoppers," a burlesque military company of which he was the commander. Bob Tate also kept a tavern that was a favorite resort of "Corntoppers" and "sports." The most notable keeper of a public house in recent years where politicians were in the habit of meeting is William McMullen,—"The Squire" everybody calls him. Perhaps the only sign in Philadelphia in the closing years of the century that is in keeping with the devices of a hundred years ago is the miniature barrel perched aloft in Broad street near Chestnut that tells that the place is "The Keg."

Tavern signs in Philadelphia have sometimes been the subjects of pulpit discourses. The tavern called the Ram's Head Headquarters was in Sixth street, near Catherine. Nearby was the Methodist church of which the Rev. "Billy" Barnes, the noted Shakespearian pulpit orator, was at one time the pastor. "While walking to this house of worship," said Barnes upon entering the pulpit one Sunday, "I was pained to see men going into the Ram's Head Headquarters—a rum shop—headquarters for rams! Oh! Brethren, what a contrast! the lambs of heaven and the rams of hell!" Edward Kelly, who kept a tavern in Sixth street, near Middle alley, had for a sign a large bee-hive with the motto—"By Industry we Thrive." It was not in existence many weeks before it became the subject of the bitter ridicule of the Rev. John Chambers, whose church was in Broad street, near Chestnut.

After 1850, the building of palatial hotels became frequent. The Girard was built in 1851 and opened in 1852. The La Pierre House, now the Lafayette Hotel, was first opened in 1853. It was rebuilt in 1895. The Continental Hotel which occupies the site that was previously Cooke's Circus, was built in 1859 and opened February 16, 1860.

[1] LINES ON MICHAEL DENNISON.

His bulk increased by ale and venison,
Alas! we soon must lose good Dennison.
City of *Penn*, his loss deplore.
Although with *pain* his bulk you bore!
Michael, farewell! Heaven speed thy course,
Saint George take with thee and thy horse;
But to our hapless city kind,
The watchful dragon leave behind.
Michael! your wealth and full-spread frame
Shall publish Pennsylvania's fame.
Soon as the planks beneath you crack,
The market shall be hung with black.
Michael! her stores might sure content ye;
In Britain, none boast greater plenty;
The Bank shall with the market join,
To weep at once,—thee and thy coin;
Thy guineas, ranged in many a pile,
Shall swell the pride of Britain's Isle:
Whilst England's Bank shall smiling greet,
The wealth that came from Chestnut street.

It has housed many of the distinguished visitors to Philadelphia since its erection. After the Continental the next of the large hotels in the order of time were the Colonnade in Chestnut street and the St. George in Broad street. The latter is now the Stratford and is conducted in conjunction with the Bellevue on the same side of the street. Among the large hotels that have disappeared since the Centennial year are the Merchants' in Fourth street and the American and St. Stephen's in Chestnut street. The Stenton, at Broad and Spruce streets, was the newest of the fashionable hotels previous to the opening of the Hotel Walton, at Broad and Locust streets, in 1895. The Walton is a large and showy structure and it exhibits greater splendor in its interior decorations than any of its predecessors. The Bellevue is perhaps the most characteristic Philadelphia hotel of the closing years of the century because the servants are on terms of intimacy with many of the guests.

MILITARY HISTORY OF PHILADELPHIA.

I.

IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD.

THE first effort at organizing a militia in Pennsylvania was made in 1694 when a bill was introduced into the Assembly with that end in view. The measure was beaten on the second reading. During the next half century authority for the organization of the militia was steadily denied and the appropriation of money for military purposes strenuously resisted. Notwithstanding the attitude of the Assembly Governor Andrew Hamilton granted a commission to raise a militia in 1701 and a company of which George Lowther, a lawyer, and subsequently proprietary attorney-general, was the captain, was raised in Philadelphia. There is a record saying that in 1704 "they raised three companies in town, three in Newcastle, two in Kent, and one in Sussex." The only military exploit of this early soldiery was to fire over the grave of Lieutenant-Governor William Markham. These companies soon fell to pieces, and when Governor Evans attempted to create a military spirit in the city by the puerile subterfuge of a false alarm of an impending attack by the Spaniards in 1706 he only succeeded in arousing indignation instead of enthusiasm. In 1708, during "Queen Anne's war," Pennsylvania was asked to furnish 150 men and the necessary officers to assist in the defence of the colonies from the attacks of the French and Indians. Conscious of the obstacles to the raising of troops in the province Governor Gookin, Evans' successor, asked the Assembly for a grant of £4,000 instead of a levy, but was told by the House that "they could not in conscience provide money to hire men to kill each other." Two years later a grant of £2,000 was reluctantly voted, but as it was made subject to the compensation of masters whose bond-servants had gone over to New Jersey to enlist it proved abortive. William Penn, the younger, urged the enactment of a militia law after his father's death in 1718, but the recommendation had no results, and "King George's war" found Philadelphia as defenceless as it was in the time of Queen Anne. In spite of the absence of a militia law Governor Thomas resolved to raise four hundred men in 1740, which was Pennsylvania's quota, and succeeded in enlisting seven companies in the space of three months. The readiness of the people, who were not Quakers, to enlist suggested to Franklin and others the idea of voluntary association, and thus the principle was adopted that became an important element in the American Revolution.

The first "Association" was formed in 1744. As many as 1,200 men subscribed the rolls in Philadelphia. In the province the Associators numbered 10,000 men, armed at their own expense and commanded by officers of their own choosing. Benjamin Franklin was chosen colonel of the Philadelphia battalion, but Col. Franklin, not being emulous of military honors, Alderman Thomas Lawrence was elected in his stead. In 1747–8, when the danger of invasion was imminent, the battalion of Associators was reorganized, two regiments being formed,—one in the city and one in the county. The city regiment elected Abraham Taylor colonel; Thomas Lawrence, lieutenant-colonel; and Samuel McCall, major; and the county regiment chose Edward Jones, colonel; Thomas York, lieutenant-colonel; and Samuel Shaw, major. The company officers[1] were all men of prominence in the city and county. The first meeting with the purpose of organizing these regiments in view was held at Walton's school-room November 21, 1747, and in three days five hundred names were enrolled. On the 26th the Common Council adopted an address to the proprietaries asking them to send over a number of cannon for a battery or batteries "that may command the passes of the river, together with arms and ammunition." A lottery was projected that was expected to yield £3,000. This expectation was probably realized. Among the buyers was the Common Council which purchased two thousand tickets on behalf of the city. Early in January, 1748, the work of organization was completed and two batteries were projected,—one at Atwood's wharf under "Society Hill," and the other and larger one below the old Swedes' church, on the site lately occupied by the Navy Yard. The former was finished in April and mounted

[1] THE ASSOCIATION REGIMENTS.

OFFICERS OF THE CITY COMPANIES.

Captains.	*Lieutenants.*	*Ensigns.*
Charles Willing,	Atwood Shute,	James Claypoole,
Thomas Bond,	Richard Farmer,	Piunkett Fleeson,
John Inglis,	Lynford Lardner,	T. Lawrence, Jr.,
James Polegreen,	William Bradford,	William Bingham.
Peacock Bigger,	Joseph Redman,	Joseph Wood,
Thomas Bourne,	Robert Owen,	Peter Etter,
William Cuzzins,	George Spafford,	Abraham Mason,
Septimus Robinson,	William Clemin,	William Rush,
James Coultas,	George Gray, Jr.,	Abraham Jones,
John Ross,	Richard Swan,	Philip Benezet,
Richard Nixon,	Richard Renshaw,	Francis Garrigues.

OFFICERS OF THE COUNTY COMPANIES.

Captains.	*Lieutenants.*	*Ensigns.*
John Hughes,	Matthias Holstein,	Frederick Holstein,
Samuel Shaw,	Isaac Ashton,	John Roberts,
Henry Pawliug,	Robert Dunn,	Hugh Hamilton,
Thomas York,	Jacob Leech,	John Barge,
Jacob Hall,	Joseph Levis,	William Finney,
Edward Jones,	Griffith Griffiths, / William Coats,	James Richey,
Abraham Dehaven,	Roger North.	John Panling,
Christopher Robbins,	Peter Knight,	Benjamin Davis,
John Hall,	Joshua Thomas,	Philip Wynkoop.

thirteen guns. The latter, which was called the "Association Battery," was four hundred feet long and had embrasures for twenty-seven cannon and subsequently mounted upward of fifty. Some of the cannon were made at Bridgewater, Mass., and some brought from England. In November, 1750, the Penns sent over fourteen new pieces, that were mounted in the "Association Battery." One piece, a 32-pounder, was presented by the "Colony in Schuylkill." This gun has an interesting history. It was inscribed in the language of the Lenni Lenape—"Kawania che keetura Schuylkill." This has been translated—"This is my right ; I will defend it." In 1880 the gun was identified among the relics preserved at Fort Mifflin, and April 23, 1884, it was returned to "The State in Schuylkill" by order of the Secretary of War. Where the "Schuylkill Gun" was made is unknown, but the inscription shows that it was cast to the order of the famous old "Fishing Company." It was probably removed to the old "Mud Fort" just previous to the British occupation in 1777. One thing is certain,—neither the Schuylkill gun, nor any of the others, was ever fired at a hostile Spaniard or Frenchman from the "Association Battery." An artillery company under Capt. John Sibbald, an old privateersman, was organized and trained and the "Associators" mounted guard in the fort for awhile, but peace came and the "Association" was dissolved.

In 1755 the first Militia Act for the province passed the Assembly. It was a curiously constructed piece of military legislation. In effect it only gave legal sanction to voluntary association. At the time the French and Indian war was at its height, and the settlers along the Blue Ridge from Tulpehocken to the Potomac, were constantly menaced and sometimes massacred by bands of marauding savages. Braddock's defeat had exposed the entire frontier to the incursions of the hostile Indians who were the allies of the French. What was done in Philadelphia in the way of organization under the new law is not clear. According to Franklin a regiment was raised, consisting of about twelve hundred men, of which he was chosen colonel. Colonel Franklin's account[1] of it is that of a vain and garrulous old man. He forgot the number of companies in the regiment, and failed to name any of the officers, except himself. "The first time I reviewed my regiment," he said, "they accompanied me to my house and would salute me with some rounds fired before my door, which shook down and broke several glasses of my electrical apparatus. And my new honours proved not less brittle, for all our commissions were soon after broken by a repeal of the law in England." When he was about to depart on a journey to Virginia thirty of forty of his Falstaffians, "mounted and all in their uniforms," went to his house and escorted him to the Lower Ferry. "What made it worse," he wrote, "was, that as soon as we began to move, they drew their swords and rode with them

[1] "Autobiography," Bigelow, Vol. I., p. 340.

naked all the way. Somebody wrote an account of this to the proprietor and it gave him great offense. No such honor had been paid to him when in the province, nor to any of his government, and he said it was only proper to princes of the blood royal, which may be true for aught I know, who was and still am ignorant of the etiquette in such cases. . . . . He accused me to the ministry as being the great obstacle to the king's service, preventing by my influence in the House the proper form of the bills for raising money, and he instanced this parade with my officers as a proof of my having an intention to take the government out of his hands by force." The want of a compulsory feature in the Militia Act rendered it unpopular with the Philadelphia regiment of volunteers, and it was with little regret that they saw it repealed by the royal prerogative. Twenty-five companies, consisting of fourteen hundred men, were raised for the defense of the province by the Governor and a Provincial Commission in 1756, but Philadelphia contributed nothing to the battalions under Major Burd and Lieutenant-colonels Armstrong and Weiser.

The military history of Philadelphia during the rest of the colonial period concerned only the necessity sometimes imposed upon the city of providing quarters for the king's troops. The first occasion arose upon the arrival of Colonel Dunbar—"Dunbar, the tardy"—with the fugitives from Braddock's shattered command. A hospital was needed and lodgings for the soldiers. The city was applied to furnish these conveniences. "We know of no law that authorizes us to make such provisions, and therefore have it not in our powers to obey your orders," the Mayor and Recorder answered in behalf of the corporation. The house of Jacob Duchè was rented for a hospital and the troops encamped between Pine and Cedar streets, west of Fourth. This was in August, 1755. They did not stay long and underwent no serious hardships, as is shown by the fact that the Philadelphia women formed an "Association" for regaling them with apple pies and rice pudding. After the departure of Dunbar there were no soldiers in Philadelphia until late in the autumn of 1756, when the Sixty-second Regiment, the Royal Americans, and an independent company arrived. It was the first time a detachment of the king's troops was quartered in the city by the direction of the Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces in North America.

The commander of the Royal Americans was Col. Henry Bouquet, a Swiss soldier in the British service. An Act was passed by the Assembly for billeting the troops in the public houses. It is said the innkeepers represented that they had ample accommodations. As the troops numbered only 550 and there were 117 licensed houses in Philadelphia, there ought to have been no reason for complaint. It was not long, however, until Colonel Bouquet complained that the quarters assigned to his command were inadequate, that his men were suffering from the cold, that the small-pox was increasing among them, and that

he was "cruelly and barbarously treated." The want of a hospital was especially felt, and there was need probably for a guard-room. The Governor applied to the Assembly, but the Assembly failed to make further provision for the troops. Bouquet asked for a warrant to the Sheriff to assign him quarters in private houses and the Governor issued the warrant. A violent quarrel between Governor Denny and the Assembly was the consequence. A guard-room, store-room, and hospital were provided as the results of this quarrel, but beyond these additions to their comfort the officers and soldiers were required to get along as best they could at the taverns.

As it was apparent that accommodations would be frequently needed for the king's troops in Philadelphia, it was determined to build a barracks under authority of an Act of the Assembly passed in 1757. This work was done under the direction of commissioners chosen by the Assembly. The first site selected for the barracks was south of Arch street and west of Tenth, and the excavations were actually begun, but owing to representations of the agent of the proprietary the work was abandoned and another site was secured. This was between Second and Third streets and from St. Tamany street to Green in the Northern Liberties. The parade-ground was in Second street and the officers' quarters—a large brick building, long used as the Northern Liberty Town Hall—were in Third street. The work was under way when Colonel Haldimand with the Second Battalion of the Royal Americans was in Philadelphia in the autumn of 1757. The Governor was not consulted in regard to the work, but the judgment of Colonel Haldimand was asked. Haldimand disapproved both of the plan and the situation of the barracks, and Lieutenant Meyer was afterward sent by Lord Loudoun to supervise the work. Whether Meyer was able to exert any influence over the commissioners is not known. In February, 1758, the innkeepers asked that the soldiers quartered upon them should be removed to "the barracks now finished." It is not likely, however, that they were then ready for the occupancy of a large body of troops, for when General Forbes demanded quarters for 1,752 men in March, Governor Denny was compelled to ask the Assembly to have the barracks prepared for their reception. This was done, and in May, 1758, Joseph Fox was appointed barrack-master.

There is no record of the troops that occupied the barracks from the time of their completion to the Revolution. Colonel Montgomery's battalion of thirteen hundred men and four companies of the Royal Americans were in Philadelphia in the winter of 1758–9, but that they were quartered at the barracks is not certain. That there was some difficulty about the matter is clear. The military shared the ill will of the Assembly toward the Governor to such an extent that there was always bickering over the most trifling affairs. During the winter of 1758–9 some of the king's troops were quartered in the county of Lancaster, where, it was alleged, they were billeted in private houses.

This furnished the House with an excuse for resistance when it was asked to furnish Pennsylvania's quota of troops and vote the necessary supplies for the ensuing campaign. The Assembly said these measures were unjustifiable and arbitrary; "that there was a commodious set of barracks erected near the city of Philadelphia capable of receiving all his Majesty's troops in the province; that the building of the barracks there was occasioned by the officers refusing to quarter the troops anywhere else than in or near the city; that they had formerly refused to quarter them at Lancaster, and, if they had been willing, a portion of the barracks would have been erected there; and that a number of rooms in the barracks are now, and have been during the winter, empty and ready to receive all the soldiers thus oppressively, unnecessarily, and illegally quartered at that place." The contentious spirit on both sides was so strong that it is difficult to fix the responsibility for the differences.

In 1764 some of the Conestoga Indians, who were the objects of the animosity of the "Paxton Boys," were brought to the barracks. The authorities of the province tried to rid it of its unwelcome wards by sending them to New York, but the Governor of that province refused to receive them, and they were brought back again. Soon after their return word was received that the Susquehanna outlaws were marching toward the city with the intention of attacking the barracks. A meeting was held at the State House, which recommended that "upon any alarm made by the ringing of the bells the inhabitants would turn out with their arms and repair to the barracks; or, if the town should be attacked, that they would meet at the court-house and defend the city." Arms and ammunition were sent to the barracks with four cannon and artillery stores from the State House. Besides, efforts were made to put the barracks in a state of defence, but the Paxton Boys came only as far as Germantown, where, after a parley with some of the leading citizens of Philadelphia, they consented to return to their homes. There is extant an odd caricature in which Capt. Benjamin Loxley figures with his cannoneers and artillery on this occasion, waiting in front of the old court-house to repel the invaders, and Graydon in his "Memoirs" wrote an amusing description of this redoubtable little warrior. His artillery company was originally commanded by Capt. George North, Loxley being its first-lieutenant. It survived all the organizations formed by the "Associators" in 1748, and, with its brass field-pieces, it was attached to Colonel Franklin's regiment in 1756.

In 1765 all the great guns at the barracks in the Northern Liberties and at the battery in Southwark were spiked, but the act is believed to have been done in mere wantonness.

A powder house was established north of Pegg's Run as early as 1725. It remained in existence as a magazine for the storage of gunpowder down to the Revolution, but it had no military significance.

II.

DURING THE REVOLUTION.

The last of the British soldiers to occupy the barracks in the Northern Liberties before the Revolution was the Eighteenth, or Royal Irish Regiment, together with Capt. Huddleston's company of the Royal Regiment of Artillery. Miss Sarah Eve in her Journal speaks of being present at a general review on the Common, November 17, 1773. So sure were the servants of the crown in America that Philadelphia was so far under the influence of the Quaker population and the merchants that in September, 1774, all the troops then in the city were sent to Boston to overawe the bold and aggressive inhabitants of the metropolis of New England. A year later, November 1, 1775, Joseph Fox, the Tory barrack-master, received orders from the Assembly to put the barracks in proper repair to receive the troops then raising in the province, and to comply with the orders of the Committee of Safety. In the meantime the military spirit of Philadelphia had manifested itself in the formation of numerous organizations to resist the aggressions of Parliament, although the thought of independence had not yet entered the minds of the citizen soldiery.

Just one year after Miss Eve saw the review of the king's troops on the Common twenty-eight public spirited gentlemen of Philadelphia organized a company of cavalry in anticipation of hostilities. This company was called the Light Horse of the City of Philadelphia, but afterward became and is still known as the First City Troop. Abraham Markoe was chosen captain, and the members of the company proceeded to equip themselves at their own expense. A uniform was adopted consisting of a dark-brown short coat, faced and lined with white; white vest and breeches; high top boots; round hat, bound with silver cord; a buck's tail, fastened in front or at the side of the hat, and brown housings, edged with white, and the letters "L. H." worked on them. The arms were a carbine, with white belt; a pair of pistols and holster, with flounces of brown cloth trimmed with white; and a horseman's sword, with white belt. Two companies of foot, organized about the same time, were the "Greens," Capt. John Cadwalader, and the "Quaker Blues," Capt. Joseph Cowperthwaite. The "Greens" were generally called "the silk-stocking company," in allusion to the gentility of the members, and the "Quaker Blues" took their name from the fact that it was a company of young Quakers. Capt. Thomas Forrest is credited with organizing a company at the same time that was dressed as Indians, with painted faces, leggings and plumes. All this, however, was mere holiday soldiering, that served as a prelude to the work of more serious organization that was to follow.

When the news of the Lexington Alarm reached Philadelphia the work of organization was begun in earnest, the principle adopted being that of "Association," so well known in Pennsylvania. Five battalions of "Associators" were formed before midsummer in 1775, commanded by Colonels John Dickinson, Daniel Roberdeau, John Cadwalader, Thomas McKean and Timothy Matlack. The Light Horse, Capt. Markoe, continued to be active, and there were in training four companies of artillery under Captains James Biddle, Benjamin Loxley, Thomas Proctor and Joseph Moulder. When the second Continental Congress was assembling in May, 1775, a company of foot met the Southern delegates at Gray's Ferry, and all the officers mounted, went out to meet the Eastern delegates. General Washington reviewed all the troops in the city, June 20, 1775, five days after his appointment as Commander-in-Chief, and on the day that he received his commission from Congress. He set out for the camp at Cambridge on the 21st, escorted by the Light Horse, Captain Markoe, which accompanied him as far as Kingsbridge, above New York. Although Philadelphia was the metropolis of America a year and a half were to elapse before it was subjected to the dangers and alarms incident to a state of war. In the meantime a "City Guard" had been formed under Capt. Jehu Eyre, detachments from which performed guard duty at the State House, jail and powder-house.

Before the close of the first year of the Revolution Pennsylvania had put in the field ten battalions of infrantry, nearly all of them full regiments, and a company of artillery, independently of the militia, which was intended as a reserve in case of emergencies. In these organizations were many of the officers and men of the original battalions of "Associators." Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Reed of the Second Battalion had served as military secretary to Gen. Washington from July 4, 1775 to May 16, 1776; Major Thomas Mifflin of the Third Battalion had served on Washington's staff during the same period, and was made a brigadier-general May 16, 1776; Captain Thomas Proctor had taken his artillery company into the Continental service in October, 1775, and was made major of the Pennsylvania Battalion of Artillery, August 14, 1776; Capt. Thomas Forrest was given command of a company of artillery in Proctor's Battalion, October 5, 1776; Capt. Lambert Cadwalader became lieutenant-colonel of the Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion, January 4, 1776, and was captured at Fort Washington, November 16, 1776; Capt. John Shee had served as colonel of the Third Pennsylvania Battalion from January 3 to September 25, 1776; Capt. Francis Gurney was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Eleventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line, October 3, 1776; and Capt. William Bradford, Jr., had served with the Flying Camp in New Jersey in the summer and autumn of 1776. This list shows that the original "Associators" comprised many men willing to serve their country on other fields besides the streets of Philadelphia.

No effort has ever been made to celebrate the services of Philadelphia in the Revolution. With no material for the work, except that afforded by scattered and incomplete records, nothing better is possible at this late day than a fragmentary account of the organizations contributed by the city to the armies of Washington and Gates. Philadelphia sent none of the companies that formed the Battalion of Riflemen, Col. William Thompson, afterward the First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line,—the first from the province in the service of the United Colonies,—but what was known as the First Pennsylvania Battalion, Col. John Bull, and afterward Col. De Haas, was mainly recruited in the city and county. Col. Bull was born in Philadelphia county. Lieutenant-Colonel James Irvine was one of the captains of the first "Associators." Major Anthony J. Morris was one of the well-known Quaker family of that name. In the latter part of November, 1775, the Council of Safety directed the large house belonging to the barracks to be turned over to the use of "the field officers of the Pennsylvania Battalion now raising," and ordered the barrack-master to give the key to Major Morris. Capt. Proctor's artillery company had already been housed in the barracks a fortnight when this order was given. The company officers of the battalion were from Philadelphia, or the adjacent counties. Capt. William Allen, Jr., was a son of Chief-Justice William Allen. He became lieutenant-colonel of the Second Battalion in January, 1776, but joined the enemy in July. Among the company officers the most distinguished was Capt. Josiah Harmar, who rose to be commander of the army of the United States. The battalion served under Gates in the Canada expedition of 1776. It afterward became the Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line. There were many Philadelphians in the Third Battalion, Col. Shee, among them Captains Alexander Graydon and Walter Stewart. This regiment served in New York and was in the battle of Long Island. The greater part of it was captured at Fort Washington. There were Philadelphians in nearly all the companies of the Fifth Battalion, Col. Magaw. Capt. Samuel Benezet's company was recruited in Philadelphia, Capt. John Miller's in Germantown, and Capt. John Richardson's partly in Philadelphia and partly at Chester. Capt. Christopher Stuart's company was largely from the city and county. Col. Joseph Penrose of the Tenth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line, was lieutenant-colonel of this battalion, which shared the fate of Col. Magaw at Fort Washington. In Col. Samuel Miles's Rifle Regiment was Capt. Lewis Farmer's company from Philadelphia, and the companies of Captains Peter Z. Lloyd, John Nice and Joseph Howell, Jr., in Col. Samuel J. Atlee's Musketry Battalion, are mainly to be credited to the city and county. All this is a better showing than has ever been accorded to a city made up largely of a population of non-resistants.

Philadelphia's contribution to the so-called "Flying Camp" in the summer of 1776 is involved in much obscurity. A detachment of the

"Light Horse" served under Gen. Mercer at Amboy in August. A battalion under Col. Moore, consisting of 37 commissioned and 34 non-commissioned officers and 311 rank and file, served under Gen. Mercer at the same time. This was probably Col. Robert Lewis's regiment of which John Moore was major. Capt. Benjamin Loxley's artillery company, which has been in existence many years, also served at Amboy. Loxley's artillery belonged to the Southwark "Associators," to which also the company of Capt. Thomas Fitzsimons was attached. This company received pay from July 10, to August 19, 1776, and probably served under Gen. Mercer. Capt. Fitzsimons was a prominent merchant, and afterward a member of the Federal Convention of 1787, and a member of Congress. In the division of Southwark in 1776 there were sixteen companies of "Associators," thus showing that the city and county were thoroughly organized.

Major Lewis Nicola was appointed barrack-master in March, 1776, as the successor of Fox. He afterward organized a City Guard, consisting of the companies of Captains George Honey, Richard Barrett, Jacob Bright, William McMullin, Samuel Simpson, and Andrew Campbell, and perhaps others. He was officially styled Town Major. In 1777 Congress organized a regiment of disabled officers and soldiers, who were still capable of light duty, of which he was given the command, with the rank of colonel. He was a capable officer and continued to command the Invalid Regiment until 1783. Nicola was a quaint but ready writer. His voluminous correspondence affords many curious glimpses of military life in Philadelphia during the Revolution. "The troops that daily come to the barracks." he wrote in August, 1776, "are much displeased at not having necessarys to dress their victuals. Potts I have enough in store, but they will not take them unless cleaned, yet constantly return them dirty." In October, Capt. Benjamin Weiser's company of the German Regiment, Col. Nicholas Haussegger, was at the barracks. This was one of the four companies authorized by Congress to be raised in Pennsylvania for that regiment. Among the officers who were certainly from Philadelphia were Major Daniel Burchardt, promoted from captain, Capt. Peter Boyd, Lieut. Philip Shrauder, Ensign Christian Cleckner and Surgeon Peter Peres. Capt. Burchardt's company was recruited in the metropolis. The musicians were all Philadelphians, and the imperfect list, printed in the "Pennsylvania Archives," contains the names 78 Philadelphia Germans. "It was agreed," Col. Nicola wrote in November, speaking of a conference with Col. Humpton and other officers, "that room should be made in the wing occupied by the German Battalion for Captain Doyle's company, and that the cellars should be filled with men. This arrangement will make 20 rooms as soon as the Flying Camp men march out, and 50 cellars for the reception of troops. In consequence of this I have directed that the cellars should be cleaned and fitted up for the reception of men . . . . 18 wagons with sick men

from the camp and 4 this morning came to the barracks. The men say more wagons are on the road, and 2 shallops are coming down the river." This was Capt. John Doyle's Independent Company from the West Branch of the Susquehanna, of which Samuel Brady the celebrated "captain of the spies," was the first lieutenant. When the company left the barracks Major Nicola had reason to complain that Captain Doyle had not returned one half of the bed cases received from the German Battalion.

Col. Richard Humpton was in Philadelphia toward the close of 1776, organizing the Eleventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line, generally described as "the old Eleventh." It was chiefly recruited from the city and county and the other nearby counties. The lieutenant-colonel was Francis Gurney, one of the captains of the "Associators" of 1775, and the major was Francis Mentges, who had been Adjutant of Col. Atlee's Musketry Battalion. Humpton was an Englishman, who had settled in Chester county; Gurney was a Philadelphia merchant, who had served as a youth in the French war, taking part in the capture of Cape Breton and of Gaudeloupe; and Mentges was a Dutchman from Amsterdam, who had danced at the Southwark Theatre before the war. Among the captains were Dr. John Coates and William Bradford, Jr., both belonging to notable Philadelphia families. The regiment was not organized in time to take an active part in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, but it was almost annihilated at Brandywine.

As the year 1776 drew to a close Philadelphia was seriously menaced for the first time during the Revolution. Howe was marching across New Jersey, attended by a large number of returning Tories, and it was feared that Washington's army was too feeble successfully to contend with the enemy. An earnest effort was made to give Washington such support as the Pennsylvania militia could afford him. Two brigades were hurried to the Delaware to co-operate with the Continental army in resisting the enemy. Col. John Moore's Philadelphia County Battalion served in the brigade of Gen. James Ewing. The Philadelphia Brigade was commanded by Gen. John Cadwalader. There were altogether five battalions of infantry, a Battalion of Artillery, Col. Samuel Mifflin, and the City Troop, Capt. Samuel Morris. The infantry battalions were under Colonels Jacob Morgan, John Bayard, John Nixon, Timothy Matlack and John Bull. The artillery battalion included the companies of Captains Benjamin Loxley and Jehu Eyre. Neither of the militia brigades was able to cross the Delaware in time to participate in the capture of Trenton. The subsequent service of the militia in the campaign that opened the new year with the victory at Princeton was not particularly brilliant, but the City Troop was specially complimented by Gen. Washington for services that were continued until the army went into winter quarters. Joseph Reed wrote to Thomas Bradford in January, saying—"Col. Morgan, Col. Nixon, Col. Cox, your old gentleman [William Bradford], and Majors Knox and

Cowperthwait certainly ought not to pass unnoticed for their behaviour at Princeton."

After Howe sailed southward from the Narrows at Staten Island and was lost sight of, except for the glimpse that was caught of him at the mouth of the Delaware, for so many weeks in the summer of 1777, Washington again entered the State of Pennsylvania, and went into camp near the Falls of Schuylkill, where he remained from the 1st to the 10th of August. On the 10th he withdrew to the Neshaminy, and encamped on the Old York Road, where he remained until the 23d. With him were the Pennsylvania troops under General Conway, including Col. Moylan's Dragoons and Proctor's artillery. Stephen Moylan was a Philadelphian, and his cavalry was recruited from Philadelphia and the neighborhood at the beginning of the year. Thomas Proctor had been promoted from Major to Colonel, and Thomas Forrest from Captain to Major in February, and the two companies increased to nine. Besides these a State Regiment of Foot had also been recruited in Philadelphia and the adjacent counties in February by Col. John Bull, who was promoted to be Adjutant-General of the State in June, and was succeeded in the command of the regiment by Col. Walter Stewart. This regiment served in the campaign around Philadelphia and was in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. The Pennsylvania troops at this time, besides the militia, comprised an important part of the effective strength of the army. "It seems clear to every man on the continent this day," Conway wrote to the Supreme Executive Council from the camp on the Neshaminy, "that Philadelphia is the enemy's chief object. He certainly means to visit that place and will attempt it before the campaign is over. I find that your troops make up the strong half of this army and although your regiments are not what they should or might be yet they seem to me beyond the others." When the army left the Neshaminy to meet Howe on the Brandywine it passed through Philadelphia, marching down Front street and out Chestnut to the common,—thence to Darby by way of the Middle Ferry. Nash's North Carolina brigade, to which Proctor's artillery had been attached a few days before, brought up the rear. Then followed the unfortunate battle of Brandywine on the 11th of September, the terrible massacre of Paoli on the 20th, and the weary marches on both sides of the Schuylkill that preceded the battle of Germantown on the 4th of October. During all this time we hear nothing of the battalions that formed the Philadelphia Brigade at the beginning of the year. In a letter from Thomas Paine to Dr. Franklin at this time Paine said he urged the necessity of action upon Col. Bayard and Col. Bradford but that nothing was done. What service was performed by the Philadelphia Brigade during the autumn and winter it now seems impossible to ascertain.

At the time of the British occupation of Philadelphia in 1777 the City Militia comprised six battalions of foot, commanded by Colonels

William Bradford, Joseph Cowperthwait, Sharpe Delany, Robert Knox, Jonathan Bayard Smith, and William Wall, and a regiment of artillery under Col. Jehu Eyre. Colonel Eyre's artillery comprised six companies, commanded by Captains Samuel Massey, John McCulloh, Peter Browne, John Ruper, William Prowell, and Andrew Summers. All these organizations were, nominally, in active service, but the records, incomplete as they are, show that many of the men were absent without leave, or deserters. Even the adjutant of Colonel Cowperthwait's battalion is marked "deserter." In Colonel Eyre's artillery the rolls showed 20 deserters in Captain Ruper's company, and 27 in Captain Massey's. Captain Ruper was reported "sick," and his second-lieutenant "insane." In Colonel Cowperthwait's battalion of foot the deserters were 3 in Capt. Jonathan Wainwright's company, 8 in Capt. Lambert Wilmer's, 11 in Capt. George Reinhardt's, 17 in Capt. William Bowers', together with 6 "sick," and 21 in Captain Browne's. Ensign George Evans of Wainwright's company was "absent without leave." In Colonel Knox's battalion Capt. Christian Shaffer's company had 4 deserters, Capt. Jacob Weidman's 9, Capt. Christian Grover's 19 out of 33 non-commissioned officers and privates, and Capt. John Bergman's 34. Lieut. Andrew Foster of Shaffer's company deserted, and Lieut. Frederick Meyer of Bergman's "staid at Philadelphia." In Colonel Will's battalion Capt. William McCulloch reported 6 deserters, Capt. John Brice 9, Capt. Charles Willson Peale 15, Capt. Williamson Tolbert 19, and Capt. Philip Wagener 31. First-lieutenant Isaac Warner of Wagener's company and Ensign Godfrey Baker of Tolbert's evaded their duty. Col. Jonathan Bayard Smith's battalion was made up largely of substitutes, Capt. Conrad Rush's company having nearly half, Capt. Philip Pancake's more than half, and Capt. William Smith's and Capt. Adam Foulk's nearly all this kind of volunteers. A curious fact about these desertions is that they nearly all took place a day or two before or within a few days after the entrance of the British into Philadelphia.

Immediately upon the occupation the British erected three batteries near the river to protect themselves against such American shipping as might approach the city. Before the batteries were finished Commodore Hazlewood, in command of the Pennsylvania navy, ordered two frigates of 24 guns each, the *Delaware* and *Montgomery*, the sloop *Fly*, and a number of galleys and gondolas to move up the river and assail the town. The cannonade began on the morning of the 27th of September, but the *Delaware* soon grounded and was compelled to strike her colors. The others withdrew with the exception of a schooner that was driven on shore. At this time the fort at Billingsport was occupied by Captain Massey's company of Colonel Eyre's artillery, a part of Colonel Bradford's battalion, and some New Jersey militia. On the 29th the place was captured, the militia spiking the guns and retiring without an attempt at holding the fort. This proved

an empty victory, as it failed for the time in its purpose of opening the river to the enemy's shipping. Bradford withdrew his men to Fort Island, and, after the battle of Germantown, the works on the Delaware were strengthened by Continental troops, the fort at Red Bank being called Fort Mercer and that on Mud Island Fort Mifflin, while General Potter's militia harassed the enemy from the west bank of the Schuylkill below Gray's Ferry. On the 22d of October Count Donop unsuccessfully assailed the fort at Red Bank, but after Fort Mifflin was abandoned a month later Fort Mercer became untenable, and fell an easy prey to the British. In the ineffectual efforts to defend these works the Philadelphia militia figures not at all. The desertions began early in September, but most of them occurred between the 19th and the 28th. The incomplete records show that there were 18 on the 20th, 23 on the 22d, 48 on the 23d, 28 on the 24th, 23 on the 25th, 7 on the 26th, and 11 on the 27th. As Cornwallis entered Philadelphia on the 25th these figures have a special significance. A part of the Philadelphia brigade was with General Armstrong's militia on the Skippack when the movement began that ended in the battle of Germantown on the 4th of October. The desertions reported for the first week in October were 2 on the 1st, 4 on the 2d, 4 on the 3d, 8 on the 4th, 1 on the 5th, 7 on the 6th, and 5 on the 7th. Captain Ruper's artillery company seems to have been at the battle of Germantown contrary to orders, for James Dunn, one of his gunners, was wounded on that day. The Philadelphia Troop of Light Horse was in active service during the months of September and October. The Pennsylvania militia made an attack upon the British lines on the 24th of December, but, after firing a few shots, retired.

In September, 1778, the battalions of Col. William Bradford and Col. William Dean were again in active service for a brief period, and the artillery companies of Capt. John McGinley, who had succeeded Capt. Massey, and Capt. James Lang were on duty at Mud Island Fort from June 23d to August 23d. Col. Bradford's battalion was called out for a short time in August, 1779. In 1780 the artillery battalion was commanded by Col. Joseph Marsh. In that year Col. Benjamin G. Eyre's battalion of foot was encamped for awhile near Trenton. Afterward the Philadelphia militia comprised the battalions of Lieutenant-Colonels James Reed, Benjamin G. Eyre, William Will, Paul Cox, John Shee and Robert Knox. Joseph Dean succeeded Col. Cox in 1782.

After the evacuation military discipline in Philadelphia was very loose, and the barracks on the Northern Liberties suffered more injury at the hands of the American soldiery than it had from the British. The bedsteads were used for fire-wood, the floors cut up and injured, and the rooms and galleries were "so full of filth and odure as to render these places extremely offensive." When a regiment of Continental infantry came to the city in 1780 the place was unfit to accommodate the men, and it was found necessary to billet them in the public houses.

Subsequently, however, the barracks was put in repair by the Supreme Executive Council, and Col. Nicola, the barrack-master, was requested to appoint a trusty sergeant to assist him in preserving the buildings from "being damaged by the soldiery that may be quartered therein from time to time." It was from the barracks in 1783 that most of the soldiers issued, who, joined with a few recruits from Lancaster, drew up in line before the State House, where Congress was sitting, to demand a settlement of their accounts. No violence was actually perpetrated, but Congress was thoroughly alarmed, the more so as the State authorities refused to call out the militia or take any action against the soldiers unless some outrages were committed on persons or property. When Congress adjourned it was to flee to Princeton, and Philadelphia ceased to be the capital of the United States as soon as Independence was achieved. In 1784, under authority of an Act of Assembly, the barrack structures were demolished, with the exception of one of the buildings, and the barrack-lots divided and sold.

In the closing years of the Revolution the relations between the military heroes and the civil authorities were not cordial. The attitude of Chief-Justice McKean toward Col. Thomas Proctor of the Pennsylvania Regiment of Artillery illustrates the character of the estrangement. When Col. Proctor offered his vote at the poll in the Northern Liberties in October, 1781, he was challenged by John Cling, an inspector, who demanded his certificate of having taken the test. This angered Proctor, who assaulted Cling, and the inspector prosecuted the soldier. The case was tried before McKean in September, 1782. Proctor admitted the assault in court and undertook to justify it. "Stop," cried McKean; "you gentlemen of the army carry your heads too high; but I will teach you how to behave. I will bring you down; we shall be overrun else." Proctor was fined eighty pounds. This was the begining of an epoch of bitterness in which many unoffending soldiers of the Revolution received scant justice from the civil authorities of the State.

III.

THE SECOND WAR WITH ENGLAND—BEFORE AND AFTER.

In the piping times of peace after the Revolution the military spirit in Philadelphia was more martial than it had been at any time during the war. Volunteer companies were organized, that assumed something of the character of trained soldiers, and were commanded by officers who had seen much service. There was some opposition to these organizations by the friends of the Philadelphia Brigade on the ground that they tended to bring the militia into disrepute. In 1786

four light infantry companies under Captains Semple, Sproat, Hagner and Oswald, two companies of artillery cammanded by Captains Connelly and Leonard, and the City Troop, Capt. Miles, were exercised on the common by Baron Steuben and Gen. Du Plessis. One of these companies in that year, Capt. Eleazar Oswald's, offered to serve as volunteers to dispossess the British from the forts and garrisons still held on our western frontiers. Another company, that of Capt. William Sproat, was famous in its day as the "Buck Tail Company," the officers and men all wearing a buck's tail in their hats. Capt. Sproat, Watson says, was regarded by the ladies in his day as a model of smartness and military elegance on parade. Oswald had served as a private with the Connecticut minute men in the Lexington Alarm, and had risen to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Second Continental Artillery. Sproat had been a captain in the Pennsylvania Line. In the Federal Procession of 1788 there were two City Troops of Light Horse, the First being commanded by Capt. Samuel Miles, and the Second, Capt. William Bingham, by Maj. William Jackson. There were four pieces of artillery in the parade, commanded by Captains Morrell and Fisher. The First Regiment of Infantry was represented by a corps commanded by Capt. A. G. Claypoole, the Third Regiment by Capt. Heysham, the Fifth Regiment by Capt. Rose, the Sixth Regiment by Capt. Robinson, the Fourth Regiment by Capt. Sproat, the Second Regiment by Capt. Rees, and the County Troop of Light Horse by Capt. W. MacPherson. The two City Troops, the county troop, a detachment of artillery, and a body of light infantry escorted President-elect Washington from Gray's Ferry to the house of Robert Morris in 1789. In 1791 Brigadier-General Francis Gurney commanded the Philadelphia Brigade, the officers of the "up-town" regiment being Col. William Will and Majors Andrew George and Alexander Boyd, and those of the "down-town" regiment Col. Daniel Smith and Majors Joseph Sims and Philip Pancake. None of these officers had seen service in the Revolution except in the militia.

When an expedition to march against the persons concerned in what is generally called the "Whiskey Insurrection" became necessary in 1794, the defects in the militia system of the State became apparent. The militia could not be ordered into the service of the United States under the law. A special session of the Legislature was called in consequence at which the Governor was authorized to engage the services of volunteers for four months. The first of the Philadelphia companies to offer its services was Capt. Jeremiah Fisher's artillery. The First City Troop, Capt. Dunlap, and the corps of Captains Singer and McConnell, about 160 strong, started for the rendezvous at Carlisle on the 19th of September. Scott's light infantry, with the artillery, followed two days later. Col. Gurney's regiment marched on the 22d, followed by the volunteer organization that was to become famous as "MacPherson's Blues." At the Camp at Carlisle the

"Blues," about 150 in number, Capt. Taylor's rifle company, Graham's and Clunn's artillery, and Dunlap's, Singer's and McConnell's horse were formed into a regiment of which Major MacPherson was chosen colonel. Brigadier-General Thomas Proctor had command of the brigade, and Major-General William Irvine was in command of the State troops. President Washington accompanied the expedition. Fortunately the campaign ended without a conflict and the Philadelphia brigade was back in the city before the close of the year.

The "Whiskey War" was a severe blow to the militia system of the State, especially in Philadelphia. In the city nearly every militiaman whose duty it was to go on the expedition, who had the means of doing it, procured a substitute. These men, as a rule, reflected little credit on the organizations to which they were attached. The volunteers, on the other hand, were people of a different stamp—intelligent, upright, high-minded, honorable. The word militia, as applied to the class regiments, consequently became a term of reproach, while the volunteer corps rose in public esteem. Among the latter, "MacPherson's Blues" became the model. Although originally raised in four or five days for an emergency, the organization was afterward extended into a regiment, comprising companies of cavalry and artillery, as well as infantry. The uniform of the "Blues" was blue cloth trousers, round jacket faced with scarlet, and white buttons. Major William MacPherson was the younger son of Capt. John MacPherson, the owner of Mount Pleasant before it passed into the possession of Gen. Benedict Arnold. He was in the British service at the beginning of the Revolution, but resigned his commission and came home to serve his own country. He was a strong friend of Washington's administration, and "MacPherson's Blues" were all Federalists. Another Federalist organization was Capt. Morrell's Volunteer Greens, a cavalry corps, which gave a dinner to Gen. Anthony Wayne at Weed's Tavern, near Gray's Ferry, after his return from his successful campaign against the Indians in 1796. This dinner took place February 25th, and was participated in by General Morgan, Colonel MacPherson, and the officers of the First and Second City Troops. But the volunteer companies were not all made up of Federalists. Lieutenant Shaw's company demonstrated this on the 4th of July following the dinner to Wayne. The Society of the Cincinnati dined that day at Governor Mifflin's Garden in Chestnut street, between Seventh and Eighth. The Democratic Society celebrated the anniversary of Independence at Oeller's Hotel. At the instance of the latter, Lieutenant Shaw's second company took a position in some open ground near Oeller's, and about noon began firing a salute. Governor Mifflin and the officers of the society sent a message to Shaw asking him to hold his fire for a short time, as it interfered with the toasts and speeches, but, said the *Aurora*, "the company to a man refused to acquiesce, conceiving that as they were called upon to honor

the day, they, as freemen and soldiers, were not bound to wait on any description of men, in which they persisted, although a second and more strenuous effort was made." When Thomas Jefferson, Vice-President-elect, arrived in Philadelphia, March 3, 1797, he was received by Captain Shaw's company of artillery, which displayed a banner inscribed "Jefferson, the friend of the people."

The closing years of the century were marked by some noteworthy military demonstrations. One of these occasions was the last anniversary of Washington's birthday to be celebrated in Philadelphia during his Presidency. Capt. Skerrett's artillery fired a salute; the companies of grenadiers and light infantry under Captains Neilson, Robbins and Johnson, with Hozey's Southwark Light Infantry assembled in front of the State House; and the Society of the Cincinnati was escorted by grenadiers and light infantry to pay their respects. When President Adams returned to the capital after the yellow fever epidemic of 1797 Capt. Dunlap's troop, consisting of twenty-four men, Morrell's of eighteen and Singer's of twelve, "went to meet his Serene Highness." Of the eleven regiments then in the Philadelphia brigade about one thousand were ordered out for the demonstration but according to the *Aurora* not more than ninety paraded. Neilson's grenadiers had only eight men,—Robinson's artillery seven. Capt. Forrest, with twenty-four men, "had the honor to precede his Highness's horses." Capt. Dunlap's and "the other two troops had the honor to follow his carriage." A scribbler calling himself "An Old Soldier" wrote to object to binding the militia "to the charriot wheels" of the President, charging that "the attempt was made to convert the honorable badge of the citizen soldier into the slavish livery of a mercenary," and "to concentrate the regiments into servants in livery." It is not surprising when such views received the sanction of a political party that the militia became thoroughly impregnated with a spirit of resistance to the general government. Such was the case, and when war with France was imminent in 1798, the Philadelphia militia was reluctant almost to insubordination. The action of the division officers and the officers of the brigades of the city and county in offering their support to the government was not only coldly received, especially by the county brigade, but meetings were held at which addresses were adopted deprecating hasty action and expressing gratitude to France for assistance during the Revolution. This spirit naturally proved detrimental to the militia system of the State. Independent companies of infantry, artillery and cavalry were raised in every part of the city and county, including a troop of light horse, Capt. Thomas Leiper; the Philadelphia Blues, Capt. Lewis Rush; First Green Infantry, Capt. Doyle Sweeny; the Light Infantry, blue and buff, Capt. John Johnson; the Light Infantry, blue sash, Capt. David Irving; the Germantown Infantry Blues, Capt. Daniel Rubicam; the Northern Liberty Blues, and others. MacPherson's Blues received a fresh impetus as an organization and was reconstituted

so as to embrace the First Troop of City Cavalry, Capt. John Dunlap, afterward Robert Wharton; Second Troop City Cavalry, Capt. Singer, afterward Joseph B. McKean; a company of artillery, Capt. Hale, afterward Taylor; a company of grenadiers, Capt. Higbee, afterward Moore; a company of riflemen, Capt. Howell; a Germantown company of infantry; and four companies of infantry under Captains McEwen, Heysham, Frobisher, and Willing. These were all Blues, the general uniform being navy blue cloth; the trousers were edged with white, and the tight round jacket in the same manner, with red lappels, cuffs and collar, the collar standing, two inches high and having two bright buttons and button holes. The hat was turned up on the left side with a white button and looped, and decorated with a black cockade out of which rose a white plume, the top was covered with bear-skin. Gov. Mifflin accepted 817 men from the city and 795 from the county. These troops were attached to the Third Division, Major-General Thomas Craig of Montgomery county and Brigadier-Generals Jacob Morgan of Philadelphia and Thomas Boude of Lancaster. In November Gen. Washington, who had been appointed lieutenant-general of the army, arrived in Philadelphia to assume the command. As it happened the only conflict was between the Commander-in-Chief and George Logan, the self-constituted envoy to France, and the stern Washington easily vanquished the mild Quaker, whom he regarded as a meddler and a busybody.

In the closing years of the last century the military organizations of Philadelphia were so completely permeated with politics that they assumed political names and were capable of political classification.[1] The "Blues" had been accepted by the President for service for two years if required, and so was a Federal as well as a Federalist body of troops. In opposition to the "Blues" was the "Militia Legion of Philadelphia," consisting of all the "Republican uniformed flank companies, troops of horse, rifle corps, grenadier artillery, and light infantry companies established conformably to the laws of this Commonwealth," which was generally called the "Republican Legion." The "Legion" was officered by a Commandant, Col. John Shee, and four Majors. Each of these organizations regarded the other as its enemy

[1] In describing the Washington funeral procession the *Aurora* specified the volunteer companies according to the political principles of the members of the various corps:

Capt. McKean's troop, Federal horse.
Capt. Price's light infantry,—Republican.
Capt. Johnson's light infantry,—Republican.
Capt. Rush's light infantry,—Republican.
Capt. Kessler's light infantry,—Republican.
Capt. Duane's light infantry,—Republican Greens.
Capt. Sweeny's light infantry,—Repulican.
Capt. Summers' light infantry,—Republican Blues.
Capt. Hozey's light infantry,—Republican.
Capt. Nelson's grenadiers,—Republican.
Capt. Ferguson's artillery,—Republican.
Capt. Crispin's artillery,—Republican.
Capt. Hale's artillery,—Republican.
Capt. Hoff's riflemen,—Republican.
Capt. Leiper's dragoons, dismounted,—Republican.
Col. Shee, commandant of the Republican Legion.
The light infantry of the Blues (Macpherson's),—Federal.
Infantry of the Blues,—Federal.
Grenadiers of the Blues,—Federal,—Capt. Higbee.
Artillery of the Blues,—Federal,—Capt. Taylor.
Dunlap's dragoons,—Federal.
Singer's dragoons,—Federal.
Morrell's dragoons,—Federal.
Capt. Hoyle's riflemen,—Federal.
Brigadier-General Macpherson.

and enemies of their country. William Duane of the *Aurora* alleged that MacPherson's Blues had been originated by Samuel Relf of the *Gazette*,—that they were a partisan organization and generally inimical to the country, so that the creation of the Republican Legion was absolutely necessary. Relf retorted that the "Blues" had always full ranks when the necessities of the country required, while the "Legion" paraded ten or twelve men to a company in times of danger and filled up again when the danger was past. It had been agreed that the "Blues" should be dissolved at the end of the two years for which they had been accepted by the President, and this was done in 1800, but Shee's "Legion" retained its organization until all pretext for maintaining political volunteer companies had died away.

In 1799 an Act was passed regulating the militia of the Commonwealth, under which the city and county of Philadelphia were constituted one military division with one brigade for each. Under this Act the regiments were numbered, Lieutenant-Colonel Gurney's becoming the Twenty-fourth, Geyer's the Twenty-fifth, Nichols' the Twenty-eighth, McLane's the Fiftieth, and Scott's the Eighty-fourth; in the county Lieutenant-Colonel Shrupps' regiment was the Forty-second, Patterson's the Sixty-seventh, Frank's the Seventy-fifth, Worrel's the Eightieth, and Coat's the Eighty-eighth. This Act prescribed a militia uniform to consist of blue coats, faced with red and white or red lining, the buttons to correspond with the color of the lining. General officers wore blue, faced with buff. Nothing was said about the cockade, but the Governor recommended "that in future the colors of the cockade be blue and red, corresponding with the colors of the uniform."

One of the noteworthy parades of Shee's Legion was in 1801 on the day that Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated President of the United States. Leiper's and Snyder's troops of horse were first in the line, and then came Huff's riflemen; Shaw's and Guy's artillery with brass pieces; Denham's, Hozey's, Pott's, Sweeney's, and Kessler's infantry companies; Goodman's and Ashton's artillery with brass pieces, and Jones's troop of horse. Major-General Proctor and Brigadier-General Morgan, with officers of the militia, followed. Col. Shee succeeded Gen. Proctor as major-general of the militia in 1802. This appointment was severely criticised by the Federalists, and Gen. Shee challenged Relf, the editor, because of the strictures printed in the *Gazette*, but nothing came of the challenge. In May, 1803, was the most extensive militia parade since the Revolution, Brigadier-General John Barker commanding. The "Legion" paraded on the 4th of July of that year, and in October had a "sham battle" at the old race ground, at Pine and South streets. When the acquisition of Louisiana was celebrated, May 12, 1804, the "Legion" turned out its full strength for the procession. It happened, however, when patriotic Philadelphia was aroused by the affair of the "Chesapeake," early in 1807, that the "Legion" was found with only 816 men, although it had previously paraded as many as thirty-five

companies, horse, foot, and artillery, on holiday occasions. In the emergency the militia was called upon, and Gen. John Shee was superseded in the command by Gen. John Barker, to whom the *Aurora* applied the epithet of "Major-General Night-cap." Gen. Barker called on Generals Bright and Lieb for the required contingent, which was only 1,500 infantry, 177 cavalry, and 88 artillery. A number of new volunteer companies was organized at this time, one of which took the remarkable name of "The Young Men of Correct Democratic Principles."

A new act for the regulation of the militia of the Commonwealth was passed in 1802, but this was superseded by the Act of 1807, in which the names of the lieutenant-colonels commanding and the members of the Philadelphia regiments were given,—in the city, Pancake the Twenty-fourth, Duane the Twenty-fifth, Bright the Twenty-eighth, Simonds the Fiftieth, and Ferguson the Eighty-fourth; in the county, Krips the Forty-second, McMullen the Sixty-seventh, Beck the Seventy-fifth, Sullivan the Eightieth, Kessler the Eighty-eighth, and Morton the One-hundred-and-fortieth. This Act was modified and enlarged by supplementary legislation in 1808. The latter Act made special provision in favor of the "Legion," by which it became a part of the enrolled militia, and authorized additional volunteer companies. With the "Independent Volunteers" came an elaboration of the uniform that rendered it very gay,—a long blue coat with red lappel facings, white lining, and a blue front with silver lace; chapeau bras, with red feather and black top; and oddly enough, white trousers in winter and blue in summer. The cost of these uniforms was twenty-six dollars.

In 1808 occurred the celebrated "Battle of Point-no-Point." This affair rivaled the "Battle of the Kegs" in celebrity. The scheme took shape as something in the nature of a campaign, and the actions covered two days,—one in May and one in June. The places chosen for these evolutions were at Woodbury in New Jersey, and at the mouth of Frankford creek and thence to Frankford. The plan of the first day's action included all the military theories then prevailing of attack and defence by armies in the field,—an embarkation by water, a landing, and the maneuvres preliminary to an assault; alarm, retreat, skirmishing, a battle. The attacking force embarked in three divisions on the Delaware,—at Market Street Ferry, at the old ferry, and at the Arch Street Ferry. A landing was effected at Smith's Point, and a forced march made to Woodbury. The defenders were taken by surprise, retreated, then rallied, and finally offered battle. The results, as they were intended to be, were indecisive. The second affair was even more thrilling and a great deal more amusing. The officer of the day was Col. Jonas Symonds,—Col. Jonas Paunch, his enemies called him,—and the combatants had the encouragement of the presence on the field of Gen. Michael Leib, then a Senator in Congress. The defenders

were under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel William Duane, and consisted of Leiper's cavalry, Uhle's rifles, Fitler's artillery with field-piece, Hill's flying artillery with two pieces and two tumbrils, Cress's artillerists with field-piece; Thompson's, Boyle's, and Walters's light infantry, and a corps of militia officers with fire-locks, acting as infantry. They marched overland to the seat of war by way of Kensington, crossed the bridge according to a contemporary account "without opposition from the fish women," and took position within view of the Point tavern, Duane knowing his men "would fight with the ferocity of lions to defend a fort they held in such estimation." The artillery was posted on the margin of the Delaware, the riflemen occupied the walk along the river, which was protected by rows of cedar trees, and the infantry "rallied round their commander like a body-guard to defend his person from danger." The reserve division, which was stationed at Frankford, was composed of the Frankford company under Major Duncan, Fiss's rifles, and Norton's artillery. While awaiting the arrival of the enemy, according to the facetious authority already quoted, "generals, corporals, colonels, drummers, majors, fifers, captains, sergeants, and privates were heard vociferating for gin-sling and brandy and water," to the great satisfaction of "mine host of the Point," who doubtless would have been pleased to have such a battle every day. The invading army was under Captain-commandant Fotteral. It comprised Binney's light infantry as flankers, Shaw's artillery with field-piece, a company of lansquenets formed of militia officers under Captain Moore, Fotteral's light infantry, Boyd's new company of artillerists with field-piece, Graves' infantry as reserve, and Morris' light infantry as flankers of the reserve. The attack was made from the river, the flotilla consisting of sixty boats in three divisions under the convoy of two gun-boats. As the awful moment approached "swords gleamed, officers swore, muskets glistened, and the artillery appeared pregnant with destruction." An artillery duel opened the battle. The tavern sign-post operated like electricity on the men on board the boats, who began "firing like furies on the occupants who stoutly defended the premises." The defence was continued until the cry was raised, "the bar's run dry," when a retreat was ordered across the creek, where a raft-bridge had been provided for the easy passage of the infantry. A stand was made at the cross-roads, but the advance column of the enemy soon came up, when the officer commanding at this "bloody angle," who was a shoemaker, concluded it would be "imprudent to hold out to the last," and fell back upon the main body. At this moment word was "conveyed to the heroic Duane that two other sub-divisions had effected a landing above the mouth of Frankford Creek, and were rapidly advancing up a lane to the enchanted cross-roads." Hill's artillery and Uhle's rifles were detached to amuse them while the main body got in position behind a post and rail fence to receive the

assault of the enemy and "give them a warm breakfast." Unfortunately a section of the fence gave way by which the left of the defenders was exposed to a galling fire of the enemy's flankers. Part of the line gave way, and Fotteral's men advanced upon the main body led by Captain Binney, who "peeped through the fences as if he was hunting for woodcocks." Fotteral moved up to the lane, and, after the band had played "Maggy Lauder," ordered a charge along the whole line. In the meantime Duane had brought up the reserve, and sent Major Duncan to execute a flank movement so as to fall upon Fotteral's rear. This movement was rendered easy of execution by one of those unforeseen circumstances that affect the fortunes of nearly every battle. As the defenders were ready to repel bayonet with bayonet a lot of muley cows strayed into the field between the combatants, and moved first against one line and then against the other. As they swayed back from Duane's front they rushed, with their tails in the air, against Fotteral's line of battle, and went near to routing Graves's infantry. Graves, however, succeeded in repelling the muleys, driving them back upon Duane's line, when they were driven from the field by Leiper's cavalry. When the cows were driven off, it was found that Duncan's movement had been completely successful. Fotteral was outflanked, and there was nothing to do but submit. Thereupon the officer of the day rode upon the field, and, according to a rhymester of the time, the following colloquy ensued:

General Paunch—Oh! What a glorious thing's a battle!
Adjt. Nosey—Wads do fly and cannon rattle.
Fotteral—At each pop
Hundreds drop.
Duane—Oh! ho!
Do they so?
Then I'll stick to the 'Rora shop.

It was said over twenty thousand people witnessed this battle, and it was pronounced a great success. But it gave no satisfaction to the Federalists. "The repose of the city," said one of the papers, "was disturbed at an early hour by Irishmen assembled to commemorate the affair of the 'Chesapeake,'" and another paper, that kept a poet, chanted:

They were armed all,
Both great and small,
With pike, gun, sword or hatchet;
No Indian king
Could even bring
An army that would match it.

In 1811, when war with Great Britain was imminent, the Philadelphia militia was again reorganized under an act passed on the 30th of March. The artillery regiment was divided into three battalions,

with a battery of horse to each battalion. The cavalry became a regiment with Robert Wharton as Colonel, John Smith Lieutenant-Colonel, and Caleb Hughes and Samuel Mifflin Majors. In May a sham battle, under the direction of Gen. John Steele, was fought on the west side of the Schuylkill, near the Upper Ferry, the opposing forces being commanded by Major Lewis Rush and Lieutenant-Colonel George Bartram. In October a similar *fête* occurred at Centre square. Brigadier-General Bright commanded one of the armies, and Brigadier-General Duncan the other. In June the associated volunteer cavalry regiment, consisting of the four City Troops under Lieutenant Crawford, Captains Thomas Cadwalader and Samuel Meeker, and Lieutenant Clopp, and the two County Troops under Lieutenant Haas and Captain Humphreys, assisted in dedicating the monument to General Wayne at Paoli. The arrangement of the volunteer militia of 1811 continued until after the formal declaration of war with Great Britain, June 19, 1812.

Four days after the news of war reached Philadelphia the cavalry regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Smith offered its services to the general government. Gen. Bright had died in February and Col. Wharton became his successor. The Philadelphia Legion, Col. Lewis Rush, followed the example of the Cavalry. The quota of the First Brigade was 888 men, of which the cavalry furnished 322 and the Legion 405. From the Second Brigade 964 men were required. These troops paraded on the 4th of July but did not go into camp. Subsequently Col. Winfield Scott was sent to Philadelphia to organize a regiment for service on the Canada frontier. He established a camp on the west side of the Schuylkill and succeeded in raising the Second United States Artillery. This regiment was composed almost entirely of Pennsylvanians. Among the officers from Philadelphia were Capt. Charles Smith of the dragoons, Capt. James N. Barker, son of Gen. Barker, of the artillery and Lieut. Thomas M. Powers. When the British threatened the city in the spring of 1813 Capt. Barker was given command of the garrison at Fort Mifflin. It was practically defenceless when the enemy appeared off the Capes in March, all the regular troops having been sent to the West except fourteen invalids. It would have been easy for Commodore Beresford, who was levying contributions on the inhabitants of Lewes, Delaware, to have come up to the city, which was at his mercy. The alarm was very great, but Gen. John Armstrong, the Secretary of War, did not think Philadelphia in danger. "With the exception of those renowned places, Sag Harbor, New Bedford, &c.," he wrote to Col. Duane, "no place has made so much noise as Philadelphia. Pour a little oil on the waves of folly and of faction, for the latter are at bottom." A young man of twenty, who was secretary of the "Democratic Association of Young Men," was at the coffee-house when the news of the force off the Capes reached Philadelphia. Some of the merchants who were Federalists

were loud in denunciation of the administration for leaving the city so defenceless. "It would be better for you to put your own shoulders to the wheel before you call on Hercules to assist you," said the young man. One of the merchants asked who the "impudent young fellow" was, and was told that he was a son of Gen. Andrew Porter of the Pennsylvania Artillery in the Revolution. That night young James Madison Porter inserted a call in Binns's newspaper for a meeting of the "Democratic Association of Young Men" to form a company for the defence of the Delaware. The outcome was the organization of the "Junior Artillerists' Company," Jacob Fisler captain, William Roderfield first lieutenant, and James M. Porter second lieutenant. They were sent down to Fort Mifflin on the 23d of March, together with Capt. William Mitchell's "Independent Blues," and did garrison duty for a fortnight, when they were relieved by United States troops. Other companies quickly followed, notable among which was the "Washington Guards," formed by the "Washington Association,"—Condy Raguet captain, John R. Mifflin first-lieutenant, Michael W. Ash second-lieutenant, and Thomas Anthony third-lieutenant. A second company of "Washington Guards," Capt. John Swift, was organized some time later, and a third and fourth company, in 1814. The most famous organization that the alarm of 1813 called into existence was the first company known as "State Fencibles," Capt. Clement C. Biddle. Even the old men sprung to arms and formed a company with the venerable Gen. John Steele as captain. A Committee of Defence was appointed with the venerable Thomas McKean at its head, and comprehensive measures were adopted to repel an assault upon the city, and prevent the incursions of the enemy that were becoming of frequent occurrence along the shores of the Delaware.

While Philadelphia was menaced from the Delaware and Lewes actually although ineffectually bombarded, the Philadelphia Legion, Col. Lewis Rush; the regiment of cavalry, Col. Smith; and the artillery regiment, Col. Ebenezer Ferguson, were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march under Brigadier-General Robert Wharton. The day before this order was issued one company, the county cavalry, Capt. James Miles, started for Lewes, but it was not until the 13th of May that the first detachment of volunteers, commanded by Col. Rush, marched from Philadelphia for Delaware. This force consisted of the Philadelphia Blues, Capt. Henry Myers; the Independent Volunteers, Capt. Samuel Borden; and the Washington Guards. They went to Staunton on the Baltimore road six miles below Wilmington, where "Camp Staunton" was formed under the direction of Gen. Bloomfield. On the 29th the British squadron in Delaware Bay stood up the river as far as Ready Island, where they captured and burnt some shallops and small craft. When the alarm was given the Independent Blues were ordered to Newcastle, and the other companies stood on their arms waiting for orders until it was known that the enemy had retired.

Camp Staunton was abandoned on the 2d of June and Col. Rush was ordered to take up a new position on Shellpot Hill, three miles north of Wilmington and one mile from the Delaware, in order to protect Dupont's powder-mills on the Brandywine. The troops remained at "Camp Shellpot" until the 12th of July, when they moved to Oak Hill on Stillè's Run, four miles west of Wilmington and four miles south of Dupont's. As the enemy withdrew from the Chesapeake a few days afterward the meagre force returned to Philadelphia, where they were feasted at "The Woodlands" and mustered out of the service at the State House. This was all there was of glory in the Delaware campaign of 1813.

A gunboat squadron was organized by the Committee of Defence in the spring of 1813. It consisted of nine armed boats and the *Camel* and *Leopard*, armed sloops. Capt. Angus was given the command. Angus made an attack on the British sloop-of-war *Martin*, which had gone ashore on Crow's Shoals, but the *Junon* came to her aid and the flotilla was driven off. During the action the American gunboat *No.* 121, Sailing-Master Sheed, fell out of the line and was captured with 40 prisoners. Sheed was sent as a prisoner to Halifax and the gunboat was afterward found and broken up by the wreckers at Absecom. Among the contributions to the flotilla was the *Northern Liberty* galley built at Grice's ship-yard, Kensington, at the expense of the inhabitants of the Northern Liberties. The "State Fencibles" saw some service, participating in the launch of this galley. The privateer fleet was not able to do much execution during the year in consequence of the blockade of the Delaware, and some of the vessels that ventured out were captured. The isolated condition of the port afforded the Federalist newspapers occasions for merriment, and the maritime columns were given over to "Horse Marine News," and to the celebration of "inland navigation," in doggerel verses like this:

> Tho' Neptune's trident is laid by,
> From North to South our coasters fly;
> No sails nor rudders need these ships,
> Which freemen drive with wagon-whips.

The defenders of the city came in for their share of ridicule, and the movements of the militia were burlesqued with as much acrimony and bitterness as if the citizen-soldiers had been the secret or declared enemies of the country. Gen. Bloomfield was called "Granny" Bloomfield, Col. Bartram was Col. "Calico" Bartram, and Col. S. E. Fotteral was Stephen Ego Fotteral. One of the libellous sheets advertised an operatic interlude called "Gambols in Camp; or, the Heroes of Shell-Pot," and printed a mock epic of the northern campaign with the title of "The Bobadiliad." When Col. Fotteral raised the Thirty-second Regiment of regulars in the autumn his military capacity was impugned, as indeed was that of nearly every officer concerned in the

defence of the city and country. Dissatisfaction with "Maddison's ruinous war," as it was called, was carried so far that it scarcely fell short of disloyalty.

In 1814 a new Militia Act was passed in which provision was made for drafting troops for the defense of the State and nation. Under this Act volunteer companies were allowed to adopt their own uniforms. The State cockade was ordered to be blue and red. The new law did not materially affect the Philadelphia Division except in changing the officers of the two brigades. Brigadier-General Robert Wharton, who was a Federalist, was superseded in the command of the City Brigade in July by George Bartram, and Thomas Cadwalader succeeded Bartram in August. Thomas Snyder took the place of Brigadier-General William Duncan in the County Brigade. Major-General Isaac Worrall retained command of the Division. Rumors of a threatened invasion in midsummer gave a fresh impetus to the organization of volunteer companies. As the year before, the new organizations were promoted by the political and other associations, some of which had names that were both curious and suggestive. The second company of "Washington Guards" was formed by "The Federal Republican Young Men," and "the men professing the principles of Washington" organized the "Washington Artillery." Others were the "Philadelphia Marine Artillery" by the shipmasters and mariners, the "Senior Military Association" composed of men over forty-five years of age, the "Philadelphia Chasseurs" made up of Frenchmen, the "Military Association of the Northern Liberties," and even a company for "pious men whose conscientious views would deter them from joining other corps where they could not enjoy themselves as much as in this corps, which is formed for the defense of those rights, both civil and religious, which the Father of all mercies has committed to our care." The "Second Military Drill Association" was changed to the "Union Guards," and later there were numerous companies for purely home defence, including one raised by the school teachers.

After the capture of Washington and the advance upon Baltimore the alarm in Philadelphia became a panic. The first Committee of Defense had been dissolved, but another was now appointed with ample powers, and provision was made for the care of the families of men who had been drafted under the State law. On this new Committee of Defense was a number of Federalists, including Gen. Thomas Cadwalader, Henry Hawkins, George Latimer, Condy Raguet, Capt. Charles Ross, John Barclay and Peter Miercken. The newspapers for the first time since the beginning of the war were unanimous in urging the people to support the war measures. The militia was equipped for field service. Plans were adopted and measures taken for the construction of fortifications, and money was voted by the city and districts to be placed at the disposal of the Committee of Defense. The First City Troop was detailed for vidette duty between the Chesapeake and the

Delaware, with headquarters at Mount Bull, five miles from Turkey Point. The greatest activity prevailed and for a brief season the recriminations of faction were stopped.

General Bloomfield established a camp at Kennett Square, in Chester county, in August. It was called "Camp Bloomfield." The first company to march to the general rendezvous was the "State Fencibles," Capt. Clement C. Biddle, which left the city on the 26th. The "Independent Artillerists," Capt. Andrew M. Prevost, the "Independent Blues," Capt. Peter A. Browne, and the second company of "Washington Guards," Capt. Joseph R. Ingersoll, followed on the 27th; the "Junior Artillerists," Capt. Jacob Cash, Jr., on the 28th; the first company "Washington Guards," Capt. Condy Raguet, on the 29th; and the third company "Washington Guards," Capt. Thomas F. Pleasants, and four companies of the militia under Lieutenant-Colonel Peter F. Berry, on the 30th. Early in September this force was increased by the "Independent Volunteers," Capt. Daniel Oldenbergh, the first and second companies "Union Guards," Captains William Mitchell and Joseph Murray, the "Second City Troop," Capt. William Rawle, Jr., and the "Northern Liberty Artillerists," Capt. John Naglee. The eight companies of volunteer infantry were organized into a regiment with Clement C. Biddle, colonel, Condy Raguet lieutenant-colonel, Joseph R. Ingersoll and Samuel S. Voorhees majors, Michael W. Ash adjutant, and Francis R. Wharton quarter-master. The artillery companies were made into a battalion with Andrew M. Prevost as major. On the 7th of September Lieutenant-Colonel Clemson reached the camp with some regulars and assumed command. He was succeeded by Gen. Cadwalader, and withdrew with the regulars to Iron Hill. Gen. Cadwalader's staff comprised John Hare Powel, brigade-major, Richard McCall and John G. Biddle, aides-de-camp, Henry Sergeant, assistant quartermaster-general, and David Correy, assistant deputy quartermaster. On the 17th the troops moved from Kennett Square, encamping on the Gregg farm three and a half miles from Wilmington, and on the 20th formed "Camp Brandywine," half a mile distant. Nine days later the little army went to "Camp Dupont," where it remained until the last day of November. The other Philadelphia companies that joined Gen. Cadwalader's command at "Camp Dupont" were the "State Guards," Capt. Henry Meyers, the "Frankford Volunteer Artillerists," Capt. Thomas W. Duffield, the "Franklin Flying Artillery," Capt. Richard Bache, the "Washington Artillery," Capt. Cornelius Stevenson, the second "Independent Artillerists," Capt. Samuel Paxson, and the "Independent Riflemen," Capt. John C. Uhle. The artillery battalion was made into a regiment in November. The county also furnished its quota of militia under Gen. Worrell. About the middle of November Col. Raguet, with six companies, was sent to "Camp Gaines," two miles below Newcastle. This was the only detached service performed by any of the volunteers of "Camp Dupont" dur-

ing the autumn. The troops returned to Philadelphia at the beginning of December. There was no dinner at "The Woodlands" this year, but the companies were reviewed by Gen. Gaines at Eleventh and Market streets, and formally dismissed at the State House.

The work performed under the immediate supervision of the Committee of Defense was very great. The volunteer companies for home defence were so numerous that several camps of instruction were formed. One of these was "Camp Taylor," near the United States Arsenal; another was "Camp Mifflin," where Major Joel B. Sutherland had command of four companies; the reserve was at Bush Hill, under General Snyder. Fortifications were erected at Gray's Ferry; a redoubt on the west side of Schuylkill, opposite Harrison's Grove; a fort at the intersection of the Gray's Ferry and Darby roads, and redoubts on the Lancaster road, and on the southern side of the hill at Fairmount. This work was completed during the month of September by the voluntary labor of the political societies, trade guilds, and newly-organized companies of Guards, Greens, Fencibles, and Rangers. On one of the working days the Tammany Society furnished 400 laborers, the True Republican Society 70, the Washington Association 70, the Washington Benevolent Society 500, the Freemasons 510, the Sons of Erin 2,200, the German societies 540, and the Scotchmen 100. Even the colored people contributed a sturdy force of willing workers, and it was said formed a Black Legion for military service. Grog was plentiful on the working days, and a general order expressed the hope that every man would quit work sober. Plans were projected for the fortification of the Delaware on a large scale, and executed by the building of a martello tower in the Northern Liberties by the Committee of Defense. The general government did nothing, or next to nothing. Gen. Edmund P. Gaines was in command of the military district that included Philadelphia, but the city was expected to send regular troops elsewhere, rather than to receive them from places, where it was believed they were more needed. The Marine Artillery, Captain Annesley, was stationed at Fort Mifflin, and a brigade of State militia from the counties of Northampton and Lehigh was quartered at the Arch Street Prison. These State troops were so poorly shod that the city made an appropriation of $4,000 to supply them with shoes to enable them to march to their homes. The troops were dismissed with orders to be ready for a vigorous campaign in the spring of 1815, but the military preparations gave place to a general illumination when news was received of the Treaty of Ghent.

After the war of 1812 many of the volunteer companies were disbanded, and the militia gradually sunk into the condition of perfunctory holiday soldiers. The military was seldom seen except on festive occasions. When President Monroe visited Philadelphia, in 1817, he was received on the west side of Schuylkill, at the Market street bridge, with a Federal salute by Captain Bache's Flying Artillery,

and escorted from the east side of the river to the Mansion House by General Cadwalader's brigade. On the 22d of February, 1820, Colonel Biddle's regiment was reviewed by Major-General Scott. The reception of La Fayette, in 1824, was the occasion of the greatest military display that Philadelphia had witnessed since the war. Major-General Cadwalader had command of the division. The two City Troops, and the First and Third County Troops under command of Capt. J. C. R. Smith, received the distinguished guest at Morrisville, and escorted him to Frankford. The next morning the Marquis reviewed the troops at Rush's Field, and then started for the city. At the stone bridge the civic procession was passed by the First Brigade, Gen. Robert Patterson, which then led the way, the rear being brought up by the Second Brigade, Gen. Thomas Castor. There were few of the visitor's companions in arms left to do him honor, and none with the troops that marched before and behind him to the State House. This, it was thought, was the expiring effort of the Philadelphia militia, for it had sunk so low in *morale*, and in public esteem, that an ignorant ostler at a market tavern at Third and Callowhill streets had been elected colonel of the Eighty-fourth Regiment in derision of the system.

Although Col. John Pluck was chosen to command the Eighty-fourth Regiment in 1824—the "Bloody Eighty-fourth," it was called—it was not until 1825 that this disgraceful selection reached its full height of absurdity. A board of officers had set the election aside as illegal and ordered a new election, but Pluck was re-elected by 447 votes to 64 for Benjamin Harker, and 15 for a fellow called "Whistling Johnny." Pluck had fairly won his new honors and he was determined to wear them. He felt something of the contempt for the men who objected to him that they had for him. "Well, I am an honest man, anyhow," he said, "and I ain't afraid to fight, and that's more than most of them can say." Col. Pluck ordered the regiment to parade at Bush Hill on the 19th of May. No adequate description of the event has come down to us. Enough is known, however, to render it certain that determined efforts were made to make it a very fantastic affair. Men appeared in the ranks in grotesque costumes and carrying arms that were worse than caricatures of the usual weapons of warfare. Thousands of persons gathered to witness the scene and behaved in a manner so scandalous that the grand jury soon afterward presented the parade ground as a nuisance. But the Philadelphia militia was able to survive even Col. Pluck and had many noteworthy parades down to the Mexican War.

A volunteer organization that excited the admiration of La Fayette was the artillery company known as the "Washington Greys," which was organized in 1823, and continued to be very popular for many years. Its rival in popularity was the Philadelphia Greys, which came into existence about 1828. The latter attained its greatest excellence

under Capt. George Cadwalader. In 1830 there was a great parade of the Philadelphia militia in honor of the overthrow of the Bourbons in France, in which the Philadelphia Greys, Capt. John Miles, carried a splendid tri-colored banner with a picture of La Fayette in the centre, and the State Fencibles a tri-color flag presented by Miss Emilie Chapron at the house of her father, John M. Chapron. In that year another great military display attended the visit of the City Guards of Boston, the first visiting company ever welcomed in Philadelphia. The centennial celebration of the birth of Washington in 1832 was another opportunity for the display of military spirit. In 1838 twelve hundred men of the First Divison, under Brigadier-General Patterson, went to Harrisburg at the call of Governor Ritner, in anticipation of an outbreak in consequence of political disputes in the Legislature. This was the famous "Buckshot War." In 1839 the remains of Gen. Hugh Mercer were removed from the south side of Christ Church to Laurel Hill Cemetery, with imposing ceremonies, in which the military had part; and the First City Troop, the Washington Greys, and the Philadelphia Greys took part in the solemn ceremonies attending the removal of the remains of Col. John Haslet of the Delaware regiment, killed at the battle of Princeton in 1777, from the burying-ground of the First Presbyterian church to Dover, in 1840. Volunteers were called out to suppress the negro riots of 1842, and the weavers' riot at Kensington in 1843.

With these disturbances the city entered upon the most disorderly decade in its history. In 1844 occurred the disgraceful Native American riots, which assumed greater proportions than the disorders of the two preceding years, and the militia had sterner work in subduing the rioters. It was a more arduous campaign than that of 1814,—one in which no honors could be won by the soldiers, and that only reflected discredit on the political party that made it necessary. The riots had continued for a number of days before the military was asked to assist in suppressing the disorder. When the first request was made the officers refused to respond because it came from the sheriff, but it was finally determined to muster. The riots began with the breaking up of a Native American meeting at Second and Master streets on the 3d of May. A second meeting, held at the "Nanny Goat Market" on the 6th, was assailed by a shot fired from the Hibernia Hose House. A skirmish ensued, in which one young man was killed and eleven persons wounded. The news of the affair brought a mob to the neighborhood, and all the Roman Catholic churches and schools in the city were threatened. On the morning of the 7th an attempt was made to break into the school-house at Second and Thompson streets, used by the Sisters of Charity. Shots were fired from the windows by defenders of the building, and one man in the crowd was killed, and one mortally wounded. Excited by these events a large and tumultuous meeting was held at the State House on the 8th, which resolved to adjourn to

Second and Master streets, and marched up town. Instead of a single shot from the Hibernia Hose House the crowd was received with a volley. A riot was the result, in which a number of persons were killed and wounded, and the hose house set on fire and destroyed. Other buildings were fired and a general conflagration was feared. It was then that the military came on the ground for the first time, and protected the firemen in subduing the flames. After this the troops were withdrawn except two companies, the Monroe Guards and Philadelphia Cadets, as it was believed the mob had dispersed. On the morning of the 9th another mob assembled, St. Michael's Roman Catholic church at Second and Jefferson streets was fired, and the seminary, popularly called "the Nunnery," which had been previously assailed, was destroyed. While the seminary was burning the rioters taunted the two military companies on the ground with their helplessness. It was not until late in the day that an adequate military force was provided, but about 5 o'clock in the evening the First Brigade, Brigadier-General George Cadwalader, reached the scene of the disturbances. In the meantime the rioters scattered, but soon afterward concentrated in the neighborhood of St. Augustine's church in Fourth street, below Vine. With the troops in Kensington there was no protection for the church except the First City Troop, which was in the neighborhood, but was powerless against such vast numbers. The edifice was secretly entered and set on fire from the inside. No effort was made to save it, and it was completely destroyed, together with another school-house of the Sisters of Charity and the fine library of the "Hermits of Saint Augustine."

When the news of the burning of St. Augustine's reached the military the troops were brought back to the city, and disposed in detachments for the protection of the Roman Catholic churches and schools. It was found necessary at last to abandon the temporizing policy that had been previously pursued. The volunteers of the entire Division were called out, under authority of the Governor, and Major-General Patterson established headquarters at the Girard Bank. These vigorous measures were effective. Order was re-established, and after a few days the military was withdrawn. The Fourth of July was celebrated without any breach of the peace. Unfortunately on the 5th some persons living in the neighborhood saw a number of muskets taken into the church of St. Philip de Neri, in Southwark. A rumor was started that the church was a fort filled with arms and ammunition. This proved true in a sense, as was afterward ascertained, but before the facts were known another mob had gathered. The City Guards was sent to the scene of the disturbance, and by authority it was determined to search the church. While this was in progress the mob was continually increasing, and it continued to increase until late the next day. The City Guards was manifestly unequal to coping with the rioters, and on the evening of the 6th was reinforced by six companies,—the Mechanic

Rifles, Washington Blues, Cadwalader Grays, Montgomery Hibernia Greens, Markle Rifles, and Junior Artillerists with three field pieces. With this force an effort was made to clear the streets. Sheriff McMichael with his posse was in advance of the military, and Gen. Cadwalader commanded the troops. The taunts of the mob were very irritating, and, at last, by Cadwalader's order a field piece was put in position to sweep the street. At the critical moment Charles Naylor, a well-known Whig lawyer and politician, who was one of the sheriff's posse, stepped in front of the cannon, saying, "No, don't—don't fire." Naylor was arrested and sent a military prisoner into the church. Naylor's interference probably saved many lives. The mob gave way and guards were placed to protect the building, in which the lawyer was still held a prisoner. The spirit of resistance was still strong, and the next day, the 7th, an assault was made upon the rear of the church with a cannon lashed to a wagon, but very little harm was done. Another assault was then made in front with a battering ram, and the door of the church was forced open. To appease the mob Naylor was released on bail, and the church was vacated by the soldiers as a further concession.

Ever since the beginning of the riots the employment of the Hibernia Greens was the cause of much irritation among the rioters. This was violently shown upon their withdrawal. The abandonment of the church was made under an understanding with the ringleaders of the mob that the attacks should cease. The Greens marched out escorted by the Mechanic and Markle Rifles. A great crowd followed, pelting the hated Hibernians with stones and brickbats. When the shower was thickest one of the men fired and the company broke and scattered. They were pursued and many of them were beaten. The man who had fired the shot was killed. In the meantime a third assault was made on the church, which was now undefended, and a breach was made in one of the side walls that enabled the mob to pour into the building. It was only saved from destruction through the intercession of some of the Native American leaders. It has been claimed that the disturbances were now over,—that no further harm would have been done if the rioters had been left to work their own will. The mob had triumphed. Naylor was released. The "Greens" had been pelted and scattered. The church was in possession of its assailants or their political sponsors. But it was determined to clear the streets and place the building in charge of the authorities.

The troops under General Cadwalader left the State House about half-past 6 o'clock, and marched down Fifth street to Queen. The Cadwalader Grays, Capt. Robert K. Scott, was ordered to clear Queen street down to Second, supported by the City Guards, Capt. Joseph Hill. The movement had only began when a citizens' committee came up the south side of the street and surrendered the keys of the church to General Cadwalader, but the work of driving off the rioters went

on. The crowd was forced back at the point of the bayonet, not without resistance. The soldiers were assailed with bricks and stones, and some of the men were knocked down. A rioter attempted to wrest Captain Hill's sword from him, and in the scuffle Hill was forced down on one knee, while the shower of stones continued. Hill gave the order to fire, and three men and a boy were killed at the first discharge and a number of persons wounded. Something like a battle followed. The soldiers were fired at from the neighboring streets and alleys. The mob made the Wharton Market their rendezvous, and posted a cannon at Front and Queen streets with which the rioters fired at the military. The fire was returned by the soldiers from a battery posted at Second and Queen streets. There was a general alarm, and the Second Brigade was hurried down Third street to Queen. Becoming aware of this the rioters muffled the wheels of the wagon on which their cannon was fastened, and shifting their point of attack to Christian and Third streets, fired up Third. Sergeant John Geyer and Corporal H. Troutman of the Germantown Blues were killed. The cannon was hastily drawn back, and when the fire was returned there were no rioters in sight. Other cannons were fired from other points by the mob, and some of the soldiers wounded. About midnight the Washington Cavalry, Captain Snyder, and the First State Troop were sent to the scene of the affray, and after repeated charges succeeded in clearing the streets before morning, capturing three cannons from the rioters. The war was over, and, although danger still existed, there was no disturbance afterward. As many as twelve citizens were killed during these emeutes, and an effort was made to have General Cadwalader indicted for murder.

The riots of 1844 showed the defects of the laws in providing the necessary force to quell local disturbances. The right of the sheriff to call on the militia as well as the volunteer companies was denied. To meet the case an ordinance was adopted appropriating $5,000 for the enlistment of a battalion for the preservation of the peace of the city. This ordinance was passed in July, and before the close of September General Cadwalader reported that the full complement of 1,350 men had been made up. Seven thousand dollars was at once appropriated for their equipment. Several of the old volunteer companies refused to accept service in this corps because General Cadwalader insisted that the uniforms should be that of the regular service, and the battalion as constituted comprised for the most part new men and new officers. This arrangement was never carried into effect, for, in 1845, the Legislature passed an Act providing for police superintendents for the city and districts with increased police powers, and authority was given to the sheriff to call upon the Major-General of the Division for such assistance as he might require to restore order and preserve the peace.

IV.

IN THE WAR WITH MEXICO.

THERE was a great flutter in military circles in Philadelphia in anticipation of the war with Mexico. When war was actually declared May 11, 1846, tenders of service were made and recruiting began. Political feeling of the kind that caused the riots of 1844 still prevailed, and two days after the declaration of war Charles J. Jack, a former militia officer, announced his intention to form "The First Regiment of Native Guards." Jack modestly offered to command the regiment and appoint all the officers. The printers organized a company called the "Press Guard," under Capt. William C. Toby, a newspaper writer, who afterward became a war correspondent in Mexico over the signature of "John of Lancaster." Before the end of July as many as thirty companies [1] had volunteered from the city, including the two State Fencibles, the Washington Blues, the Cadwalader Grays, the Philadelphia Grays, and the Junior Artillerists. Notwithstanding this alacrity when the actual requisition came in November none of the companies was ready. The Washington Light Infantry was the first to be prepared for the field; the City Guards, Monroe Guards, Philadelphia Light Guards, Cadwalader Grays and Jefferson Guards were got ready in time for acceptance. These became a part of the First Pennsylvania Regiment. A company called the Philadelphia

[1] LIST OF THE VOLUNTEER COMPANIES.

Patterson Guards, Capt. William A. Stokes, seventy-seven men.

Steuben Fusileers, Capt. Arnold Syberg, seventy-eight men.

Independent Guards, Capt. Edwin Chandler, seventy-seven men.

National Guards, Capt. Stephen B. Kingston, seventy-seven men.

State Fencibles, 1st Company, Capt. James Page, seventy-eight men.

State Fencibles, 2d Company, Capt. Jos. Murray, seventy-seven men.

Washington Blues, Capt. William C. Patterson, seventy-seven men.

City Guards. Capt. Joseph Hill, seventy-seven men.

Lafayette Light Infantry, Capt. William G. Smith, eighty-eight men.

National Artillery, Capt. John K. Murphy, eighty-two men.

Philadelphia Repealed Volunteers, Capt. William Dickson, seventy-seven men.

Monroe Guards, Capt. William F. Small, seventy-seven men.

Frankford Artillery, Capt. John F. Pechel, eighty-one men

National Grays, Capt. Peter Fritz, eighty-five men.

Cadwalader Grays, Capt. Robert K. Scott, eighty-four men.

Union Fencibles, Capt. Robert M. Lee, eighty-five men.

Philadelphia Light Guard, Capt. John Bennett, eighty-four men.

Philadelphia Grays, Capt. George Cadwalader, eighty-two men.

Harrison Blues, Capt. N. Hicks Graham, eighty-three men.

Washington Light Infantry, Capt. F. W. Binder, eighty men.

Irish Volunteers, Capt. Amable J. Brazier, seventy-eight men.

Montgomery Guards, Capt. Rush Van Dyke, eighty-two men.

Washington National Guards, Capt. John Reiss, ninety men.

Jefferson Guards, Capt. Turner G. Morehead, seventy-nine men.

Tyler Guards, Capt. Robert Tyler, eighty-four men.

Junior Artillerists, Capt. Frederick Fritz, seventy-eight men.

Germantown Blues, Capt. John D. Miles, seventy-eight men.

Jackson Artillerists, Capt. Jacob Hubeli, seventy-nine men.

Mechanic Rifles, Capt. —— ——, seventy-seven men.

Montgomery Guards (Irish), Capt. Michael McCoy, eighty-six men.

Rangers, Capt. Charles Naylor, was also ready but missed the inspection, and was afterward accepted for the Second Pennsylvania Regiment. Three other companies were subsequently raised,—a company of voltigeurs for the United States service, Capt. Charles J. Biddle; a company of volunteer infantry, also accepted for the regular service, Capt. Arnold Syberg; and a company of dragoons, Capt. John Butler. Altogether these organizations contributed about one thousand men to the army of occupation.

The First and Second Pennsylvania Regiments were commanded respectively by Col. Frederick M. Wyncoop and Col. E. T. Roberts. The four companies under Captains Binder, Bennett, Hill and Cadwalader, left Philadelphia on the 7th of December; those under Captains Morehead, Scott and Small on the 9th, and Capt. Naylor's company on the 14th. They made the journey by rail to Chambersburg, and then marched over the mountains to Pittsburg, from where they went by water to Vera Cruz by way of New Orleans. The two regiments assisted in the investment of Vera Cruz, serving in the brigade of General Pillow in Major-General Robert Patterson's division, and were in the actions in the chapparal at Laguna Malibran on the 10th and 11th of March, 1847. During the siege the First regiment had 2 men killed and 10 wonunded, and the Second regiment 4 wounded. General Patterson left a sick bed to share in the battle of Cerro Gordo and Pillow's brigade twice assailed the enemy's line of batteries, the First Pennsylvania having 10 men wounded, one mortally, and the Second Pennsylvania 13. Capt. Naylor's company was specially named in the report of Gen. Patterson and highly complimented in the report of Gen Pillow.

Although Gen. George Cadwalader would have been content to serve with the army in Mexico as captain of the Cadwalader Grays he was speedily appointed a brigadier-general, and after the capture was given command at Vera Cruz. When Gen. Pillow obtained a division Cadwalader was placed under him with a brigade of regulars, which included the Voltigeurs. After the battles of Contreres and Cherubusco Cadwalader was warmly praised for his gallantry, and at Molino del Rey and Cheputapee his services were even more conspicuous. Captain Biddle of the Voltigeurs greatly distinguished himself in these actions, as well as in the capture of the City of Mexico. In these operations the Second Pennsylvania Regiment was not brigaded, but served with Gen. Shields's brigade in Gen. Quitman's Division. In the meantime the First Pennsylvania was serving in Puebla, of which Col. Thomas Childs, U. S. A., was the military Governor. Col. Wyncoop with one battalion was in command of the department of Perote, where he learned on the 16th of June that a large force of Mexicans was stationed at La Hoya, with the intention of attacking Gen. Cadwalader's train. Wyncoop accordingly moved to Las Vegas with a company of Mounted Rifles and five companies of his own regiment, where he met the

enemy and attacked and routed double the number of his own troops. Col. Wyncoop was also in the attack upon Gen. Santa Ana at Huamantla, under Brigadier-General Joseph Lane, in October. Lieutenant-Colonel Black, with four companies of the regiment and two or three other companies, was in command at San Jose, where he was besieged by a large force of Mexicans, subsequently heavily reinforced by Santa Ana. During the siege Capt. Small with his company made a sortie, driving the enemy with 17 dead left on the ground. Capt. Hill and his company distinguished themselves during the siege, which lasted a month. The losses of the four companies were 15 killed, 27 wounded and 2 missing. Capt. Morehead with his company was at Gaudeloupe, and rendered important service during the siege of San Jose by successive sorties upon the enemy. The six companies of the First Pennsylvania Regiment left Philadelphia with 559 men and returned with 254.

Brigadier-General Cadwalader returned from Mexico in May, 1848, and was received at Gray's Ferry by the First Division of the militia under Gen. A. L. Roumfort. He was escorted to Independence Hall where he was welcomed by Councils, William M. Meredith, the President of Select Council, making the address. What was left of the First regiment came home in July. They were met at the station of the Columbia Railroad by a civic procession and a large assemblage of citizens. An address of welcome was made by David Webster. The returning soldiers were commanded by Colonel Wyncoop and Gen. Patterson, and Gen. Pillow marched before them in the procession. A banquet followed at the Museum building, at which a song composed for the occasion by James Bellak, was sung by a specially constituted choir, and John M. Scott delivered an oration. About one thousand persons participated in the feast. Capt. Naylor's company did not get back until late in the year.

It was remarked that the returned soldiers seemed weary and jaded and manifested little enthusiasm over the warmth of their reception. They took care in after years, however, to keep alive the memory of their services and achievements. The body of Lieut. Montgomery P. Young of Capt. Morehead's company, who was killed in Mexico, was brought home in December, 1849, and placed in Monument Cemetery with appropriate ceremonies. All the Mexican veterans who were in the city participated in the obsequies, this being the first ocsasion that brought them together since their return. This renewal of associations and revival of memories led to the formation of the organization known as the Scott Legion. In the great military parade at the reception of Kossuth, December 24, 1851, the Legion participated, the members wearing their old Mexican uniform. On the anniversary of the battle of Cerro Cordo, April 18, 1855, the Legion dedicated a handsome monument that it had caused to be erected in Glenwood Cemetery. When Abraham Lincoln was in Philadelphia in February 1861,

previous to his inauguration, it was the Scott Legion that escorted him from the Continental Hotel to Independence Hall on Washington's birthday, and was drawn up in front of the platform during the ceremonies. Three months later the Legion, now a volunteer regiment under Col. Gray, but still retaining some of the old soldiers of the Mexican war, left the cars at Chambersburg, where the six Philadelphia companies had left the train to make the march over the mountains more than fifteen years before, to begin the first campaign of the War for the Union.

V.

DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

When the civil war was impending both the city of Philadelphia and the State of Pennsylvania were in a condition that denoted the complete decay of the military spirit. Major-General Robert Patterson, who was in command of the First Division of the volunteer militia, was generally looked upon as a fit person to lead the State troops in the event of war, on account of his large experience in military matters, his undoubted patriotism, and his eminent services in the Mexican war. He wanted a parade ground to train his men in anticipation of possible hostilitles, and asked for the arsenal lot, which had been conveyed by the city to the State but was leased by the Adjutant-General to the Western Market Company. Patterson appealed to Councils and Councils referred him to the City Solicitor. The Law Department declined to take any action, but suggested that the military might build a fence around the arsenal lot, and if the marketmen attempted to tear it down, bring a suit for trespass in order to test the right of the Adjutant-General to make the lease. General Patterson rejected this proposition with becoming scorn and no legal action was taken. The firing on Fort Sumter found the city as much unprepared as if the bolt had came from a clear sky.

The beginning of the rebellion witnessed some of those spasmodic efforts at soldiering in Philadelphia that always precede genuine organization in cities without a military equipment suitable for war. On the receipt of the news from Charleston a handbill was circulated calling upon "young men desirous of rallying around the standard of the Union," to enroll themselves in the new volunteer Light Artillery regiment, "now rapidly filling up and ready to march upon the receipt of orders from the Governor." The first command to tender its serv-

ices to the government was the Washington brigade, Gen. William F. Small. When the President's first call for troops came Philadelphia's allotment was six regiments. The first troops to leave for Washington consisted of one-half of the Washington brigade, comprising six companies of the First regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Berry, and four companies of the Second regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Schoenleber. The Sixth Massachusetts, which was assaulted in Baltimore, left the city a few hours before them. In consequence of this attack the Philadelphia troops upon their arrival at Baltimore were asked by the Mayor of that city and the Governor of Maryland to remain at the President Street Station. They were unarmed and without uniforms, and when they were attacked by the Baltimore mob it was impossible to distinguish friends from foes. This riot made the return of the Washington brigade necessary. The Buena Vista Guards did not get back until the following day, suffering a loss in Baltimore of 2 men killed and 9 wounded. They brought with them a secession flag captured from the rioters. Twenty-eight members of the brigade became separated from the rest of the command, and were arrested by a party of secessionists in Harford county, Maryland, and put in jail at Belair.

On the day of the Baltimore riots Gen. Patterson issued an order directing the companies and regiments of the Second and Third brigades that had volunteered to report to Brigadier-General George Cadwalader for instructions. They were at once mustered into the service of the United States, and held ready to march as soon as they could be armed and equipped. Five thousand muskets were received on Saturday the 20th of April. On Monday the 22d it was announced that the number of men enlisted in Philadelphia was 7,600, exclusive of Gen. Small's brigade of 2,000. Gen. Patterson was given command of the Pennsylvania troops and Gen. Cadwalader of the First Division of three brigades. The first duty of the Philadelphia volunteers was to guard the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad and the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. Great activity was shown in mustering and despatching troops. The First Artillery regiment, P. V., Col. Francis E. Patterson, left the city on the 8th of May. The First City Troop, Capt. Thomas C. James, was mustered into the United States service on the 13th. On the 14th the First regiment, National Guards, P. V., Col. Peter Lyle; the First regiment, P. V., Col. William D. Lewis Jr.; and the Philadelphia Life Guards, Col. Turner G. Morehead, left for Perryville, from where they were conveyed to Baltimore by water. "Camp Owen" was established at Hestonville by the Irish regiment under Col. Joshua T. Owen a few days later. The new Scott Legion attended service at the Rev. Dr. Boardman's church at Twelfth and Walnut streets on Sunday, the 21st, preparatory to leaving for the front. On the 30th the concentration of troops at Chambersburg began in anticipation of the Shenandoah Valley campaign. General Patterson left Philadelphia on the 2d of June to assume command of

the army designed for this movement. The Philadelphia regiments taking part in this campaign were the Twentieth Pa. Vols., Scott Legion, Col. Gray; the Twenty-first, Col. Ballier; the Twenty-third, Col. Dare; and the Twenty-fourth, Col. Owen. The First City Troop, the Light Horse of the Revolution, served with four companies of U. S. Cavalry in the brigade of Col. George H. Thomas in Gen. Cadwalader's division. The Independent Rangers, Capt. William McMullin, was also in this campaign. These troops were all "three months' men."

A special feature of the pomp and circumstance of glorious war in Philadelphia during these early weeks of the Rebellion was the arrival and departure of regiments from other States. The first regiment to come was the Sixth Massachusetts, Col. Edward F. Jones, on the 18th of April. The regiment was received with enthusiasm, escorted to the Girard House, and entertained at the Continental. The Eighth Massachusetts, Col. Monroe, followed on the evening of the 19th, and the Seventh New York on the morning of the 20th. These two regiments after a brief stay proceeded, reaching Annapolis by water. In a few days the streets and squares had the appearance of a great military camp. The Providence Marine artillery of Providence, R. I., was in the city from the 28th to the 30th, and the Twentieth New York arrived on the 7th of May. On the 8th the Third U. S. Infantry passed through Philadelphia, and on the 16th "Camp McClellan" was formed at the Suffolk Park race-course by two Ohio regiments, the First, Col. A. D. McCook, and the Second, Col. Wilson. The Ohio regiments left for the south on the 23d. The Fourteenth New York passed through on the 19th and the Second New York on the 20th The Union troops passing through Philadelphia were received with generous hospitality by the people, many persons dealing out coffee and sandwiches of cheese and ham to the soldiers upon their arrival at the Washington Street Station. It was not long until these hospitalities took the form of organized effort, and when the three months' men returned home in July they found the Volunteers' Refreshment Saloon at Delaware and Washington avenues, and the Cooper Shop Refreshment Saloon in Otsego street, below Washington avenue, in full operation. On the last day of October a hospital in connection with the latter was dedicated. Gen. James Shields supped at the Cooper Shop and inspected the hospital January 6, 1862. Among the distinguished soldiers who were welcomed there was Brigadier-General Michael Corcoran of the Irish Brigade, and regiments, going to and returning from the front, were entertained almost daily. The first regiment received at the Cooper Shop was the Eighth New York, Col. Blenker, May 27, 1861, and the last the One Hundred and Fourth Pennsylvania, Col. Kephart, August 28, 1865. A Soldiers' Home was also organized in connection with the refreshment saloons in 1863. Both saloons were formally closed August 28, 1865.

As early as the 17th of April, 1861, the retired and contributing

members of the Washington Grays determined to raise a regiment, to be called the Reserve Corps, for home defence. At a town meeting held on the 20th it was agreed that it was "indispensible that a body of not less than ten regiments of resident citizens should be organized as a Home Guard without delay, each regiment to be composed of ten companies, of not less than eighty men each." Col. Augustus J. Pleasonton was appointed commander of the Home Guard. This corps adopted a uniform consisting of a single-breasted light or cadet gray frock coat with a high collar, drab trousers, and a rosette of the national colors. The force comprised cavalry, artillery, infantry and light infantry, each man wearing buttons that designated the arm of the service to which he belonged. Before the end of June the Home Guard numbered nearly 5,000 men. They were called by such names as Reserve Blues and Reserve Grays, and one company was even known as the First City Troop of Home Guards. The Home Guard had a great parade on the seventy-fourth anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, September 17, 1861. The orator of the day was George M. Dallas, who was escorted from his house in Walnut street, near Tenth, to Independence square, where the oration was delivered. In October the artillery arm of the corps began to drill at Point Breeze Park. On the 7th of November the Home Guard participated in the reception of the body of Col. E. D. Baker, who was killed at Ball's Bluff. Gen. Pleasonton's first report as commander of the Home Guard, January 1, 1862, showed that it contained about 4,000 men, including three regiments of infantry, two battalions of riflemen, three companies of artillery, and one squadron of cavalry. The invasion of Maryland in 1862 led to renewed efforts to put the Home Guard on an efficient basis. The command remained in existence during the war but was never called upon to exhibit its valor and endurance in active service.

The three months' regiments had scarcely taken their places in the field before the organization of new regiments for three years or the war began to be announced. The first of these announcements was the reorganization of the Pennsylvania Regiment of Independent Riflemen, Col. E. G. Chorman, on the 4th of June, which was followed by the completion of Col. William F. Small's regiment. Col. Chorman subsequently commanded the Eighty-ninth regiment, P. V. (Eighth cavalry), and Col. Small's regiment became the Twenty-sixth, P. V., joining Gen. Patterson's column. The Twenty-ninth regiment, P. V., Col. John K. Murphy, was organized early in June. The first of the three months' regiments to re-enlist was Col. Dare's, which continued to be the Twenty-third regiment, P. V., Col. David B. Birney. All the others were afterward reorganized, the Twentieth, Scott Legion, becoming the Sixty-eighth regiment, P. V., Col. A. H. Tippen; the Twenty-fourth, the Sixty-ninth regiment, P. V., Col. Owen; the Nineteenth, the Ninetieth regiment, P. V., Col. Lyle; the Twenty-first, the Ninety-eighth

regiment, P. V., Col. Ballier; the Twenty-second, the One Hundred and Sixth regiment, P. V., Col. Morehead, and the Eighteenth, the One Hundred and Tenth regiment, P. V., Col. Lewis. The Seventeenth, the artillery regiment, Col. F. E. Patterson, was also speedily reorganized as part of the First artillery, Forty-third regiment, P. V., Col. Charles T. Campbell. Camps were formed adjacent to the city or in the outskirts. Col. Murphy's encampment for the Jackson regiment was four miles west of the Schuylkill, between Haddington and Hestonville; the last company of Col. John W. Geary's regiment, the Twenty-eighth P. V., was mustered in on the 18th of July at Camp Coleman, Oxford; and the Cameron Dragoons, Col. M. Friedman, was formally organized on the 22d on the lot opposite the depot of the Ridge Avenue Railway Company. During the month of July a number of companies were ordered away from Philadelphia without regimental organization. Among these were four companies under Captains J. C. Chapman, John H. Taggart, C. S. Preall, and Casper Martins, which left the city on the 7th for Camp Curtin at Harrisburg. Four companies of the Philadelphia Battalion were attached to the Eighty-second regiment, P. V., Col. D. H. Williams, of Pittsburg. The Philadelphia Merchant Troop, Capt. E. B. Martin, was attached to Col. Young's "Kentucky" regiment, which became the Third cavalry, Sixtieth regiment, P. V., Col. W. W. Averill, and fully 900 Philadelphians enlisted in Col. E. D. Baker's "California" regiment, the Seventy-first, P. V. Philadelphia contributed a full regiment, with the exception of two companies, to the organization known as the Pennsylvania Reserves, the Second, Col. William B. Mann, Thirty-first regiment, P. V.; and had three companies in the Third, Col. Horatio G. Sickel, Thirty-second regiment, P. V.; five companies in the Fourth, Col. Robert G. March, Thirty-third regiment, P. V.; three companies in the Seventh, Col. Elisha B. Harvey, Thirty-sixth regiment, P. V., and one company in the Twelfth, Col. John H. Taggart, Forty-first regiment, P. V. The regiments not already named that were in the process of organization in the month of August, were the Twenty-seventh regiment, P. V., Col. Max Einstein, originally intended for the artillery service; the Fifty-eighth regiment, P. V., Col. J. Richter Jones, five companies from Philadelphia; the Sixth cavalry (Rush's Lancers), Col. Richard H. Rush, Seventieth regiment, P. V., with the exception of one company; the Fire Zouaves, Col. W. D. C. Baxter, Seventy-second regiment, P. V.; the Pennsylvania Legion, Col. John A. Koltes, Seventy-third regiment, P. V.; the Seventy-fifth regiment, P. V., Col. Henry Bohlen; the Ninety-first regiment, P. V., Col. Edgar M. Gregory, and the Zouaves, Col. John M. Gosline, the Ninety-fifth regiment, P. V. Other regiments announced as forming in August were the McClelland regiment, Col. Ziegler; the Thomas A. Scott regiment, Col. Conroy; the Andrew Johnson regiment, Col. Kirk; Col. Chantry's regiment, and Col. Lujeane's regiment. These were not completed

or were merged with other commands. Col. Chantry's regiment, which is officially styled the Sixty-six regiment, P.V., was intended for the Pennsylvania Reserves, but could not be accepted, and went to pieces. The Sixth cavalry, Col. Max Friedman, the Sixty-fifth regiment, P.V., and the Eighth cavalry, Col. Ernest G. Chorman, the Eighty-ninth regiment, P. V., were also recruited in August. The latter was originally called Col. Chorman's Mounted Rifles. Neither of these regiments was raised wholly in Philadelphia. At this time, besides the encampments in the city, there were two on the Wissahickon, one at Suffolk Park and one at Camac's Woods. Col. Bohlen's regiment encamped at Hestonville. The Chasseurs d'Afrique, Capt. C. H. T. Collis, went to Fort Delaware on the 25th of August. This company afterward formed the nucleus of the One Hundred and Fourteenth regiment, P. V., Col. Collis; it was a Philadelphia regiment. The Eighty-eighth regiment, P. V., Col. George P. McLean, was recruited in Philadelphia in September, with the exception of three companies. During the month the Second cavalry, Col. R. Bruce Butler, the Sixtieth regiment, P. V., was also forming. Four companies of this regiment were not from Philadelphia. The Sixty-seventh regiment, P. V., Col. John F. Staunton, was organized at Camac's Woods in October; this was not a Philadelphia regiment, but two of the companies belonging to what was called the Thomas A. Scott regiment, Col. Conroy, were ordered to be attached to it. Most of the men belonging to these companies are marked on the records as not accounted for. In November two cavalry regiments besides those already named were forming in Philadelphia,—the Curtin Hussars, Col. William Frismuth, Twelfth cavalry, One Hundred and Thirteenth regiment, P. V.; and the Irish Dragoons, Col. James I. Galligher, Thirteenth cavalry, One Hundred and Seventeenth regiment, P.V. Although Col. Frismuth's regiment was enlisted at Camp McReynolds, Ridge Road and Columbia avenue, it was composed of men from all parts of the State. Four companies of Col. Galligher's regiment belonged to Philadelphia. Several of the regiments organized in the autumn of 1861 were not fully completed and sent to the field until early the next year.

The organizations raised after the first year of the war that were distinctively Philadelphian were the Ninety-ninth regiment, P. V., Col. Thomas W. Sweeney; the One Hundred and Ninth regiment, P. V., Col. Henry Stainroth; the Second artillery, Col. Charles Angeroth, One Hundred and Twelfth regiment, P. V.; the One Hundred and Fifteenth regiment, P. V., Col. Robert E. Patterson; the One Hundred and Sixteenth regiment, P. V., Col. Dennis Heenan; the Corn Exchange regiment, Col. Charles M. Provost, One Hundred and Eighteenth regiment, P. V.; the One Hundred and Nineteenth regiment, P. V., Col. Peter C. Ellmaker; the One Hundred and Twenty-first regiment, P. V., Col. Chapman Biddle; and the Nineteenth Cavalry, Col. Alexander Cummings, One Hundred and Eightieth regiment, P. V. In Col.

Stainroth's regiment, all the companies were from Philadelphia except two. The Second artillery contained batteries from Franklin, Allegheny and Monroe counties. All the companies in Col. Patterson's regiment were from Philadelphia except D and G. A part of Col. Biddle's regiment was from Venango county, and two companies in the Nineteenth Cavalry, which was organized at Camp Stanton, near Girard College, in 1863, were not from Philadelphia. During Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania in the summer of 1863, which resulted in the battle of Gettysburg, a number of emergency regiments and companies were organized, and sent to the Cumberland Valley.

There were many Philadelphians in a number of other regiments, organized in 1862 and 1863, besides those claimed as distinctively Philadelphians. The city contributed three companies to the Sixty-first regiment, P. V., Col. O. H. Rippey; one company to the Seventy-fourth regiment, P. V., Col. A. Schimmelfennig; one company to the Eightieth regiment, P. V., Col. George C. Wyncoop; five companies to the Eighty-first regiment, P. V., Col. James Miller; and four companies to the One Hundred and Fiftieth regiment, P. V., Col. Langhorne Wister. The Third artillery, Col. Joseph Roberts, One Hundred and Fifty-second regiment, P. V., was recruited in Philadelphia but comprised men from all over the State. The One Hundred and Fifty-fourth regiment, P. V., was formed in Philadelphia, but never organized; three companies of this regiment performed provost duty in 1862. The One Hundred and Fifty-sixth regiment, P. V., also failed of organization; but a battalion intended for it, under Lieutenant-Colonel Edward T. Tiers, was incorporated with the One Hundred and Fifty-seventh regiment, P. V. Philadelphia also contributed to the Anderson Cavalry, the One Hundred and Sixtieth regiment, P. V.; and to the One Hundred and Seventy-ninth regiment, P. V., and the Twentieth Cavalry, One Hundred and Eightieth regiment, P. V. One of the last regiments to be organized in Philadelphia in 1863 was the One Hundred and Eighty-third regiment, P. V., Col. George P. McLean. It was not completed and sent to the field until March, 1864. This was the fourth regiment recruited and equipped with the assistance of the Union League.

A feature of the year 1864 was the return of the regiments that had been enlisted for three years. Among these re-enlistment and reorganization were very active. The One Hundred and Eighty-sixth regiment, P. V., Col. Henry A. Frink, was recruited in Philadelphia at this time, and the One Hundred and Ninety-first regiment, P. V., Col. Thomas H. Addicks, also contained many Philadelphians. The Twentieth Pennsylvania militia, which had served in the campaigns of 1862 and 1863 as emergency men, was reorganized in 1864 as the One Hundred and Ninety-second regiment, P. V., Col. William B. Thomas, for one hundred days, and again reorganized in 1865, under Col. William W. Stewart, for one year. The Fifth Union League, Col. Hermanus Neff,

and the Coal Exchange Association regiment, Col. John R. Haslett, were also sent to the field for one hundred days, as the One Hundred and Ninety-fifth and the One Hundred and Ninety-seventh regiments, P. V. In the winter of 1864–5 six regiments were recruited in Philadelphia for one year—the One Hundred and Ninety-eighth, Sixth Union League, Col. Horatio G. Sickel; the One Hundred and Ninety-ninth, Col. John C. Briscoe; the Two Hundred and Third, Col. John W. Moore; the Two Hundred and Thirteenth, Seventh Union League, Col. John A. Gorgas; the Two Hundred and Fourteenth, Eighth Union League, Col. David B. McKibben, and the Two Hundred and Fifteenth, Col. Francis Wister. When the organization of colored troops began in 1863, Philadelphia was made the rendezvous for the State, and eleven regiments were mustered in at Camp William Penn in 1863–4,—the Third United States Colored regiment, Col. Benjamin G. Tilghman, 1863; the Sixth, Col. John W. Ames, 1863; the Eighth, Col. Charles W. Fuller, 1863; the Twenty-second, Col. Joseph B. Kiddoo, 1864; the Twenty-fourth, Col. Orlando Brown, 1864; the Twenty-fifth, Col. Gustavus A. Scroggs, 1864; the Thirty-second, Col. George W. Baird, 1864; the Forty-first, Col. Llewellyn F. Haskell, 1864; the Forty-third, Col. Stephen B. Yeoman, 1864; the Forty-fifth, Col. Ulysses Doubleday, 1864, and the One Hundred and Twenty-seventh, Col. Benjamin F. Tracy, 1864. Among the Independent Pennsylvania Batteries was Battery A, Capt. Frank Schaffer, and a noteworthy Independent Company of Acting Engineers was that of Capt. Henry E. Wrigley, organized in 1862, which consisted entirely of skilled artizans. Philadelphia escaped a general conscription on each occasion that a draft seemed necessary to supply the city's allotment of troops. Under the first enrollment in 1862 only 4,220 men were needed to fill the quota, and these were easily supplied by offers of bounties for enlistment. In 1863 some men were drafted in the Fourth Congress District, and early in 1865 a general draft was begun, but means were found to supply all the requisitions upon the city without its enforcement. Camp Philadelphia, near Haddington, was selected as a rendezvous for drafted men. It became a favorite resort in the closing years of the war.

Philadelphia was the scene of many imposing funeral pageants during the war. The body of Col. Elmer E. Ellsworth, killed at Alexandria, was escorted through the city May 25, 1861, on the way to New York. The first of the city's own dead to be laid away with military honors was Lieut. John A. Greble, killed at Big Bethel, whose remains lay in state in Independence Hall, and were interred at Woodlands Cemetery on the 13th of June. On the 13th of August the remains of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, killed at the battle of Wilson's Creek, Mo., reached Philadelphia. They were escorted through the city by a company of the Home Guard and Col. Dare's regiment. The funerals of the officers and men belonging to the California regiment, who were killed at Ball's Bluff, were largely attended by the citizens,

although they were without imposing military display, but the reception of the remains of Col. E. D. Baker, on the 7th of November, was marked by a great demonstration. The honorary pall-bearers were Major-General Patterson, Brigadier-Generals Cadwalader, Reilly, Miles, and Pleasonton, Col. Dare and Maj. C. W. Smith. The remains of Col. John S. Slocum, Maj. S. Ballou, and Capt. Levi Towers of the Second Rhode Island regiment, killed at Bull Run, were received March 26, 1862, by Col. Staunton's regiment and escorted to Independence Hall. The body of Major-General Charles F. Smith, who was in command of the troops that captured Fort Donelson, was escorted to Independence Hall by a company of the Home Guard on the 3d of May, and interred on the 6th with military honors. The funeral of Col. John P. Van Lear, of the Sixth New Jersey regiment, took place on the 22d of May with military honors, and that of Col. Charles Ellet, Jr., of the ram *Mississippi*, on the 27th of June. Both bodies lay in state in Independence Hall. Col. John A. Koltes was buried on the 5th of September, and Brigadier-General Frank E. Patterson, son of Major-General Patterson, who died at Fairfax Court House on the 26th of November, with an imposing military display. The most noteworthy military funeral in 1863, was that of Col. John Richter Jones on the third of June. He was killed at Gum Swamp, N. C., on the 22d of May. Among the commanding officers of regiments associated with Philadelphia, who were killed in action, were Colonels O. H. Rippey, Fair Oaks; Henry Bohlen, near the Rappahannock; John M. Gosline, Gaines' Mill, and Henry J. Stainroth, Chancellorsville. The body of Abraham Lincoln was received May 22, 1865, and escorted to Independence Hall by a large military and civic procession. It was estimated that 85,000 persons passed through the Hall in the eighteen hours it was open to the public.

The military hospital service in Philadelphia during the rebellion was very efficient. Moyamensing Hall, in Christian street, was opened with only one patient, May 6, 1861, but with a strong medical staff. Before the close of the year there were three government hospitals in convenient neighborhoods,—one in Christian street, one in Fifth street, and one in the old depot of the Reading Railroad, at Broad and Cherry streets. With the beginning of 1862 the reception of sick and wounded soldiers in large numbers began. In February 256 were received and accommodated at the Broad Street Hospital. Fifty Pennsylvania soldiers, wounded at Winchester, were brought to St. Joseph's Hospital in March. In May 650 men arrived from the Virginia Peninsula, and were cared for in the three general hospitals. During the Peninsular campaign the arrival of hospital boats, filled with sick and wounded soldiers, was almost of daily occurrence, and the facilities of the hospitals were taxed to the utmost. Nearly 1,500 arrived at the beginning of July, and additions continued to be made during the months of July and August, the whole number received

exceeding 3,000. In September it was impossible to find hospital accommodations for the sick and wounded that continued to come, and some of them were passed on to New York. On the 26th of September wounded soldiers from the battlefield of Antietam began to arrive. About 1,000 men were brought to Philadelphia from that sanguinary field. A total of 1,500 sick and wounded soldiers arrived on three successive days in December. This was before the battle of Fredericksburg. A large increase in the number followed that event, and the hospitals were again overcrowded. The day before Christmas was a red-letter day in the calendar of mercy. Philadelphia cared for a large contingent from the military hospitals at Gettysburg in 1863, and many sick and wounded were received from the Virginia battlefields in the summer of 1864. Nearly 5,000 men arrived during the month of May. Hospitals were established at Germantown, Chestnut Hill, and Nicetown, where many patients were treated. One thousand men were transferred from Washington as late as April 7, 1865. Two days later the news of Lee's surrender was received in the city, and soon afterward the solemn trains of the maimed and dying were succeeded by the joyful pageantry of the returning veterans.

Philanthropic work began early with the organization of the "Ladies' Union Relief Association," which supplied needy volunteers with a second outfit of clothing and other necessary articles. In December, 1861, the "Soldiers' Relief Association of the Episcopal Church" was formed, but by far the most important organization for relief work was the Young Men's Christian Commission of Philadelphia, which began its operations almost simultaneously with the operations of the armies of the United States. It soon ceased to be a merely local organization, and developed into the United States Christian Commission. George H. Stuart, an eminent Philadelphia merchant, was President of the Commission. At first its headquarters were in New York, but they were removed to Philadelphia in 1862, and remained there during the war. The total receipts and values disbursed by the Commission amounted to $6,291,107.68. It closed its offices January 1, 1866. Besides its liberal support of the Christian Commission, Philadelphia came to the front with a great fair in behalf of the United States Sanitary Commission in the early summer of 1864. This fair was held in an enormous temporary building covering the whole of Logan square. Many of the large business houses and all of the street railway companies contributed one day's receipts to the project. With the fund thus obtained the immense building was erected, with its booths, smoking divan, picture galleries, and brewery. To stock the booths and galleries thousands of contributors poured their treasures into the structure. The fair opened on the 7th of June, and remained open until the 28th. The Governors of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware participated in the opening ceremonies, and President and Mrs. Lincoln visited the fair on the tenth day.

After it closed the remaining articles were sold at auction. The fair proved very attractive, and the large sum of $1,261,822.52 was obtained for the general work of the Sanitary Commission.

Philadelphia's war record may be said to have closed July 4, 1866, when the regimental flags, carried during five years of war, were returned to the State at Independence Hall. The military pageantry was magnificent, the procession being arranged in seven divisions. Major-General W. S. Hancock and staff preceded the First Division, which was commanded by Gen. J. S. Negley. At the head of the other divisions in their order were Major-General Robert Patterson, Brigadier-General Charles T. Campbell, Major-General D. M. Gregg, Major-General John W. Geary, Major-General Samuel W. Crawford, and Major-General John R. Brooke. Major-General George G. Meade and staff rode with the Fourth Division, followed by the flag of the commander of the Army of the Potomac. Governor Andrew G. Curtin, with the State flag, followed Gen. Crawford and staff, a company of soldiers' orphans forming a guard of honor. The Gray Reserves, Col. C. M. Prevost, brought up the rear. The flags were presented by Gen. Meade, and received in behalf of the State by Gov. Curtin. Thus ended the story of a struggle of which these tattered flags are the sacred memorials.

VI.

IN TIMES OF PEACE.

The armories and parade-grounds of the volunteer organizations of Philadelphia would have an interesting history if care had been taken to preserve the record of their migrations. The oldest of these still in existence, the First City Troop, was for many years without a settled abode. After the Revolution the Troop held its social and business meetings at the City Tavern, and for drill it met at the *manège* of Thomas Swann, who taught horsemanship, and at other places. In 1828 the company rented a room for an armory in the Shakespeare Building in Sixth street, but occupied the hall for only a year. The armory was not re-established on a permanent basis until 1853, when the Troop secured a room in the Union Building at Eighth and Chestnut. The movement for the erection of a special building for the use of the company began early in 1863, and an armory was erected in Twenty-first street, south of Market, the same year. It was formally opened February 22, 1864. The building proving too small for the accommodation of the Troop a new armory was built in 1874. The

building covers the entire area of a lot 66 by 188 feet, and in front presents the appearance of a fortress of the Middle Ages.

About 1830 a building in Library street, above Fourth, became known as "Military Hall." It was occupied by the Washington Blues, Capt. William C. Patterson; the State Fencibles, Capt. James Page; and other companies. One of the earliest of the volunteer companies to establish an armory for its own use was the National Grays, Capt. Peter Fritz. It first occupied the second story of a building in Dock street, but about 1860 removed to Ninth and Walnut. The Philadelphia Grays, Capt. George Cadwalader, and the Light Artillery Corps, Washington Grays, occupied rooms in the Union Building after 1837. The Washington Grays subsequently removed to the Franklin Building in Fifth street, above Arch, and then to a building adjoining Horticultural Hall. In 1879 the artillery corps of the Grays and the Weccacoa Legion were ordered to be consolidated as the Third Regiment of Infantry, N. G. This order induced the Washington Grays to withdraw from the military organization of the State. In 1861 two market houses in Race street, one at the corner of Juniper and the other at the corner of Broad, were turned into armories for the use of the Home Guard. These buildings were afterwards used by the First Regiment of Infantry, Gray Reserves, for a number of years. After the erection of the First Regiment Armory at Broad and Callowhill streets in 1884, the State Fencibles were given the use of the old armory at Broad and Race, and the battalion succeeded in remodeling the building, which was finished in September, 1884. The Second regiment, N. G., the old National Guard regiment, has long been housed at the armory in Race street, between Fifth and Sixth. It is a stately brick building three stories in height. The Third regiment, N. G., Colonel Sylvester Bonnafon, Jr., built the armory at Twelfth and Reed streets in 1881, completing it early in 1882. The armory of this regiment was subsequently removed to Broad and Wharton streets. Battery A has an armory at Thirty-fourth and Ludlow streets, West Philadelphia.

Before the civil war the Commonwealth maintained some show of military preparation in Philadelphia in times of peace. In 1785 the Supreme Executive Council took action that resulted in building the first arsenal for the use of the State. The site chosen was south of Market street, on the lot between Thirteenth and Juniper streets. It was a frame building, and was used for the storage of arms belonging to the State for twenty-eight years. In 1813 the frame structure was replaced by a more capacious brick building. This property was transferred to the Pennsylvania Railroad for a freight depot, and a new arsenal was built in Filbert street, between Fifteenth and Sixteenth. This building was never used for the purposes for which it was built, the State arsenal being removed to Harrisburg at the beginning of the Rebellion. At no time was a State arsenal absolutely necessary in Philadelphia, and the building in Market street was only

used as a storage place. Even in this respect, the two arsenals of the general government, which are still maintained, were of greater utility. In 1798 Congress made provision for the Schuylkill arsenal in Gray's Ferry road. The grounds, which comprise eight acres, were acquired in 1800, and the arsenal was built at the same time with the Navy Yard in Southwark. The buildings were in use for storage purposes as early as 1806. For many years the Schuylkill arsenal was a great workshop for the manufacture of supplies for the army. During the Rebellion the disbursements at this depot were from twenty to thirty-five million dollars a year. The grounds of the Frankford or Bridesburg arsenal comprise over 62 acres. The first purchase was made in 1816, and additional land was acquired in 1837 and 1849. This property is at the confluence of Frankford Creek and the Delaware River. The grounds have always been kept in splendid condition. For many years there was great activity at the Frankford arsenal, especially in the manufacture of cartridges and the repair of equipments and small arms.

After the civil war the National Guard of Pennsylvania comprised twenty-one divisions, each of which was commanded by a major-general. Philadelphia had one division of two brigades. There were six regiments and a number of independent companies. The First Division had its first noteworthy parade after the war on Decoration Day, 1870. In August of that year the three regiments comprising the First brigade went into camp near Reading. On the 7th of April, 1875, the First regiment, N. G., Colonel R. Dale Benson, was ordered to Pottsville to prevent riots that were threatened by striking coal miners. Charles M. Prevost resigned as major-general of the First Division in 1875, and was succeeded by John P. Bankson. In 1877 the First Division, under Major-General Brinton and Brigadier-Generals Loud and Matthews, was sent to Pittsburg to quell the disorders due to the great railroad strike of that year. The division was assaulted by the mob, and suffered a loss of 5 killed and 14 wounded. While returning the command was diverted to Scranton to repress disorders there. During the labor troubles of that year the Twentieth Veteran Regiment, Colonel Bonnafon, was in service 56 days in the Scranton coal regions.

In 1878 the Legislature passed an Act under which the National Guard of Pennsylvania was organized as five brigades, Major-General John F. Hartranft commanding. The Philadelphia regiments comprise the First brigade. The number of brigades in the State was reduced to three in 1881. Brigadier-General George R. Snowden commanded the First brigade from 1878 to 1890, when he became Major-General of the Division. Brigadier-General Robert P. Dechert succeeded General Snowden in command of the First brigade in 1890. General Dechert had been colonel of the Second regiment, N. G., since 1878. He was succeeded by Brigadier-General John W. Schall

in 1895. General Schall was colonel of the Sixth regiment, N. G., from 1879 to 1895. The First, Second, and Third regiments, and the First City Troop, encamped at Gettysburg in 1884. The regiments were commanded by Colonels T. E. Wiedersheim, Robert P. Dechert, and Sylvester Bonnafon, Jr. Colonel Wendell P. Bowman succeeded Colonel Wiedersheim in command of the First regiment in 1885; in the Second regiment Colonel John Biddle Porter succeeded Colonel Bosbyshell in 1893; and in the Third regiment Colonel Edward D. V. Morrell succeeded Colonel Smith in 1893. The First brigade is in excellent discipline.

THREE EPOCHS IN PARTY POLITICS.

I.

FEDERALISM AND THE REPUBLICANS—1789–1829.

AFTER President Washington gave his second levee in Philadelphia in 1790 William Maclay, Robert Morris's colleague in the United States Senate, wrote in his Journal a sentiment that was to become the keynote for the division of parties in the Republic. He bewailed the simple ceremony as anti-republican, said the "royalists" gloried in it as a point gained, and wished Washington in heaven. As yet there was no actual division of parties on political issues. Washington's election to the presidency was the unanimous sense of his countrymen, and he selected his cabinet without a thought of the possible divergence in the views of its members. He expected to govern without a party, but his calmness, his wisdom, and his moderation proved the foundation for a powerful faction in opposition to his administration, that compelled him to accept the support of the Federalists as a political necessity.

In Pennsylvania there had always been a faction opposed to the strong and powerful Union of the States that the Federal Constitution of 1787 rendered possible, but when the new system of government went into operation the anti-Federalists subordinated themselves to a condition they had been powerless to prevent. Although party lines had for the moment disappeared party feeling remained. In 1786 there were two factions in the city and State,—the Constitutionalists and Republicans, that differed on a purely State question. The Republicans sought to vest the legislative power of the State in a Senate and House of Representatives,—the Constitutionalists clung tenaciously to the Constitution of 1776. The discussion of this question in the Philadelphia newspapers was very bitter, and the controversy between two leading journalists, Eleazar Oswald and Matthew Carey, became so scurrilous that it resulted in a duel, in which Carey was wounded. It became necessary, however, to hold the proposed reform in abeyance, because of the greater issues involved in the acceptance or rejection of the Federal Constitution the next year. There was a strong minority in the Assembly opposed to closer Union, and a determined effort was made to prevent the calling of a State Convention to ratify the new Constitution. With this end in view two members, James McCalmont of Franklin and Jacob Miley of Dauphin, withdrew, and thus

prevented a quorum. A party headed, it was said, by Commodore John Barry, went to the lodgings of these men, brought them out and thrust them into the chamber. With a quorum thus secured the resolutions providing for a State Convention were adopted. The convention met November 21, 1787, and organized by choosing Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg President. This body ratified the Federal Constitution on the 12th of December by 46 yeas to 23 nays. The opposition to the Constitution did not cease with its ratification, and even after its adoption Blair McClenachan and Charles Pettit were supported for Congress as avowed anti-Federalists. They were beaten in Philadelphia four to one by Thomas Fitzsimons and George Clymer, the Federal candidates. Fitzsimons and McClenachan were excellent types of the active politicians of the period. They were both Irishmen, both merchants in Philadelphia before the Revolution, both ardent patriots seeing some active service, Fitzsimons with a company of which he was captain, and McClenachan with the City Troop of Light Horse. Fitzsimons was a member of the Federal Convention of 1787, and a strenuous supporter of the new Constitution. As a member of Congress he took high rank for his business ability. McClenachan was hotly opposed to the Constitution, and even more hotly hostile to Jay's Treaty in 1795. He was the man who proposed to "kick it to ——, sir." McClenachan was a member of the Sixth Congress.

Long before the meeting of the third session of the First Congress in Philadelphia in December, 1790, the arguments of the anti-Federalists had become obsolete, and, under the changed political conditions, a new State Constitution had been adopted on the 2d of the previous September, without serious opposition. The Supreme Executive Council was abolished, and a Governor took the place of the President of the Council, as the executive of the State. Thomas Mifflin, a Republican-Federalist, was elected the first Governor of the State, and he was twice re-elected,—in 1793 and 1796. At the first election the opposition to Gen. Mifflin was almost nominal, Gen. Arthur St. Clair receiving only 96 votes in the city and 18 in the county, to 1,434 in each for the successful candidate. At this time the members of Congress from the State were elected on a general ticket. Fitzsimons was re-elected to the Second and Third Congresses, but in 1792, when party preferences were beginning to be exerted, his strength visibly declined in Philadelphia. The election of 1793 went almost by default in the city, owing to the yellow fever epidemic, but in 1795 the alignment of parties was distinctly marked, and the opponents of Jay's Treaty with Great Britain made a vigorous campaign. The next year, 1796, the Republican candidates for Congress were elected, John Swanwick carrying the city and Blair McClenachan the county district. In the Presidential election the Jefferson electoral ticket had a majority of 623 in the city, and John Adams received only 399 votes in the county. Owing to the yellow fever of 1798 the elections of that year went

almost by default, but the Federalists succeeded in electing their candidate, Robert Waln, to Congress. Waln was a typical Philadelphian,—a prosperous merchant of unbroken Quaker descent. His service, however, was limited to one term, the Republicans sweeping everything before them in 1799, and again in 1800.

The first decade of the Federal government was the epoch of the foundation of parties and the development of political leadership. Although there were few Philadelphians among the politicians of national prominence, it was in Philadelphia that the party in opposition to the administrations of Washington and Adams was organized, and the political measures concerted, that resulted in the triumph of Thomas McKean for Governor of Pennsylvania in 1799, and the election of Thomas Jefferson as President of the United States in 1800. As the national capital Philadelphia was naturally the centre of political activity. Jefferson, both while he was Secretary of State under Washington and when he was Vice-President, took advantage of his temporary residence in the Quaker City to give the party of which he was the acknowledged founder its emotional battle-cries and its marvelous enthusiasm. After more than a century one is tempted to disbelieve in his sincerity, and to laugh at his virulent denunciations of a "corrupt squadron" in Congress, and his exaggerated fears of a monarchical faction in the councils of Washington. At the same time it must be conceded that there were among the leading Federalists men who would have preferred an oligarchy to a republic,—men who had little faith in the fitness of the people for a share in government, and who stood ready to take the work of governing off their hands. As it happened, their fears were as unfounded as were the calumnies of their political enemies. The men of the last decade of the nineteenth century, looking back at the men of the last decade of the eighteenth, have reason to be thankful for the wrong-headedness on both sides, for it was out of the attrition of the calm statesmanship of Washington and the emtional politics of Jefferson, that the people learned the self-command, when political battles were over, which gives poise to our institutions and assures the stability of the republic.

When the national government was transferred from New York to Philadelphia in 1790, Federalism was a matter of policies and of etiquette. Nobody as yet had any clear ideas of the conferred powers under the Constitution, or of the reserved rights of the States. The Federalists as men, although they were at one in political sympathy, had not yet learned that they formed a party. The party was evolved, rather than created; it took its character from theirs, and derived its motives from them. The men of wealth and social importance,—the rich and the well born,—accepted the measures of the administration without reserve, and were especially outspoken in support of the financial system of the brilliant Secretary Hamilton. They recognized themselves as a distinctive class, and thought it was upon them that

government depended. They were still colonial in manners, in habits, and in feelings, and many of them had been Tories in the Revolution. All their ideas of the functions of goverment took color from the supposed excellencies of the British Constitution. They not only had no sympathy with the French Revolution, but held it in utter detestation. Socially they mimicked the follies and extravagancies, if not the vices, of the English nobility. They attended the orderly levees of the President, from which the common people kept aloof, and sent their wives and daughters to the drawing-rooms of Mrs. Washington. They were sticklers for etiquette, and social acceptability involved political affinity. At heart, they were not Republicans, as we understand the word. They sought to confine the franchise to the freeholders, to restrict the ratio of representation in Congress, to reserve the Senate as a chamber for men of their own class. All this tended to embarrass the administration of President Washington, and, more than anything else, excited bitter hostility to President Adams, and brought about the final triumph of Jefferson and the Republican party.

The people on the other hand, among them many of the soldiers who had helped to fight the battles of the Revolution, looked askance at what they saw, and listened with greedy ears to the tales of demagogues, and the wild ravings of the orators at the meetings of the Democratic Societies. The popular sympathy was wholly with France. The American freeman looked upon the French Revolution as something akin to our own. They felt deep and lasting gratitude to France for the army that helped us to conquer at Yorktown, and did not stop to reflect that the aid came from the king that France had dethroned and beheaded. For England the detestation was greater than at any time during the eight years of war. All the political issues of the period betwéen 1790 and 1800 seem to this generation singularly artificial,—the political passions of the time marvelously strained and misdirected. But it was in the nature of things that the politics of that epoch should have little real relation to the science of government. Parties were only in the process of formation, and in forming them elements and not interests were the active factors. The material for a peoples' party was abundant, but the process of vitalizing it at first was slow, because it was created centripetally from Philadelphia, not centrifugally from the homes of the people. It was necessary to form it on a basis that was exceedingly elemental,—to inspire the nation with a profound honor for trivial things that could be seen and heard only at the capital. No man was ever better qualified than Thomas Jefferson for organizing a party of national proportions out of the small beer ready for his use. He went about his task like a man who knew his business, beginning with a newspaper at his command and as a leader of men. Long before he left President Washington's cabinet he was at work throwing pebbles into the administration pond, and watching the eddies widening and widening until the waves became a tempest.

Mr. Jefferson went about the work of forming a party with the nervous alertness of an enthusiast, and the morbid intensity of a self-constituted leader, who believed himself surrounded and combatted by enemies of their country. He convinced himself that Hamilton "was not only a monarchist, but for a monarchy bottomed on corruption." That Adams was also a royalist he had no doubt, "the glare of royalty and nobility" during his residence in England having led him to "believe their fascination a necessary ingredient of government." General Washington was "sensibly impaired by age, the firm tone of mind for which he was remarkable was beginning to relax, its energy was abated, a listlessness of labor—a desire for tranquility had crept on him, and a willingness to let others act and think for him," so that "the Federalists had got unchecked hold" of him. These were delusions, but it is possible Jefferson believed they were realities. That he wanted others to believe these calumnies is clear enough from his "Ana" and his acts. His relations with Freneau show method rather than delusion in the course he pursued. Freneau was well known not only in Philadelphia, but all over the country, as "the poet of the Revolution." He had many admirers in Congress. Madison had been his classmate at college. When he thought of setting up a newspaper at Elizabethtown, Madison induced him to come to Philadelphia, where he would find a wider field, and Jefferson appointed him to be a translator in the State Department, at a salary that was beggarly enough, even for a poet. His newspaper, the *National Gazette*, was promptly started, but it is remembered only for its bitterness. Hamilton was assailed with a virulence for which it would be difficult to find its match in modern journalism. Nobody who was great enough to be attacked escaped vituperation,—not even Washington. "He adverted to a piece in Freneau's paper yesterday," Jefferson wrote of the President, while he was still a member of the cabinet; "he said he despised all such attacks on him personally, but that there had never been an act of the government, not meaning in the executive line only, but in any line, which that paper had not abused. He was evidently sore and warm, and I took his intention to be that I should interpose in some way with Freneau, perhaps withdraw his appointment as translating clerk in my office. But I will not do it." What would be said of a Secretary of State in these days who kept a literary hyena in office to attack the Executive? It has been asserted and denied that Jefferson wrote or dictated the most abusive articles in Freneau's paper. Freneau himself denied it under oath and asserted it in his old age, showing a file of the *Gazette* with Jefferson's articles marked. The concensus of opinion is that Jefferson inspired them, if he did not write them. Freneau's stay in Philadelphia was brief, and in 1794 the *Aurora* took the place of the *National Gazette* as the assailant of Washington and the administration.

The editor of the *Aurora* was Benjamin Franklin Bache, a grand-

son of Benjamin Franklin. Bache was a young man, barely of age, when he became the publisher of the *General Advertiser* in 1790. His paper at first was insipid enough, but as the *Aurora* he made it so bitterly partizan, and so virulent in its abuse of Washington, that the young editor and his journal will never cease to be remembered. In 1796 another journalist, American by birth but Irish by education, made his appearance in Philadelphia. This was William Duane, whose name was to become intimately associated with the fame of the *Aurora*. Duane had peculiar gifts for partizan journalism, and he afterward showed that he was equally gifted as a political leader. He first found employment on the *True American*, but soon transferred his services to Bache and the *Aurora*. Together they made the paper so hot that in 1798 they had controversies and affrays in abundance. Early in the year an attack was made on Bache's house by a party of boisterous young Federalists. Fenno, the editor of the Federalist *Gazette*, said in his paper that Bache was in the pay of France, and Bache retorted by calling Fenno "a villian." They met in the street and came to blows without serious results. Both Bache and Fenno died of the yellow fever the same year. Bache's widow assumed the control of the *Aurora*, and made Duane the editor. Soon afterward Duane was assaulted by Capt. Joseph B. McKean for aspersions on the Philadelphia volunteers in the "hot-water war," as the riots were called, in which John Fries and his dog "Whiskey" took such a prominent part. But in spite of the difficulty with young McKean, Duane and the *Aurora* were conspicuous champions of Chief-Justice McKean, who was the Republican candidate for Governor in 1799, and Duane's services were so highly appreciated in that campaign, and in the Presidental campaign the next year, that the editor obtained an ascendency in local politics that made him the first Democratic dictator in Philadelphia.

Although the Federalists elected their candidate for Congress, Robert Waln, in the city district in 1798, the district to which the county belonged, sent a Republican member, Dr. Michael Leib. Dr. Leib was an ardent Republican, an acute and active politician, and a close friend of Duane. He received the unwavering support of Duane and the *Aurora* from the beginning to the end of his career. There is no evidence that either dominated the other, for they were always at one in the stormy politics of the period. The two men had much in common. Neither was very scrupulous as to the fairness of his methods; both were overbearing, violent, factious; if Duane was insolent and scurrilous in his newspaper, Leib shared with him in the insolence and scurrility of their opponents. Aside from their bitter partizanship, nothing really discreditable was ever proved against either. Though often questioned, neither the sincerity of Duane nor the fidelity of Leib was ever successfully impeached. Dr. Leib's first election to Congress seems to have been without any marked opposi-

tion, but with each term for which he was a candidate for re-election the discontent of the more aristocratic element in the Republican party with his leadership and the "dictatorship" of Duane became more and more bitter and determined, until the Democracy of Philadelphia and the State was divided into two hostile factions, as violently opposed to each other as they had before been to the Federalists.

During the ten years between 1790 and 1800, the Federalists generally managed to have a majority of the Aldermen and Common Council in Philadelphia, and in the Legislature. The old aristocracy, that had ruled the city and province before the Revolution, survived in the Federalist majority in city and State. There were no popular elections for Mayor, and in imitation of the Lord Mayor of London, he could only be chosen from among the Aldermen. In the State Senate were such men as Richard Peters, Samuel Powel, Anthony Morris and William Bingham,—each of them successively Speaker. Bingham, who was an excellent type of the aristocracy of wealth, had also sat in the Assembly over which he presided in 1791–2, and he succeeded Robert Morris in the United States Senate. Senator Bingham was credited by Duane with being the inventor of the party caucus system which became such a powerful instrument in controlling partizan legislation in Congress. His colleague in the Senate was James Ross, a young lawyer from Pittsburg, who was the Federalist candidate for Governor in 1799, against Thomas McKean, Republican. In an address printed by his opponents during the campaign, Ross was described as "the ready champion and uniform supporter of all the strange and extraordinary measures" of John Adams's administration, and the great body of his supporters was characterized as "hungry expectants,—place and office hunters." McKean, although a Republican, was scarcely a Democrat of the Duane and Leib type. His associations were mainly with the hereditary element in Philadelphia, that supported his opponent, Ross. As Chief-Justice, he showed himself a man of quick temper and arbitrary methods. His opponents, during the campaign, sought to array the German voters against him by charging him with saying that the county of York was a Tory county; with expressing a wish for the settlement of twenty thousand Irishmen in that county; and with having evinced his contempt for the poor. "Show me a poor man and I will show you a rogue," was one of the expressions imputed to him. It was alleged that he was more attached to the French nation than to his own country, and the fact that his daughter had married the Spanish Minister was considered a sufficient proof that he was a Roman Catholic. Both sides indulged in vituperation that is seldom employed in later politics. McKean was denounced as a drunkard and Ross as a deist. Their supporters came in for a share of the abuse of the campaign in terms equally explicit. "Leib, Penrose, Tench Coxe, and that sap-scull idiot, Capt. Joseph B. McKean," said Fenno's paper in September, 1799, "were on Friday

together at Frankford. No very honest business could have been in agitation at this assemblage of scroundrels." One scarcely wonders at the scurrility of Duane, or the rancorous aggressiveness of Dr. Leib, when such language was employed by the organ of the Federalists. McKean carried the State by a majority of 5,395. The vote in the city was, for McKean, 1137, for Ross, 1612; in the county, for McKean, 2513, for Ross, 1188. Although the Republicans were beaten in the city, the majorities in the county and the State gave Duane and the *Aurora* great prestige. In 1800 there was no popular election for presidential electors in Pennsylvania, the desperation of the Federalists making the necessary legislation impossible, but the *Aurora* conducted a campaign of extraordinary bitterness, and Leib was re-elected to Congress over John Lardner in the county by a large majority, while William Jones, Republican, succeeded in defeating Francis Gurney, a man of high character, of long service in the Legislature, and a soldier of the Revolution, by a majority of 14 votes in the city. The election of Jefferson, when it was finally achieved, was celebrated with great enthusiasm in Philadelphia. There was a parade on the 4th of March, 1801, in which the military participated. "No event has taken place since the glorious Fourth of July, 1776, of such importance, or so congenial to the spirit of that day as the present," said Col. John Barker in ordering the Fighty-fourth regiment to parade. "The capture of Cornwallis is but a drop in the bucket. That was a victory over a host of foreign mercenaries, acting under the orders of a royal tyrant openly. This is a triumph of Reason and Justice over Folly and Intrigue and a phalanx of domestic tyrants and sycophants acting under the cloak of Republicanism."

The festivities that excited the anger and disgust of the Federalists on that March day were proper enough. Jefferson's election was not merely the triumph of a party,—it marked an epoch in the rule of the people by the people for the people. The excessive enthusiasm was such as naturally attends the first great victory of a party organized out of nothing. The Republican Legion, Gen. John Shee, paraded with all the fiery ardor of embattled victors. The Republican societies were out with full ranks,—the Tammany braves, the True Republicans, and the Youths. The Sons of St. Tammany, of whom Dr. Leib was the leading spirit, were dressed as warriors, many of them carrying calumets and other Indian emblems. The tribes represented the States and were preceded by the Wiskinskie with the key. An ox and a sheep were roasted at Ziegler's Plains, Spring Garden. John Beckley, who had made himself conspicuous as a gossip-bearer to Jefferson when he was clerk of the House of Representatives, delivered an oration, and a song, "The People's Friend," was sung in honor of the new President. The Federalist newspapers were severe in their comments on "the mob honors thus lavished on Jefferson," and the Republican journals replied by bitter invectives directed against John Adams, and in a song,

"The Duke's Return to Braintree." Perhaps the bitterest of Adams's assailants was Matthew Lyon, of Vermont, of whom the Federalists in Congress and out of it had made a martyr. "Should you stop at Philadelphia," he wrote to the retiring President, "how melancholy must it seem to you. MacPherson's band of cockaded boys are dispersed or grown into Democrats. No Federal mobs there now to sing 'Hail Columbia!' and huzza for John Adams and to terrify your opposers. Hopkinson's lyre is out of tune; Cobbett and Liston are gone; the Quakers are for the living President; and your old friend, Joe Thomas, I am told, can scarcely find duds to cover his nakedness. I am surprised you did not make him a judge."

The available Federal offices in Philadelphia were speedily filled by the new administration. Gen. John Shee was nominated for United States Marshal to succeed John Hall, who had been appointed only three months before. Shee declined, and John Smith was named in his stead. Alexander James Dallas was given the place of United States District-Attorney within a week of Jefferson's inauguration, although J. Wilkes Kittera had just been appointed as the successor of Jared Ingersoll. There was good reason for this, however, as Ingersoll was one of John Adams' "midnight judges." Dallas's appointment gave dissatisfaction to all the Federalists, and to some Republicans, because he was at the time Secretary of the Commonwealth under Gov. McKean. Resigning that position, McKean at once appointed him Recorder of Philadelphia. This provoked even greater discontent. It was contended that the State Constitution forbade any Federal office-holder from holding such an office, and Dallas's right to the Recordership was contested in the courts, but Dallas won. In 1802 the Legislature passed a bill to make such appointments an offense, but Governor McKean vetoed it. This was not McKean's first appointment of the kind, for in 1800 he had made Dr. Leib Lazaretto Physician for the Quarantine Station at Tinicum. Leib held this position for five out of his eight years in Congress, and his successor was only appointed when he was no longer in political affiliation with McKean. But the changes in the Federal offices were not made quickly enough to suit Duane. No change was made in the Collectorship of the Port for about a year, when Gen. Peter Muhlenburg was appointed. The place of Surveyor was not filled until 1803, when Major William Jackson, who had been one of President Washington's secretaries, was superseded by Dr. William Bache; and Major William MacPherson, the Naval Officer, and Robert Patton, the Postmaster, remained undisturbed. Duane wanted everybody turned out, even the clerks in the Federal offices, and he sent to Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, a list of these humble incumbents, each name being marked in accordance with his estimate of the merits of the man. "Nothingarian," "nincompoop," "hell-hot," "Democratic executioner," and "three execrable aristocrats" were among the pithy terms employed by him.

This pressure was resisted by the administration, but Jefferson was too wise a politician to break with Duane, and Leib became the rock upon which the Philadelphia Democracy was to split.

In the election of 1802 McKean was re-elected Governor by an overwhelming vote over his old opponent Ross, but Dr. Leib was not returned to Congress without a show of opposition. The year before Leib had been dined and toasted at John Snyder's tavern, in Poplar lane, in appreciation of his "patriotic services," and his political following had become so great that it excited the jealousy of other ambitious Republicans, who secretly concerted measures for his overthrow. The discontented leaders met at the house of Martin Ludie, sign of the Rising Sun, Germantown road, and arranged for a second meeting, but the *Aurora* heard of the "conclave," and in consequence Leib's friends were enabled to capture it and give him a hearty endorsement. Samuel Macferran, Nathan Jones, and Charles B. Penrose were prominent in this revolt. There had long been a feud between Dr. Leib and the Penrose family, over some financial transactions in which it was charged that Leib had retained money to which he was not entitled. There was a suit in regard to it, and much was afterward made of the alleged embezzlement, but it was probably a matter of importance only as a political weapon. The only effect of the revolt at the time was to cause Leib to run about a hundred votes behind the regular ticket. The real conflict, however, was only deferred, and two years later a determined effort was made to break down Leib's supremacy by preventing his renomination and re-election. He at first declined to be again a candidate, but his friends took the matter into their own hands, and renominated him in spite of his unwillingness. At this time three Congressmen were elected from the Philadelphia district, which included the county of Delaware. This grouping of three Representatives in one district was a Democratic trick to prevent the possible election of a Federalist in the city, as in the case of Waln, by means of the heavy Republican majorities in the two counties. The other candidates were Joseph Clay and Jacob Richards, both of whom were nominated for re-election. Leib's opponents endorsed these nominations, but substituted William Penrose for Leib. The leader of this revolt was Tench Coxe, a Federal office-holder, who two years before had nick-named the faction with which he was now acting, "Tertium Quids," a name borrowed from Aaron Burr's "Third Party" in New York. Coxe had been bitterly assailed a few years before by the Federalists as a Tory in the Revolution, and the guide of Sir William Howe from the Head of Elk to Philadelphia. He was now as bitterly reviled by the Republicans. The organ of Coxe's faction was the *Freeman's Journal*, edited by William McCorkle, and it came in for a share of Duane's invective. The Federalists refrained from putting a ticket in the field, and the factions had the fight to themselves. Clay received 7,427 votes, Richards 7,021,

Leib 3,992, and Penrose 3,685. Although he was re-elected, Leib's strength was greatly impaired, and his faction was on the eve of a more noteworthy contest in which it was destined to be beaten in city, county, and State.

In the Presidential election of 1804 the Federalists were out of the running, but the leaven of Federalism was beginning to make itself felt in the Republican politics of the State. At the same time Duane and the *Aurora* were not only supporting Leib with characteristic intrepidity, but cutting a wide swath in the party. As early as 1803 an open rupture with Madison and Gallatin was contemplated by the intrepid editor, who believed that to the victors belong the spoils. "Thank heaven our election is over!" Dallas wrote to Gallatin in October, 1804. "The violence of Duane has produced a fatal division. He seems determined to destroy the Republican standing and usefulness of every man who does not bend to his will. He has attacked me as the author of an address which I never saw till it was in the press. He menaces the governor. You have already felt his lash. And I think there is reason for Mr. Jefferson himself to apprehend that the spirit of Callender survives." With McKean the relations of the *Aurora* had not been cordial for a long time. McKean's hot and intractable temper was not calculated to retain the friendship of a man as hot and intractable as Duane. Duane was not only a Republican but a revolutionist. He wanted the judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania turned out of office because they were Federalists, and under his vigorous guidance an attempt had been made for their impeachment. It failed by a vote of 11 to 13, and Duane blamed McKean for its failure. Duane was hot for a change in the judicial system of the State, and early in 1805 proposed a convention to revise the Constitution. McKean had been educated for the bar at the Middle Temple, and held fast to what was old in legal procedure as tenaciously as any common-law lawyer of his time. Besides, Duane was after the offices for his political friends, while McKean was disposed to turn them to personal advantage. After the break came the *Aurora* began to call McKean's kinsmen in office "the Royal Family," and the exhibit certainly showed extraordinary nepotism. The list, when it was complete, comprised two sons of the Governor, two sons-in-law, the brother-in-law of one of his sons-in-law and a near relation of these two, a nephew and the nephew's father-in-law and brother-in-law, and two cousins. The fued, when it resulted in open warfare, became very bitter, and the campaign of 1805 stands by itself as an example of political virulence and vituperation. The Duane-Leib faction supported Simon Snyder, the caucus candidate for governor. McKean was the candidate of the "Quids." The latter, however, now called themselves Constitutional Republicans. McKean called the Republican caucus that nominated Snyder "clodhoppers," and their supporters "geese." Duane and his adherents were

"jacobins." McCorkle's *Journal* ridiculed Snyder as a "Dutchman" and "Governor Log." The ferocity of the *Aurora* was unrestrained, and resulted, when the campaign was over, in a series of libel suits, brought by McKean and his son-in-law, the Marquis d'Irujo, which, however meritorious in themselves, were conducted in a manner that reflected little credit on the Governor or the Spanish Minister.

The campaign of 1805 in Philadelphia was noteworthy for the work of the political societies. The old Democratic Society, to which Washington was so averse, had given place to Tammany, an offshoot of the Tammany Society of New York. Dr. Leib, it was claimed, was admitted with reluctance, but, once in, he forged ahead as a leader, and was now in full control as Grand Sachem. He was a rigid disciplinarian, and expelled every member of the Society that opposed him for Congress in 1804. The "war in the wigwam" excited great interest at the time. To oppose Tammany, which was the regular Republican "machine," the "Society of Constitutional Republicans" was formed. Gen. Peter Muhlenberg, who was Collector of the Port, was the first President, but he soon yielded to Dr. George Logan, one of the Senators in Congress. This was the second time that Muhlenberg yielded to Logan, as he resigned the senatorship in 1801, shortly after his election, to enable the Quaker Republican to succeed him. It was afterward asserted that Leib induced Muhlenberg to resign in the hope of becoming the candidate of the regulars for Governor. The change was not important, as the real leader of the Constitutionalists was Dallas, who succeeded in bringing to the support of McKean not only the moderate Republicans but the Federalists. Dallas was a polished gentleman, an able lawyer, and an earnest and active politician. He had always been a zealous Republican, but had long been restive under the party rule of Duane and Leib. He was eager to meet them on their own ground, and fight them with their own weapons. He inspired his followers with something of his own detestation for Duane's political principles and aggressive leadership. The proposal for a Constitutional Convention was turned against Snyder with great effect by the simple device of identifying his candidature with Duane's dictatorship. He wrote a powerful "Address to the Society of Constitutional Republicans" that is still worthy of study as a specimen of political literature. He caused McCorkle's paper to bristle with assaults that effectively parried the *Aurora's* invective. "Let the firm and decided friends of the Constitution and laws, and not anarchy, —of liberty, and not licentiousness," exclaimed an alarmed correspondent of the *Freeman's Journal*, "give an effectual opposition to this mad, this wild scheme of Duane's, and, we believe, likewise of Leib's. Remember that if this scheme of Duane's takes place all is lost. He will then reign the uncontrolled sovereign of Pennsylvania, no longer afraid of judges and juries." McKean carried the State by a majority

of 5,000, and in the city and county he received 4,100 votes, to 3,893 for Snyder.

McKean, even before he began his last term as Governor, was sternly determined to punish all his political enemies by every means in his power. Besides the libel suits against Duane, Leib, and others, he turned out of office all the incumbents who had supported the regular ticket. Leib lost his place as Lazaretto Physician; Samuel Bryan was removed as Comptroller-General of the State, and George Duffield appointed in his stead; Gen. John Shee was deprived of the office of Flour Inspector, but was recompensed in 1807 by being appointed Collector of the Port; Duane had been a director of the Pennsylvania Bank, but the Governor's faction in the Legislature prevented his re-election. The new appointment that caused the greatest stir was that of Dr. Leib's successor at the Lazaretto. For this office McKean named his son-in-law, Dr. George Buchanan, of Baltimore. This gave great offense, not only on account of its nepotism, but because McKean went out of the State for a Pennsylvania office-holder. The campaign of 1806 began early. Notwithstanding it was an "off year" in politics, political feeling in Philadelphia was at fever heat. Duane was the defendant in not fewer than sixty-seven libel suits. The "True Republicans" described Thomas McKean as "the pest of Pennsylvania." The Tammany Society toasted "the clodpoles." Leib declined a re-election to Congress and became a candidate for the Assembly, to lead the opposition to the Govornor in the Legislature. The "Quids" again made a coalition with the Federalists in the First Congress District, but Dr. John Porter, the regular Republican candidate to succeed Leib, was elected. The regular candidate for Sheriff, Frederick Wolbert, was also elected by a very narrow majority, but Gov. McKean found a way for setting his election aside on the ground that he had received 97 illegal votes. These results were a substantial victory for Leib, and the Tammany Society celebrated the triumph by a noisy demonstration, Stephen Girard contributing a barrel of gunpowder to help on the noise. One of the celebrations brought upon Duane an indictment for libel for giving as a toast, "General Arnold and Governor McKean, both beans of one kidney." In the Legislature, Leib succeeded in having a committee ordered to inquire into McKean's conduct in regard to the election for Sheriff in Philadelphia county, and McKean sought to have Leib and Duane arrested for conspiracy, but the Supreme Court refused the warrants on the ground that Leib was a member of the Assembly.

Snyder was not satisfied with the character of the support given by the *Aurora* in his canvass in 1805, and, as he intended being again a candidate in 1808, he sent John Binns, the publisher of the *Republican Argus* at Northumberland, to Philadelphia early in 1807 to establish a newspaper in his interest. Binns was a native of Ireland, but he had been arrested and tried in England for "treasonable practices." Although

he was acquitted he was again arrested by order of the Privy Council, and kept in prison from 1798 until 1801. Immediately after his release he came to Pennsylvania and settled at Sunbury, where he was a close friend of Dr. Joseph Priestly, in the last years of that eminent philosopher. Soon after his settlement at Sunbury Binns established the *Argus*, and became a power in the politics of Northumberland county, especially commending himself to Snyder. When Binns arrived in Philadelphia he was well received by Leib and Duane. Leib invited him to make the "Long Talk" before the Tammany Society, May 15, 1807, when he congratulated the wigwam upon having purged itself of "all that was foul and unsocial in it," by the expulsion of the Third Party men. That either wanted Binns or his paper is not likely. Duane feared that a new paper in Philadelphia "would tend to divide and enfeeble rather than strengthen the party," and Dr. Leib thought the *Aurora* equal to every requirement. But Binns's smooth tongue prevailed, and "at length," he afterward wrote, "Mr. Duane, with all zeal and friendship, embarked heartily in my support," and "the Doctor and I walked arm in arm to Mrs. Saville's, at Spring Garden," on St. Tammany's Day. These amicable relations were soon severed. In the following September Binns was expelled from the wigwam, and the *Aurora* declared that his paper "probably was predestined by its original founders to become, under the mask of an odious and despicable hypocrisy, the successor of McCorkle." The name of the new journal was *The Democratic Press*. Duane had objected to the word "democratic" on the ground that the name of the party was Republican. Leib had more serious reason to object both to Binns and his paper. He was an ambitious politician, and was looking forward to the governorship. He was averse to Snyder's candidature, because Snyder's election was not likely to advance his ambition. Binns and his paper were wholly devoted to Snyder. In August, 1807, the *Press* came out openly against Leib, who was a candidate for re-election to the Assembly, as the cause of many of the dissensions in the party, with the inevitable fued that always resulted from a refusal to take orders from the dictator.

In the elections of 1807 Duane was a candidate for the State Senate, hoping, it was said, to be made its President, and thus succeed McKean, if the contemplated impeachment of the Governor was accomplished. It was not to be. The Federalists again united with the "Quids," and the entire *Aurora* ticket was beaten, with the exception of Lieb for the Assembly, who was elected by a greatly reduced majority.

The campaign of 1808 showed a decided Federalist revival in Philadelphia. Jefferson's embargo policy, as a method of bringing Great Britain to terms, seriously affected the prosperity of the metropolis of the State, and the old party of Washington and Adams was confident that the consequent discontent would assure the electoral vote of the State to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney as against Madison, and the elec-

tion of James Ross governor over Simon Snyder. "Free trade and no embargo" was the Federalist cry. The *Aurora* gave Madison sturdy and unhesitating support, but its adhesion to Snyder was merely perfunctory. There were three candidates for Governor, John Spayd, of Berks, being supported by what remained of the "Quids," or Constitutional Republicans. Under Binns's lead the Republicans in the State were united in Snyder's support, Spayd receiving only 4,006 votes. In Philadelphia the division among the supporters of Snyder was more real than apparent. In the city Ross had 2,737 votes to 2,047 for Snyder, but Snyder carried the county by 3,860 votes to 2,897 for Ross. The reunited Republicans succeeded in obtaining a majority in Councils, and in electing all their candidates for Congress and the Legislature, but Leib ran nearly 900 votes behind the regular ticket for the Assembly.

Scarcely were the elections over when the faction fights began in earnest. Dr. Leib, according to Binns, aspired to be Secretary of the Commonwealth, to be in line for the governorship at the expiration of Snyder's term, but the Governor-elect wanted Nathaniel B. Boileau, a member of the Assembly from Montgomery county. Duane opposed Boileau, charging him with intemperance, but Binns suggested that the way to purge him of this charge would be to elect him Speaker of the Assembly. As he received the vote of every Democratic member of the House, Binns says he was thereby "purified of every foul imputation." A few days afterward he resigned, and his appointment as Secretary of State was made. But Mr. Binns makes no reference to the election of Dr. Leib to the United States Senate as a factor in Boilau's appointment. It would have been too large a price to pay for the removal of Leib's opposition to Boileau, if a powerful rival to the Governor's pretensions for a re-election had not been removed at the same time. Samuel Maclay's place in the Senate was certainly a sufficient compensation for Lieb, but Maclay's successor seems to have had no tenderness for his predecessor. According to a contemporary newspaper account, Snyder had promised Maclay the office of Surveyor-General, but Leib objected, saying to the Governor that if he made the appointment, it would be at his own peril. Maclay did not get the appointment. This appears to have been Snyder's last concession to Leib, for in a few weeks, under the astute advice of Binns, he was sweeping Duane's friends from the offices in Philadelphia, and it was not long before the *Aurora* came out openly against the Governor. Wherever it was possible to remove an office-holder it was done, in order to fill his place with a "Snyderite," and as his rival, Binns, had a hand in nearly all the new appointments, it is not surprising that Duane resented the course pursued by the King of Ignorance, as one of the scurrilous sheets called Snyder.

In May, 1809, an effort was made in the Tammany Society to oust Leib from his position as Grand Sachem, Gen. Michael Bright being

the opposing candidate. Gen. Michael Leib repulsed the attack of the other general. The elections this year were not attended with the usual excitement, although there was still much bitterness within the Republican party, between the "Associated Friends" of Snyder under Binns, and the "Friends of the People" under Duane. It was this year that the Republicans began to call themselves Democrats, and that the Federalists called their ticket American Republican. The Democrats triumphed over the Federalists by a small majority, while among the Democrats the Snyderites were generally successful. The Republicans had differed in regard to the method of making nominations, the "new school," under Binns, calling district meetings, while the "old school," under Duane, clung to the old plan of county meetings. This question survived the elections of 1809, and throughout the next year was the principal cause of factional bitterness. Binns claimed that it was impossible for the districts at a distance to have any real representation in one meeting for the whole county, but Dr. Leib said the county method had been successful ever since 1795. When it came to making nominations for the elections of 1810 the factions failed to agree upon some of their candidates. The "new school" nominated Dr. John Porter for re-election to Congress, and the "old school" named Robert McMullin. In consequence of this division James Milnor, the Federalist candidate, was elected. For Sheriff, the "new school" candidate was John Dennis; the "old school," Frederick Wolbert. The result was that Francis Johnston, Federalist, was elected. The Federalists also succeeded in electing Charles Biddle to the State Senate, and had a majority in Councils, which enabled them to make Robert Wharton Mayor. After the elections the *Press* declared that Michael Leib's dictation was at an end, and announced in a tone of triumph that the "old school" had not elected a single candidate they put in nomination. The "new school" was scarcely better off, the real successes of the campaign going to the Federalists.

Although there was no organized opposition to Governor Snyder's re-election in 1811, the two Democratic factions in Philadelphia, the old and new schools, found themselves irreconcilable. The result was that the Federalists carried their city ticket, and the "new school" triumphed in the county. After the declaration of war against Great Britain in 1812, the Federalists violently opposed the war measures of Madison's administration, and were beaten in the ensuing election in the city, where they had succeeded the two previous years. Charles J. Ingersoll was elected a member of Congress from Philadelphia in 1812. The Madison electoral ticket had a majority of nearly 300 in the city. The *Aurora* supported Madison, but the re-election of Snyder in 1811 had shattered Duane's faction in the dominant party. In the elections of 1813 the Democrats carried the city, but in the county there was a "bolt." The malcontents claimed that the nominations were dictated "by the insolence of Binns," but the "bolters" were

not successful. This year William J. Duane, the son of the editor of the *Aurora*, was elected to the Assembly. Although Dr. Leib was destined to share the fate of his political partner in so many battles, Duane, he did not yield without a struggle. Early in 1814 Robert Patton, who had been Postmaster of Philadelphia since 1789, died. Leib wanted the place and got it, notwithstanding he was violently opposed by Binns, who advocated the appointment of Richard Bache. He was not allowed to hold it very long. So unceasing was the opposition that he was removed just before the close of Madison's last term, and Bache was appointed in his place. Thus disappeared from active political life one of the most remarkable figures that ever dominated Philadelphia politics.

The era that marked the rise and fall of Duane and Leib was characterized by the most offensive scurrility ever known in the political journalism of Philadelphia. The *Aurora* and the *Democratic Press* were by no means the greatest offenders. Duane, it is true, was a master of the art of flinging opprobrious epithets at his political opponents, and Binns was not deficient in accomplishments akin to Duane's, but such terms as Quids, Quadroons, Apostates, Hypocrites and Conspirators, which Duane employed, and such phrases as "the Philadelphia Junto" which was one of Binns' names for the Duane-Leib faction, were mild in comparison with the abuse of one of the papers that was Federalist. With this journal, "Bill Dunn" and "Billy O'Dunn" were the imputed patromymics of Duane. "Jailbird" and the "Newgate Mocking-bird" were nick-names applied to Binns. General Michael Bright was "Gen. Dull" and Josiah Randall, who was appointed to an unimportant clerkship by Snyder, was "Jothiah Titty-boy." Tench Coxe was not the only politician who was charged with having been a Tory during the Revolution. Samuel Maclay, who was Leib's predecessor in the United States Senate, was accused of having availed himself of a "king's protection," and Leib's Revolutionary services were said to have consisted in catering for the Hessian Count Donop's table. The word Tory became so common that even Duane began to call himself a Whig. All sorts of offenses were imputed to all sorts of people. Fortunately, in the "era of good feelings" that came with President Monroe, the Democratic societies, that had kept the city astir so many years, expired, while newspaper scurrility greatly abated.

The feebleness with which the War of 1812 was conducted brought about a Federalist reaction in Philadelphia in 1814, and the party that had been almost moribund for years took on something of its old time vigor. The Democrats lost every office that was to be filled in both city and county, with the exception of that of coroner. Col. Isaac Wayne had a majority of 1,101 votes over Snyder, for Governor; and full delegations were sent to Congress, the State Senate and the Assembly. The new Congressmen were Gen. Jonathan Williams, a distin-

guished soldier of the Revolution; Joseph Hopkinson, the author of "Hail, Columbia," the song that gave the Republicans so much offense in 1798; William Milnor and Thomas Smith. Nicholas Biddle and William Magee were elected to the State Senate. Robert Wharton again became Mayor and held the office until 1819. There was nothing now left for the old school Republicans but to join forces with the Federalists, and in 1815 the *Aurora* was as nearly Federalist as it was possible for a man of Duane's temperament to make it. This year there was a vacancy in Congress, caused by the death of Gen. Williams. The old school Republicans united with the Federalists on John Sergeant as their candidate and elected him. Mr. Sergeant was afterward eminent as a Whig. The two parties failed to unite on the other tickets, and the Federalists carried the city and the old school Democrats the county, but not without mutual help from each other. Among the members of the Assembly from the county was Michael Leib. Leib was a candidate for Presidential elector in 1816 on an Independent ticket, nominated at a convention at Carlisle in opposition to the old method of making nominations by a legislative caucus. These Independents were in fact the old school Democrats of Philadelphia and their adherents in the State. The Independent electoral ticket carried the city by 4,110 votes, to 2,837 for the caucus ticket, but the caucus candidates were successful in the State. In local politics the Federalists swept the board in city and county, and again sent full delegations to Congress and the Legislature. The new school Republicans were beaten, but the contest between the two factions did not come to an end.

The Federalists again elected their city and legislative tickets in 1817, but the old school, or anti-caucus Republicans, this year ran behind the new school, or caucus faction. The Federalists voted for Joseph Hiester, the Independent Republican candidate for Governor, who had a majority of 2,902 in the city and county over William Findlay, the regular candidate. In the city Hiester received nearly three times as many votes as Findlay. In 1818 the Federalists carried the Congress District and their Assembly ticket in the city, but in the county the caucus candidates were all successful, except Robert McMullin, Independent Republican and Federalist. The new Congressmen were Joseph Hemphill and Col. Thomas Forrest, of the Pennsylvania Artillery in the Revolution. Fortune again turned in favor of the Democrats in 1819, who once more obtained control of Councils, and elected James N. Barker Mayor. Barker was a soldier and dramatist as well as a politician. McMullin was sent to the State Senate from the county by a combination of Federalists and Independent Republicans. Peculiar interest was given to the local campaign this year by a Firemen's ticket for Assembly. The firemen succeeded in electing four out of their five candidates,—two Federalists and two Democrats. A triumph greater than any that preceded it was achieved

by the united action of the Federalists and Independent Republicans in 1820, who not only brought about the usual results in the local elections, but succeeded in defeating Governor Findlay as a candidate for re-election. The success of the Federalists in the city brought Robert Wharton back to the Mayor's chair, where he remained until 1824.

In all these campaigns the extensive patronage wielded by the Governor, under the Constitution of 1790, entered into the contests. Snyder used this power freely to reward his friends and punish his enemies. It was the share that Binns had in the distribution of this patronage, rather than the influence of his newspaper, that enabled him to become the successor of Duane and Leib, as master of the puppets. He was, during the three administrations of Snyder, the almoner that stood between the "hungry expectants" and the Governor. Findlay's election, in 1817, brought his supremacy to an end, and he fared no better under Findlay's successor, Governor Hiester. Oddly enough, Findlay's biographers attribute his defeat in 1820 to the enemies that he made through his appointments to office, but the real cause probably was the growing dissatisfaction of the people with caucus dictation. Findlay used his power of appointment sparingly, in comparison with his immediate predecessor and his immediate successor. But all his appointments were virulently assailed, among the assailants being some of the men that had helped to elect him. His choice of Thomas Sergeant, of Philadelphia, for Secretary of the Commonwealth, was the cause of much bitterness. Charges of misconduct in office were brought against Sergeant by John Wurts, a city politician. The misconduct consisted in obtaining a clerkship for a friend of Wurts, as a favor to his accuser. This petty affair was so persistently used in the ensuing campaign that Sergeant resigned in disgust. Governor Findlay afterward appointed Sergeant Attorney-General. Findlay's removals in Philadelphia were in reality very few, when his power of removal is considered. It is an interesting series of facts, in connection with the history of the stormy political epoch that closed with the election of Governor Hiester, that Duane and Binns were both appointed Aldermen for Piladelphia in 1822, and that Leib was made Prothonotary of the District Court the same year,—a position that he held until 1824.

In the elections of 1821, the administration or Hiester party—old school Republicans—carried the city and county, and obtained the control of the Legislature. The coalition of the year before had paved the way for a closer union in city and county politics, while the Federalists as a distinct party had ceased to be an important factor in State and national elections. Even in Philadelphia, Federalism was more nominal than real. Since the election of 1820 there had been a new apportionment for members of Congress. Instead of one district for the city and county of Philadelphia and the county of Delaware, with a general ticket, as had been the case for many years, the city and

county were made into three districts. In 1822 Samuel Breck and Joseph Hemphill were elected in the First and Second Districts respectively, and Daniel H. Miller, new-school Democrat, in the Third. Joel B. Sutherland, a young politician, was the new-school candidate in the First District, but he was opposed on account of his youth, and upon a charge of being concerned as a member of the Legislature in carving out the district to suit himself. Breck was by no means a popular favorite, but he succeeded in defeating his youthful opponent on the narrow margin of 95 votes, partly because Sutherland was guilty of the crime of being a young man. The Federalists and their allies, as usual, elected their tickets for the State Senate, Assembly and Councils.

The Federalist candidate for Governor in 1823 was Andrew Gregg, an old Republican, who had been Leib's colleague in the United States Senate. Upon the authority of a legislative caucus, a convention was called to meet at Harrisburg to name a Presidential candidate for the next year. This convention, contrary to expectation, undertook to make a nomination for Governor to succeed Hiester, who declined to be again a candidate. After balloting for two days John Andrew Schulze was nominated. Schulze was a member of the State Senate, but was almost unknown as a political leader. His nomination was supposed to be in the interest of William H. Crawford for President, and in consequence gave umbrage to the friends of General Jackson, who had loomed up as a formidable Presidential possibility. The opposition did not extend to the State, and although Gregg carried the city by a majority of 1,103, Schulze was triumphantly elected. The German vote was an important factor in this result. Faction had so disorganized parties and loosened party ties that the Federalists did not carry their entire city tickets, the personal popularity of two Democrats electing them. Political activity did not end with the elections, the Presidential question engaging the attention of the newspapers, the politicians and the people throughout the winter of 1823–4. The friends of Jackson now tried to turn the convention system of making nominations, by which Schulze had profited, against the favorite candidates of the Schulze party, and in favor of the hero of New Orleans. A meeting of Democrats was held at the county court-house in Philadelphia, in December, to denounce the system of caucus nominations by the majority in Congress. The meeting also chose delegates to a convention, to be held at Huntington, to form a Jackson electoral ticket. At this meeting John Binns offered a series of resolutions favoring the caucus method of making nominations, but was overwhelmed by the prevailing Jackson sentiment. Binns was an ardent Crawford man, and he carried his opposition to Jackson so far that it finally led him to a Federalist alliance, like that to which Duane had resorted years before. The Federalists, as had long been the case, were not in the running for President in 1824, and the Republicans

were so distracted by faction that the majority in Congress refrained from recommending a candidate, and the contest became a "free-to-all," "catch-as-catch-can" affair.

The Jackson and Crawford Democrats in Philadelphia sent delegates to separate conventions at Harrisburg in 1824, and the friends of John Quincy Adams made an active campaign in the city. There was also a Clay electoral ticket, but its support was only nominal. Jackson carried the State by an overwhelming vote. In Philadelphia the vote was, city, Jackson 2,264, Adams 1,500, Crawford 580, Clay 170; in the county, Jackson 3,634, Adams 576, Crawford 580, and Clay 91. The local elections took color from the Presidential contest, but the Federalists and their allies, the anti-Jackson factions, succeeded in electing two candidates to Congress, John Wurts in the First District and Joseph Hemphill in the Second. Daniel H. Miller was re-elected in the Third District. In the Second District William J. Duane was nominated for Congress by the Jackson men, but he declined, and his father took his place. This defeat brought William Duane's long career to a close as an active politician. In 1829 he was appointed Prothonotary of the Supreme Court, and held the office until his death in 1825.

After 1824 Federalism is Philadelphia made fitful efforts to preserve its existence as a party, but the concentration of the Democrats in support of Jackson during the ensuing four years made the struggle impracticable. In the elections of 1825 three Democrats were elected to Select Council to one Federalist, and there were eight Democrats in Common Council to twelve Federalists. In the county the Democratic majority was very great. Both city and county voted against a proposition to amend the Constitution of 1790, and thus helped to defer some necessary reforms. The Federalists and old school Republicans, soon to be known as Whigs, continued to re-elect Joseph Watson, who had succeeded Robert Wharton, as Mayor, until 1828, when George M. Dallas was chosen. The law that required the Mayor to be taken from among the Aldermen was repealed in 1826, which made Dallas's election possible. Hemphill was again elected to Congress in 1826 and re-elected in 1828, but Dr. Joel B. Sutherland succeeded in carrying the First District, and continued to represent it until 1837. Miller was re-elected in the Third District until 1830. In the election for Governor in 1826 there was practically no contest, John Sergeant, the Federalist candidate, receiving only 1,175 votes in the State, as against 72,710 for Governor Schulze. In the Presidential year, 1828, Jackson carried the State two to one over Adams, and afterward the names Federalist and Republican ceased to be known in Philadelphia politics.

II.

DEMOCRATS AND WHIGS—1829–1859.

Although the Federalists ceased to exist as a party with the election of Gen. Jackson in 1828, they managed to struggle along under indefinite names until they finally settled upon the distinctive title of Whigs. The name had been one of honorable significance during the Revolution, when a Whig Association was formed in Philadelphia "to support each other in disclosing and bringing to justice all Tories within their knowledge." A celebration of the State victory in 1808 by the "Young Democrats of Philadelphia," at which Gen. Leib presided, was called "a Whig festival." The anti-Snyder party established the "Whig Society of Pennsylvania" in 1810, the general object of which was declared to be "the cultivation of virtue in politics." Even Duane did not disdain the name when it suited his purposes to assume it. At first their political enemies called the Whigs the anti-Jackson party, but they called themselves Republican or Democratic Whigs. When the name of Whigs became fixed the Democrats resented the descriptive word, and called their opponents Federal Whigs. The name of Whigs lasted down almost to the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, but it gradually fell into disuse with the rise of the Republican party.

In national politics Henry Clay was the idol of the Whigs of Philadelphia from the outset. In State politics they gave a perfunctory support to Joseph Ritner for Governor, who rose and fell with anti-Masonry. How far anti-Masonry entered into the political contests in Philadelphia, during the formative period of the Whig party, it is now difficult to say. Of all the political agitations that have run their course in this country, it was the most purposeless and one of the most bitter. Up to the time of the anti-Masonic excitement, which began in a small way in 1827, the fraternity in Philadelphia was very prosperous, but this crusade affected the Order so disastrously, that in 1835 the Grand Lodge was compelled to part with its splendid temple in Chestnut street and content itself with humbler quarters. As an element in Pennsylvania politics anti-Masonry first became formidable in 1829, when Ritner was a candidate for Governor for the first time against George Wolf. Although John Sergeant had merely a nominal support against Schulze in 1826, Ritner received 61,776 votes in the State against 78,219 for Wolf. In a number of counties anti-Masonic delegations were sent to the Assembly, but Philadelphia refused to countenance the crusade by the election of anti-Masons to the Legislature, or to give this singular party a majority in Councils. At first the introduction of antipathy to secret societies into politics was a

decided gain to the Democrats in both city and county. In 1830 the Jackson Democrats elected Joel B. Sutherland, Henry Horn, and John G. Watmough to Congress, and William Milnor, who had been chosen Mayor in 1829, was replaced by Benjamin W. Richards. Richards was re-elected in 1831. In 1832, when Ritner was again an unsuccessful candidate for Governor, receiving 88,165 votes in the State to 91,335 for Wolf, the anti-Jackson party carried the Second Congress District, which, under the apportionment of that year, was allowed two members. Horace Binney and James Harper were the successful candidates, Sutherland and Watmough being re-elected in the First and Third Districts. Binney was an eminent lawyer, a public-spirited citizen, and an old Federalist. The anti-Jackson party also obtained a majority in Councils, and made John Swift Mayor, who was annually re-elected until 1838.

In the Presidential canvass of 1832 feeling ran high between the Jackson and anti-Jackson parties, but the contest concerned men rather than principles. A curious illustration of this was furnished by a riot that occurred during the campaign. The anti-Jackson party had placed the arms of Virginia, as a transparency, in a window of their headquarters at the Bolivar House, in Chestnut street. On the day of the State election some astute Democrat discovered that the prostrate figure above the legend, *Sic Semper Tyrannis*, was intended for Gen. Jackson. This discovery gave great offense to Jackson's friends, and they made an attack upon the offending emblem, doing much injury to the house. Early in the year 1833 the hostile feeling toward Jackson in Philadelphia was displayed in a peculiar manner. The President came to the city in June preparatory to beginning a progress through New England. His popularity was at its height, because of his spirited course in regard to nullification. At the same time Black Hawk, the celebrated Indian chief, and some of his warriors were in town. Mayor Swift and Councils extended every possible courtesy to the visiting warriors, but treated President Jackson in a manner that savored of studied neglect. Later in the year the Mayor and Councils gave Henry Clay a reception at Independence Hall, that was so generous, that it tended to justify the criticisms of the Democrats in regard to the scant courtesies previously extended to the President. In the meantime, however, the state of public feeling in Philadelphia was greatly excited by the crusade of Jackson's administration against the Bank of the United States. This institution was looked upon as involving the interests of the city. Clay was as much, perhaps more, to blame for the "bank war" than Jackson. He forced the fighting until the "old hero" was aroused to a fury that would not be appeased short of the downfall of the bank. Henry Clay contributed to the destruction of the great financial institution of Philadelphia by making its re-charter a campaign issue in 1832. The most exciting episode in the "bank war" was the removal of the deposits

of public money from the Bank of the United States to Jackson's "pet banks," in the autumn of 1833. The part played in that affair by a Philadelphia Democrat added to the bitterness of which it was the occasion. McLane, the Secretary of the Treasury, was opposed to the measure upon which the President was so intent, and was transferred to the State Department, that his place might be filled by a more pliant instrument. Jackson's choice was William J. Duane. "He is a chip of the old block," the President said. The younger Duane was not at all like his father. He was a capable lawyer, who had eschewed politics, and repeatedly declined to be a candidate for office. Duane was in ignorance of the *rôle* for which he had been selected, and when he was made aware of it he sturdily refused to accept it. When Jackson directed the removal of the deposits, he not only refused to give the order, but refused to resign. He was dismissed September 23, 1833, and Roger B. Taney appointed to succeed him, after which the order was carried into effect. The result was a business depression that was felt all over the country, and with much severity in Philadelphia, where it was claimed the stocks of the Girard estate depreciated $312,304.18 in a few months.

Hostility to Jackson's fiscal measures and support of Clay's tariff policy now gave the anti-Jackson factions cohesion, and with the beginning of 1834 the name Whig came into general use, as distinctive of a national party in opposition to the administration. In April the Whigs gained a substantial triumph in the charter election in New York city. This victory was celebrated by a great public festival by the Whigs of Philadelphia. It was called the "Powelton Jubilee," because the festival was held at Powelton, the country seat of John Hare Powel, west of the Schuylkill. A delegation of New York Whigs came over to assist at the celebration, and it was said that not fewer than sixty thousand persons participated in the affair. Great importance was attached to the result of the general elections in Pennsylvania in the ensuing October, and political feeling in Philadelphia ran very high—so high, indeed, that there was a formidable election riot in Moyamensing on the night of the election. It began with a scuffle at the voting place,—the Commissioner's Hall in Christian street. The Whigs seem to have started the disturbances. The Jackson men were driven from the polls, after which their headquarters, that were in two tents near the hall, were attacked. The tents were demolished and their hickory pole cut down. When word of this attack was carried to the polls at Southwark the Jackson men started for Moyamensing. On the way they were joined by a large delegation from the Northern Liberties. The Whig headquarters were in a three-story brick house at Christian and Montcalm streets. In front of the building was a tall liberty pole. The mob made an attempt to cut down the pole, but the attack failed because it was hooped with iron. An attack was then made upon the headquarters, but the Whigs answered with buckshot,

and fifteen or twenty persons were wounded, one of them mortally. Finally the mob succeeded in forcing the doors and the inmates were roughly handled, escaping as best they could. The windows were broken and the furniture thrown into the street. In the meantime the infuriated Jackson men had kindled a fire around the liberty pole, from which an adjacent building was ignited. The burning building set fire to four dwelling-houses, called Robb's Row, and they also were consumed. When the fire engines came upon the ground the mob not only refused to allow the firemen to play upon the flames, but the apparatus was defaced and the men beaten. This destruction appeased the rioters and they dispersed.

In 1833 occurred the first of the riots in Philadelphia of which the unoffending blacks were the victims. The Abolitionists had become a fact, if not a factor, in Northern politics. They were few in numbers, but very active and aggressive, and gave great offense at the South by their fulminations against slavery. In consequence, the feelings of many persons who had no interest in slavery, except a sentimental one, became excited against the negroes in Philadelphia. One night in August, at an exhibition of flying horses, a difficulty occurred between a party of young men and some persons of color. It was claimed that the negroes had insulted the whites. This was sufficient to bring a mob all the way from Spring Garden and Kensington to the place where the exhibition was given in South street, which destroyed the flying-horse apparatus and demolished the building. News of this transaction was a spur to a still greater mob on the following day, which consisted mostly of boys and young men. The rioting began in Moyamensing, where many of the colored people lived, and spread over a considerable territory. Windows were smashed, doors battered down, and furniture thrown from the houses into the streets and broken. The whites living in the neighborhood escaped injury by displaying lights in their windows. Negroes, wherever they were found, were assaulted and mercilessly beaten. The Moyamensing police were unable to cope with the mob, and the rioting went on unchecked until evening, when two divisions of the city police attacked and dispersed the rioters. On the third day a *posse comitatus* was sworn in to prevent disorder, but the excitement continued. A meditated attack upon a colored Lodge of Masons in Seventh street, below Lombard, was frustrated, but a small meeting-house near the Wharton Market, used by colored people, was destroyed. When the *posse comitatus* reached the scene of the riot the rioters had disappeared. This was only the beginning of a period of disorders, extending over a number of years, of which the negroes were not the only victims, as has been shown in the Moyamensing election riots in 1834.

The second of the negro riots occurred in July, 1835. Robert R. Stewart, who had been United States Consul at Trinidad, brought home with him to Philadelphia a young African savage. The young savage

made an attempt upon his life while he slept. In the excited and disordered state of feeling in regard to slavery this attempted murder brought about a series of riots extending over two days. The first attack was made upon some houses in Small street occupied by colored people. The inmates were beaten and their furniture destroyed. From Small street the work of destruction was transferred to Seventh and Shippen streets, and then to the "Red Row," a block of eight or nine houses in Eighth street below Shippen. The "Row" was sacked and one of the houses set on fire. Subsequently a number of houses at Christian and Ninth streets were attacked. Some of these were defended by the occupants and two of the mob were wounded. When entrance to these houses was gained it was found that the inmates had escaped. In the meantime the firemen had begun their efforts to save the "Red Row." During the assaults upon the "Row" only the young negroes were beaten, the mob contenting itself with rendering the old men and women of color homeless and destitute. On this the rioters were determined. An attempt was made by the mob to drive the firemen off, but they resisted, and finally succeeded in saving all the houses except one. Other houses were attacked in Fitzwater and other streets, and the colored people were terrorized to such an extent that hundreds of families deserted their homes, some of whom bivouacked in the fields and woods. On the following day a rumor was circulated that sixty or seventy colored men were in a house in St. Mary's street, armed with bludgeons, razors and pistols. A mob gathered in the evening determined to attack them, but the city police prevented the intended assault, and managed to get the garrison out of the house in safety. This brought the disturbances to an end.

The riots were followed by a town-meeting in Musical Fund Hall on the 24th of August, at which agitation of the slavery question was deprecated, and the sympathy and friendship of the citizens of Philadelphia were pledged to the people of the South. These worthy Philadelphians declared that they regarded "the dissemination of incendiary publications through the slave States with indignation and horror." The assumed relations of an attempted murder of a white man by a negro in Philadelphia, and the subsequent riots, to the circulation of "incendiary publications" in the South, can only be accounted for by regarding the temper of the time, but apparently the outrages upon the unoffending blacks were considered as matters of trifling importance in comparison with the outraged feelings of the owners of slaves by anti-slavery utterances. A day or two after the meeting at Musical Fund Hall somebody perpetrated a practical joke upon the officers of the town-meeting. A box filled with copies of the *Liberator*, *The Slave's Friend*, and other anti-slavery publications, was consigned to a citizen of Philadelphia, and came by boat from New York. It was so loosely constructed that it fell apart while the laborers were handling it, and its dreadful contents were revealed. The person to

whom the box was consigned had no knowledge of it, and when he was visited by the officers of the town-meeting in regard to the awful discovery he surrendered to them any right he might have to it and its contents. They solemnly resolved to take the box of *Liberators*, *Slave's Friends*, and other incendiary documents to the middle of the Delaware and submerge it. "The whole affair," said the *Inquirer*, "was conducted in a spirit which exhibited a fixed purpose to resist everything like the circulation of incendiarism of any description, and at the same time to avoid any improper excitement among ourselves."

After the rise of the Whig party the elections became more spirited in Philadelphia and throughout the State year after year. In 1834 Joel B. Sutherland, Democrat, was re-elected to Congress from the First District, and James Harper, Whig, from the Second. Joseph R. Ingersoll, Whig, succeeded Horace Binney from the Second District, and Michael W. Ash, Democrat, took the place of Daniel H. Miller from the Third. In the city the Whigs were supreme. The next year, 1835, Joseph Ritner finally succeeded in carrying the State for Governor, receiving 94,023 votes to 65,804 for George Wolf, Independent Democrat, and 40,586 for Henry A. Muhlenberg, Democrat. In Philadelphia the vote was: city, Ritner, 5,042; Wolf, 1,801; Muhlenberg, 1,351; county, Ritner, 4,398; Wolf, 4,727; Muhlenberg, 2,034. The Whigs elected their Legislative tickets in the city, and the Democrats succeeded in the county. The figures show that the city was Whig, and that the county and State were Democratic. Ritner's election was only made possible by the division in the Democratic party. This division was due to the fact that Wolf had favored the re-chartering of the Bank of the United States. The movement to set Governor Wolf aside as a candidate for re-election was begun early in the year by the Jackson Committees of Correspondence. When the Democratic State Convention met at Harrisburg in March the friends of Muhlenberg found that Governor Wolf was too strong for them, but they outwitted their opponents, and succeeded in having the convention adjourned until May. Wolf's supporters were dissatisfied with this action, and rallied their forces in caucus, when it was agreed to meet in convention the next day. At this meeting Wolf was nominated. It was claimed that the nomination was a sham, and the result was that both Wolf and Muhlenberg were candidates. An anti-Masonic Convention nominated Ritner to the dissatisfaction of many Whigs. The anti-Masons called themselves "Democratic Republicans opposed to secret societies and political intrigue." The city and county of Philadelphia sent twenty delegates to this convention. The Whigs were at first disposed to nominate a candidate of their own party, but other counsels prevailed. On the 22d of June a great meeting was held in Philadelphia, over which Samuel Rush presided. This meeting declared that Ritner was a Whig in principle

and urged his endorsement. In the end the Whigs refrained from naming a ticket, and they generally supported Ritner.

The question of Presidential candidates entered largely into the canvass for Governor of Pennsylvania in 1835, although the election was more than a year in the future. The Wolf faction was for Van Buren, and the same convention that nominated Wolf named Jesse R. Burden of Philadelphia as one of the delegates to the National Democratic Convention at Baltimore in Van Buren's interest. Burden afterward voted as a member of the Legislature for the charter of the Pennsylvania institution called the Bank of the United States,—a vote for which he was hung and burnt in effigy in Southwark by the infuriated anti-bank party of Philadelphia. Wolf was more fortunate. President Van Buren appointed him Comptroller of the Currency, and afterward Collector of the Port at Philadelphia. While the State campaign of 1835 was under way Gen. William Henry Harrison loomed up as a Presidential possibility in 1836. In June of the latter year he visited Philadelphia. The Whigs met him at the steamboat landing with a fine barouche and four horses to carry him to his hotel. The horses becoming restive because of the shouts of the crowd were taken from the carriage, which was then drawn by the eager multitude by a rope attached to the vehicle. The rope proved too short for all who wished to "play horse" for the "hero of Tippecanoe," and the cry, "more rope," was heard at every stage of the journey. "More rope" was afterward a favorite catch phrase with the Democrats, but the result in the State in 1836 showed that Harrison needed only a little "more rope" to carry the electoral vote of Pennsylvania over Van Buren. In Philadelphia in the Presidential year Lemuel Paynter, Democrat, was elected in the First Congress District, John Sergeant and George W. Toland, Whigs, in the Second, and Charles Naylor, Whig, in the Third. This was a distinct gain, as the Third District had always gone Democratic. The county remained Democratic, and so continued during the Whig epoch, the Democrats generally sending a full delegation to the Assembly and electing the Sheriff and other county officers.

During the Presidential contest of 1836, and throughout President Van Buren's administration, the Whig party was constantly distracted by factions with which it had no real concern, and by its own want of political principles. It had many able leaders and some brilliant ones, but no practical politicians of recognized standing who understood the art of party management. Most of its great men had a personal following within the party, and they divided it instead of concentrating its strength against the common enemy, the Democrats. Anti-Masonry survived in 1337, and was even carried into the campaign for Governor in 1838, when Ritner was a candidate for re-election. The Abolitionists, few in numbers as they were, proved a disturbing element simply because the Whigs affected to regard them with patriotic horror. A vast and ill-considered scheme of public improvements had brought

the credit of the State to a very low ebb. The Democrats were responsible for it, but by accepting and extending it the odium of its failure inured to the Whigs. The financial policy of Jackson's second administration, which Van Buren had inherited, culminated in the great panic of 1837. In Philadelphia the strain was severely felt. Trade was dull. Thousands of persons were out of employment. Banks and business houses resisted for a while, but many of them were overwhelmed. On the 11th of May the banks, following the example of the New York banks the day before, suspended payment. Specie was withdrawn from circulation, and the city at once issued notes of small denominations that passed as money. The Commissioners of the districts followed the example of the city, and the chartered companies also issued notes for circulation. All this was followed in 1838 by a premature attempt of the banks to resume specie payments under the spur of popular excitement. The national administration was without a financial policy that could restore confidence to the country, and neither of the two great polical parties was able to offer a scheme to the people that would give them a sound currency. Instead, the public discontent was directed against objects of no real importance,—the Abolitionists, the charities from which the poor blacks benefited, and the blacks themselves. The result was the rise of a mob spirit in Philadelphia that continued to assert itself for many years. In May, 1838, the managers of a building in Sixth street, below Race, known as Pennsylvania Hall, dedicated it to free discussion, David Paul Brown, the eminent Philadelphia lawyer, delivering the dedicatory oration, and John Greenleaf Whittier, the poet, contributing a poetical address. The opening exercises took place on the 14th, and meetings were held in the evening and on the following day without serious interruption. On the morning of the 15th placards were found at a number of places, saying that as "a convention for the avowed purpose of effecting the immediate abolition of slavery" was then in session in the city, it behooved all citizens who entertained "a proper respect for the rights of property and the preservation of the Constitution of the United States to interfere, forcibly if they must, and prevent the violation of pledges heretofore held sacred." The placards further called upon the people to assemble at Pennsylvania Hall at 11 o'clock on the 16th to "demand the immediate dispersion of said convention." No more shameless incitement to riot was ever promulgated anywhere. No considerable mob gathered at the time named in the placards, but a number of disorderly persons were seen in the neighborhood of the Hall during the day. In the evening this small number was increased to a crowd, and the building, which held an audience that was comprised mostly of women, was assaulted with brickbats and paving stones. Many windows were broken and other damages inflicted. On the morning of the 17th the mob began to assemble early. It was clear that a riot was intended. A committee of the Pennsylvania Hall Association

apprized Mayor Swift of the situation, and furnished him with the name of the ringleader of the mob. The Mayor declined to take immediate action, saying he must see the Attorney-General about the law,—he wanted to know "whether the county would be liable to pay the costs." The committee told him they had not come to claim damages but to ask for protection. "There are always two sides to a question," the Mayor answered. "It is public opinion makes mobs,—ninety out of a hundred of those whom I converse are against you." He promised, however, to go in the evening and make a speech. If that did not answer he said he could do nothing more. No measures were taken to disperse the mob. In the evening the Mayor went to the Hall according to promise, but before addressing the mob he demanded and obtained the keys of the building. "There will be no meeting here this evening," he then said to the crowd. "This house has been given up to me. The managers had the right to hold their meeting; but as good citizens they have at my request suspended the meeting for this evening." But the good mayor, who believed that public opinion makes mobs, did not tell the crowd that he was bound to protect that which had been placed in his keeping. On the contrary, he gave the mob assurance that it had nothing to fear from him. "We never call out the military here," he continued. "We do not need such measures. Indeed, I would, fellow citizens, look upon you as my police. I look upon you as my police, and I trust you will abide by the laws and keep order. I now bid you farewell for the night." The mob gave the Mayor three hearty cheers, and as soon as he was out of the way his police began the work of destruction. The doors of which the Mayor had the keys were forced open, the building was fired, and the gas was turned on to feed the flames. Fully 15,000 persons stood in the streets, and witnessed the destructive work of a few ruffians, without a thought of interference. In a few hours Pennsylvania Hall was in ruins. While the work of destruction was in progress the Mayor, with a small body of policemen, returned to the scene of the conflagration. "The crowd opened," is the language of the report of the Police Committee of Councils, "and he passed with the policemen through it until he reached-the building where the work of destruction was making rapid progress. He then exclaimed to the crowd—'shame! is there nobody here to support the law?' No answer was given; for the first time, certainly since the foundation of our city, the voice of her Chief Magistrate called upon his fellow citizens for assistance in support of the law without receiving a hearty and encouraging respond. It was evident that those who were bent on evil were in force and resolute; and that the thousands who surrounded them looked on with deep interest, but with no desire to arrest the progress of destruction. . . . . Not an arm was raised, not a voice in that large assemblage was heard in support of the city authorities. . . . . Perhaps no circumstance so powerfully

displays the extent of the feeling which prevailed in the immense assemblage as the fact that the firemen, whose zeal and undaunted courage have long been the boast of our city, were, for the first time within our remembrance, prevented from lending their aid to rescue the Hall from conflagration. Had they been permitted to play upon it they probably might have saved it, as they saved all the property that adjoined it; but the deep excitement which pervaded the mob was made manifest in the control which they exercised over the efforts of the fire companies." Eye witnesses who afterward wrote accounts of the affair for Southern newspapers gave a different coloring to the conduct of the firemen. "A large number of splendid fire engines were immediately on the spot, many of which could throw water more than a hundred feet high," said a writer in the New Orleans *True American;* "but the noble firemen to a man, of all the numerous companies present, refused to throw one drop of water on the consuming building. All they did was to direct their engines to play upon the private buildings in the immediate vicinity of the blazing Hall, some of which were in great danger, as they were nearly joining the Hall. By the skillful exertion of these noble-hearted young men, however, no private property was suffered to receive the least damage,—while the Hall was totally consumed with all its contents. Such conduct in the Philadelphia fire companies deserves the highest praise from all friends of the Union, and of all Southerners in particular; and I hope and trust the fire companies of New Orleans will hold a meeting and testify in some suitable manner to the fire companies of Philadelphia, their sincere approbation of their noble conduct on this occasion." The Hall was a splendid structure of its kind. The ruins remained for many years a reproach to the city that had seen its destruction "with a shout of joy."

Having spent one night in destroying an empty building because a few kindly-disposed persons, men and women, used it to plead for freedom for black men as well as white, the mob the next evening directed its energies toward the destruction of another building inhabited only by women and children,—the Shelter for Colored Orphans in Thirteenth street, above Callowhill. The asylum was set on fire, but this time the rioters were driven off by the firemen, assisted by people living in the neighborhood, and the building was saved. Next the disorderly element turned its attention to the *Public Ledger*, which had denounced the mob and its excesses, but when it was learned that the *Ledger* building at Second and Dock streets had been put in a state of defense, the rioters dispersed. A number of private houses belonging to persons interested in Pennsylvania Hall was threatened. An attack was also made upon Bethel church in Sixth street, owned by colored people, but no great damage was done to the building. When news of the riots reached Harrisburg, Gov. Ritner offered a reward of $500 for the arrest and conviction of each and every person concerned in burn-

ing Pennsylvania Hall, and in the attack upon the Shelter for Colored Orphans, and a day later the Mayor took "the earliest opportunity" to offer a reward of $2,000 for "the apprehension and conviction of the vile perpetrator or perpetrators who, on Thursday night last, broke into and fired the Pennsylvania Hall." This reward, curiously limited by the terms in which it was offered, was dated six days after the event. In the election that followed in October, Gov. Ritner was beaten for re-election by David R. Porter, Democrat, by 5,504 votes, a result that his friends believed was due to his bold words in denunciation of the Philadelphia rioters, and his outspoken message of 1836 against slavery, which Whittier celebrated in one of the most spirited and stirring of his poems.

After the elections of 1838 frauds were alleged on both sides,—frauds in the State by the Whigs, and frauds in the county of Philadelphia by the Democrats. Thomas H. Burrowes, the Secretary of the Commonwealth, as Chairman of the anti-Masonic State Executive Committee, made a tactical mistake at the outset that could not fail to have the most disastrous consequences. In an address in behalf of the Committee he proposed that it should make an examination of the alleged frauds that could only be made by the Legislature. "Until this investigation be fully made and fully determined," he said, "let us treat the election of the 9th inst. as if we had not been defeated, and in that attitude abide the result." Such language was in effect incendiary, and it was especially ill-timed and ill-advised, in view of the Democratic allegations of fraud in Philadelphia, that would have to be determined before there could be a Legislative investigation. In Philadelphia county the Whigs elected Francis J. Harper to Congress from the Third District, and carried their Legislative ticket, but at the meeting of the return judges, the Democrats being in the majority, the vote of the Northern Liberties was set aside as fraudulent. The certificates were accordingly given to Charles J. Ingersoll as duly elected to Congress, and to the Democratic candidates for the State Senate and the Assembly. In the national House of Representatives a possible vacancy was made by the death of Harper before the meeting of Congress. At a special election Charles Naylor was chosen. On contest Ingersoll's certificate was set aside, and the seat was given to Naylor. In the State Senate the Speaker, Charles B. Penrose, recognized the Whig claimants, James Hanna and William Wagner. In the House there were 44 Whigs and 48 Democrats, not counting the 8 Representatives from Philadelphia county. There being two sets of certificates from this county neither party had a majority, and the organization of the House became impossible, unless one set or the other of the Philadelphia claimants was seated. The result was two Houses with a Philadelphia delegation in each. Gov. Ritner and the Senate recognized the Whig House as the legally constituted body. The Democratic House persisted in maintaining its organization. The consequence was the

famous "Buckshot War." Gov. Ritner proclaimed a rebellion and made a requisition for troops upon Major-General Patterson, commanding the First Division. In his order calling out the volunteers the Governor directed that their guns should be loaded with "buckshot and ball." The troops, about 1,200 in number, left Philadelphia by the Columbia Railroad, on the 8th of December. In the meantime the Democrats had constituted a so-called "Committee of Safety," and what has been called a lobby, but that was in reality a mob, was sent to Harrisburg to overawe the Senate and the Whig Assembly. The troops were only used to guard the arsenal and other places likely to be attacked, but the "Committee of Safety" crowded the Legislative chambers, and was very noisy and turbulent. In the Senate the demonstrations were so violent that Speaker Penrose jumped out of a window near his chair fearing bodily harm. Finally two Whigs, one from Chester and one from Luzerne county, went over to the Democratic House, and the Whig House was broken up by the pressure of the mob. In the end the Whigs yielded, and the "Buckshot War" was over. The troops returned to Philadelphia in January, 1839, and an incident that was discreditable to both parties was closed.

As a result of the administration of Governor Ritner and the temporary ascendency of the Whigs in the Legislature, a Constitutional Convention was held in 1838, and a new and more liberal constitution was framed to take the place of the Constitution of 1790. The great patronage of the Governor was curtailed, and more of the State offices were made elective. In Philadelphia, too, a notable addition was made to the offices filled directly by the people by an Act, passed by the Legislature in 1839, making the Mayoralty elective. Mayor Swift was not re-elected by Councils in 1838, the year of the Abolition riots, Isaac Roach, a gallant soldier of the second war with Great Britain, becoming his successor, but he was again chosen in 1839, and he was elected by the people in 1840. Ritner's majority in the city and county, in 1838 was 5,262, but in the Presidental election of 1840 Harrison had a majority of only 233 over Van Buren in the city and county and 349 in the State. The Third Congress District went back to the Democrats, Charles J. Ingersoll being elected to the Twenty-seventh Congress. Ingersoll was re-elected three times. Charles Brown, Democrat, succeeded Paynter in the First District in 1840. In view of the disastrous riots two years before, it is a suggestive fact that James G. Birney, the Abolition candidate for President in 1840, received only 343 votes in the State, six votes short of Harrison's meagre majority. The first election for Mayor by the people was in 1839, but it failed because none of the three candidates—John Swift, John C. Montgomery, and John K. Kane—had a majority of the whole vote. In 1840 Swift, Whig, received 6,355 votes to 4,820 for Henry Horn, Democrat. There was a great falling off in the Whig vote in 1841, John Morin Scott, Whig, receiving only 5,658 to 4,693 for

Samuel Badger, and 84 for William Thompson. This was all the more remarkable, as John Banks, the Whig candidate for Governor, received 5,920 votes in the city to 4,380 for Governor Porter. In 1842 the Whigs suffered from the apathy consequent upon the dissatisfaction with President Tyler's administration, but John M. Scott, for Mayor, polled 6,145 votes to 5,137 for Richard Vaux, Democrat. There was a new apportionment of the Congress Districts this year, the city and county being divided into four districts instead of three. The Whigs elected Edward Joy Morris in the First District and Joseph R. Ingersoll in the Second, and the Democrats John T. Smith in the Third and Charles J. Ingersoll in the Fourth. In 1843 John M. Scott received the highest vote so far cast for a candidate for Mayor, 6,585 to 3,976 for Samuel Badger. After this year a new element was felt in the politics of the city and county, which divided and distracted the Whigs and seriously affected the Democrats.

Although the Abolitionists had not developed any political strength, the so-called Abolition riots were repeated whenever a pretext offered. In 1840 an insane negro, who had escaped from the Blockley Almshouse, killed a watchman named Batt in Southwark. This was a sufficient incentive for an Abolition riot. A mob gathered in Passyunk road and in Fifth street, below South, with the intention of destroying more houses inhabited by the blacks. Sheriff Watmough tried to induce the crowd to disperse, but the rioters threatened him, and he was glad to get out of their way. At Fifth and Pine streets Mayor Swift met them with a squad of policemen. Going among the rioters unarmed he seized the ringleader, dragged him out of the crowd despite the threats of his friends, and turned him over to the police. Not caring to come into contact with the city police the mob returned to Southwark, where some houses inhabited by negroes were assailed during the night. These disorders ended the riots. There were no further demonstrations of a serious character against the blacks until August 1, 1842, when a difficulty occurred between the "Moyamensing Temperance Society" and some disorderly men and boys in the streets. The police arrested some of the persons who were disturbing the colored procession, whereupon a mob gathered and attacked the houses occupied by blacks in Lombard street, between Fifth and Eighth, and in the adjacent courts and alleys. The usual scenes occurred, and when the police interfered to protect the negroes from being beaten, an attempt was made to take them out of the hands of the policemen. Their failure only exasperated the rioters, and they sought other objects on which to vent their wrath. A building owned by Stephen Smith, a colored man, called "Smith's Beneficial Hall," which was used for meetings of colored people, was assailed by the mob, set on fire, and burned to the ground. A colored church in St. Mary's street was also fired and consumed. The riots ceased at midnight, but the disturbances were renewed the next day by an attack of Irish laborers

in the coal-yards on the Schuylkill upon colored men at work in the neighborhood. Sheriff Morris sent a posse of sixty men to restore order, but the posse was attacked and compelled to fly. The mob then marched to Moyamensing, and the rioters again amused themselves sacking houses and beating negroes. The Sheriff called out the volunteer soldiery, which he posted in Washington square, while a strong force of police was held in readiness to co-operate with the troops. This had the desired effect and the rioters disappeared. But the mob-spirit was still rife, and more formidable riots were to occur before the people of Philadelphia learned to settle their political controversies at the polls.

Exaggerated fears of the undue influence and misused privileges of citizens of foreign birth had long been entertained by many worthy people in Philadelphia, who imagined they could foresee, in the not distant future, the most direful consequences resulting from the foreign vote. This feeling found expression in a work of fiction published in Philadelphia in 1833, and in 1837 an attempt was made in Germantown to form a Native American Society with a view to changing the naturalization laws. It was not, however, until 1844 that the Native American movement acquired any real strength. In December, 1843, a meeting was held in the district of Spring Garden, at which it was determined to form the American Republican Association of the Second Ward, Spring Garden. The organization of a similar association in the Locust Ward in the city quickly followed, and in January, 1844, the North Mulberry and Cedar Wards fell into line with the movement. In a few months the city and county were honeycombed with Native American Associations. Twenty-one years' residence was urged as a necessary restriction upon naturalization, and the Native Americans declared that Native Americans only should hold office. They went further, and maintained that the Bible, without note or comment, was not sectarian, and urged its use as a reading book in the public schools. The Roman Catholics had objected to the King James version of the Old and New Testaments in some of the States, but the issue had not been made in Pennsylvania, where, however, the Native Americans insisted it should be made. Much ill-feeling was engendered, and the new party had not been in existence six months from its inception until the city and districts were embroiled in a series of riots, the most formidable and sanguinary in the history of Philadelphia. The disturbances began with the breaking up of a Native American meeting in the Third Ward, Kensington, May 3, 1844, and with another attack upon another meeting of the Native Americans on the 6th. The tumults resulted in the destruction of the Hibernia Hose House, the burning of St. Michael's Roman Catholic Church, two attacks upon and the final destruction of a Roman Catholic seminary conducted by Sisters of Charity, the burning of St. Augustine's Roman Catholic Church and another seminary, together with a valuable library belonging to the

"Hermits of St. Augustine," besides the killing and wounding of a large number of citizens and rioters. Other riots even more sanguinary and determined, if not so destructive, followed in July. The tumults swelled the proportions of the Native American party from a few hundreds to as many thousands, and brought into the campaign of 1844 a third ticket, part of which was elected.

With the rise of the Native American party a new class of political leaders came into prominence in Philadelphia. Two of them, Lewis C. Levin and John H. Campbell, both lawyers, were elected to Congress, Levin in the First District by a majority of 3,278, and Campbell in the Third by 1,927 majority. The Ingersolls were re-elected. There were three candidates for Mayor, Peter McCall, Whig, receiving 5,506 votes; Samuel Badger, Democrat, 4,032; and Elhanan W. Keyser, Native American, 5,065. For Governor the Native Americans supported Joseph Markle, the Whig candidate, who had a majority over Francis R. Shunk, the Democratic candidate, of 4,017 in the city and 1,936 in the county. The Abolitionist candidate, Francis J. Lemoyne, received the highest vote ever cast for the Abolition ticket for Governor in the State, 2,566 votes to 763 three years before. James G. Birney, the Abolition candidate for President, did still better, receiving 3,138 votes. In the next four years there were always three and, except in 1848, four candidates for Mayor, John Swift, Whig, being elected each year by an annually increasing vote. In 1845 he had only 4,949 votes, but his vote in 1848 reached 8,440. The Native American candidates for Mayor received 4,538 votes in 1845, 3,244 in 1846, and 2,530 in 1847. In 1848 the Native Americans had no candidate. In all these years there had been Abolitionist or Free Soil candidates, the highest vote for the ticket being 78 for John Bouvier in 1845, and the lowest 10 for James Hansell in 1847. Lewis C. Levin was re-elected to Congress in 1846 and again in 1848, but the Third District was carried by Charles Brown, Democrat, in the former year, and by Henry D. Moore, Whig, in the latter. The Native Americans had ceased to be an important factor in the politics of the city and county. The party had split into two factions, the Pure Native Americans, as they called themselves, separating from the sectarian Native Americans. The Pure Native Americans were called "Mountain Sweets" by their former political associates.

The Presidential campaign of 1848 was opened, so far as Philadelphia was concerned, by a visit of Henry Clay in February. Clay was always the idol of the Whigs of the old stronghold of Federalism. They had supported him for President against Jackson in 1832, when John Sergeant was on the ticket with him for Vice-President. They would have preferred him as their candidate in 1836 and again in 1840, if the popular enthusiasm for Harrison had not swept everything before it in other parts of the country. They gave him unfaltering support in 1844, when the administration of John Tyler had rendered the Whig cause hopeless. It seemed they were determined not to be

forestalled in 1848. His reception by the Philadelphia Whigs was intended to mark their devotion to his fortunes. Upon his arrival he was placed in a barouche drawn by six spirited horses. Twelve hundred citizens on horseback escorted him through the streets. His progress was marked by a mighty wave of enthusiasm that had not been shown on any like occasion in Philadelphia since the reception of La Fayette in 1824. The city was wild with excitement. He was received by Councils in Independence Hall, and 8,000 citizens crowded each other in doing him honor. Five thousand ladies greeted him at the Museum. When the Whig National Convention assembled in June great hopes were entertained that he would be again nominated. The first ballot for the nomination dispelled these hopes, and on the fourth Gen. Zachary Taylor, who was not even known to be a Whig, had a majority. The Philadelphia Whigs were chagrined at the result, and when a ratification meeting was held in Independence Square on the day after the convention adjourned their lukewarmness was manifest. The Whig party went into the campaign without a declaration of principles, and with a candidate whose only claim to the nomination was on the score of availability. The canvass that ensued was comparatively quiet, but the next year was marked by disturbances that many years of riot and disorder had rendered inevitable. The mobs that had assaulted defenceless negroes with impunity and burned churches and school-houses without punishment, had given the ruffians and thieves in a great city that was, in fact, an aggregation of cities without anything approaching to homogeneous government, a taste for misrule, that had finally resulted in organized gangs whose purpose was to defy the law and terrorize the respectable part of the community. They called themselves by such names as Rats, Rangers, Bouncers, Buffers, and Killers. All these gangs of ruffians were "No. 1," and the newspapers of the time were full of their doings, telling how the Killers No. 1 had fought with the Buffers No. 1, and how the Bouncers No. 1 had met and conquered the Killers No. 1. The fire companies, too, were permeated with the disorderly element, and were at deadly enmity with each other. They had been corrupted by a narrow and bigoted partisan spirit, and by racial and sectarian bitterness. They sometimes became incendiaries, that they might lure a hostile company into a neighborhood where it could be taken in ambush and fought at a disadvantage. In June, when political excitement was beginning to be fiercely aroused, an outrageous Sunday fight occurred in the district of Moyamensing. It extended over the entire territory between Eighth and Eleventh streets and Christian and Fitzwater. The firemen fought with bricks, stones, and even fire-arms. Two weeks afterward there were two fights in one day between the Moyamensing and Franklin Hose companies, in one of which one man was killed, and nine or ten wounded. A serious riot occurred on the night of the general election in October, 1849, which resulted in arson and murder. This was another

negro riot, but the firemen were assailed, not the assailants. A tavern in Sixth street at the corner of St. Mary's, called the California House, which was kept by a mulatto with a white wife, and frequented by blacks, had been indicated for destruction by the enemies of miscegenation, and was attacked by a mob from the lower end of Moyamensing. After some resistance by colored men who were in the house it was captured and set on fire. The Hope Fire Company, while preparing to subdue the flames, were beaten off and the engine taken from the firemen. When the Good Will Fire Company reached the scene of the fire the firemen were received with a volley of fire-arms, one of them being instantly killed and another mortally wounded. The tavern, two frame and two brick houses, and a carpenter-shop were consumed. The military was called out late at night, but as the mob had dispersed the soldiers were dismissed. Then the rioters gathered again and in the early morning a house in St. Mary's street was set on fire, accompanied by assaults upon the colored people. Three of the fire companies received rough treatment. The Phœnix Hose Company was assaulted and driven off. The hose-carriage of the Robert Morris company was seized, and the hose of the Diligent company was cut and otherwise injured. The blacks came to the assistance of the firemen and helped to beat off the rioters, with the result that the burning house was saved. Then the military again came upon the ground and the war was over. Altogether four persons were killed, three white men and a colored boy, and of the wounded nine whites and sixteen blacks were carried to the hospital.

In the elections for members of Congress in 1848 Joseph R. Chandler, Whig, succeeded Joseph R. Ingersoll from the Second District and John Robbins, Jr., Democrat, took the place of Charles J. Ingersoll from the Fourth. They were both re-elected in 1850. Henry D. Moore, Whig, was again re-elected from the Third District in 1850, but in the First District Thomas B. Florence, Democrat, was elected. Florence also represented the First District for four terms under the apportionment of 1852. Under this apportionment the city and county and part of Montgomery county comprised five districts, and so remained until long after the close of the Whig epoch. Chandler, Whig, was elected from the Second District in 1852; Job R. Tyson, Whig, in 1854; and Edward Joy Morris, Whig, in 1856, who was re-elected. John Robbins, Jr., Democrat, was elected from the Third District in 1852; William Millward, Whig, in 1854; James Landy, Democrat, in 1856; and John P. Verree, Whig, in 1858. In the Fourth District the changes were even more marked, William H. Witte, Democrat, being elected in 1852; Jacob Broom, Native American, in 1854; Henry M. Phillips, Democrat, in 1856; and William Millward, Whig, in 1858. In the new Fifth District the Congressmen elected were John McNair, of Montgomery, Whig, in 1852; John Cadwalader, Democrat, in 1854; Owen Jones, of Montgomery, Democrat,

in 1856; and John Wood, of Montgomery, Whig, in 1858. The Whigs were not uniformly successful in the elections for Mayor even before consolidation. In 1849 Joel Jones was elected over Charles Gilpin by a majority of 65, but in 1850 Gilpin defeated Jones by a majority of 2,329. Gilpin was three times re-elected, John Swift being the opposing candidate in 1851, and John Thompson in 1853. In 1854 the Mayoralty election was for the greater Philadelphia, and, consequently, under different conditions from any municipal election that had preceded it.

The rioters that dominated the city for so many years rendered consolidation a police necessity. When it was first proposed the scheme met with opposition from many eminent citizens, who were averse to change. The politicians also were unfavorable to the measure because its effect would inevitably be to drive them from power. The leaders of the two great parties acted in concert in their opposition in effect, if not by prearrangement. For several years all the candidates for the Legislature were interrogated previous to the elections in regard to their attitude on this question. They generally declared themselves in favor of consolidation, but when they got to Harrisburg they paid no attention to the matter. In 1853 a better plan than mere interrogation was adopted. Avowed and active friends of consolidation were nominated, and many of them were elected on that issue. The result was the Consolidation Act of 1854, by which the district system was abolished and the municipality extended over the entire county. The new city was divided into twenty-four wards; the Mayor was given jurisdiction, including police authority, over the whole territory; the county commissioners were replaced by three city commissioners; two new offices were created, the city controller and the receiver of taxes; and the Select and Common Councils were increased in numbers with enlarged powers. While the bill was before the Legislature there was a great deal of jobbery in the city and districts in anticipation of its passage in the guise of public improvements, but in the end no great harm was done. Public indignation was aroused and many of the schemes failed. The passage of the Consolidation Act was celebrated March 11, 1854, by a great ball and supper at the Museum building, and by a banquet at Sansom Street Hall given by the city on the following day. The first election in the new Philadelphia took place on the first Tuesday in June.

Politics in Philadelphia at the time of the consolidation were very chaotic. Both the old parties had always been pro-slavery, but the Democrats were more outspoken in behalf of the "slave power" than the Whigs. The South, in consequence, had become almost a unit for the Democracy. Seven slave States voted for General Taylor in 1848,—only two voted for General Scott in 1852. Taylor had carried Pennsylvania by a small majority over Cass and Van Buren. Pierce carried it by a plurality of nearly 20,000 over Scott. There was no longer any need for the Whig party with its colorless politics. The Republican

party had not yet come into existence, but the agitation of the exclusion of slavery from the territories had begun. When the Whig party went to pieces an attempt was made to revive the defunct Native American party on a new basis. On the surface there were only two candidates for Mayor in 1854—Robert T. Conrad, Whig, and Richard Vaux, Democrat. But there were rumors of a new force in politics—a new party, the members of which when questioned in regard to it or its purposes gave as their answer, "I don't know." From this expression it came to be known as the "Know Nothing party." At first it was eclectic in the nomination or endorsement of candidates, which was always done in secret. For Mayor the "Know Nothings" supported Conrad, giving him 29,507 votes to 21,011 for Vaux, in a city that was supposed to be Democratic. At the general election in October the "Know Nothings" voted with the Whigs for Governor, giving James Pollock the largest vote ever given for any candidate in the State, but in local politics they cut some queer pranks, rattling the Whigs as much as they surprised the Democrats. In the Fourth Congress District, which was considered safely Democratic, they gave an unexpected proof of their strength. By this and similar triumphs where no danger was apprehended, they succeeded in making the political clouds seem very portentous, so that when the Spring elections approached the politicians and the people thought and talked of nothing but the "Know Nothings." As the Mayor held office for two years under the Consolidation Act, only two city officers were voted for in the Spring of 1855—the city treasurer and a city commissioner. The "Know Nothings" elected both by small majorities. In some parts of the city there were as many as six tickets in the field, some of them called by names that have been long forgotten—"anti-Know Nothings," "Regular Whigs," "Clay Whigs," "Whigs and Americans," "People's Reformers," and "Citizens' Reformers." It was expected that the "Know Nothings" would carry the general elections in October, but to their own surprise the Democrats elected almost their whole ticket in Philadelphia. Know-Nothingism had spent its force. Its secret methods were as much against it in 1855 as they were in its favor in 1854. It lacked the leadership from which the Native American movement had profited in 1844. It lacked the impetuous oratory of Louis C. Levin under conditions that would render it effective. The first Native American movement gained strength from the turbulent spirit of the time. Levin was its founder and its animating spirit. His oratory, in which there was a fervid blending of religious with political passions, was better suited to the "stump" where he could sway the masses than to the secret conclaves of a faction. Since Leib in his prime, supported by Duane and the *Aurora*, there had been no such political leader in Philadelphia — swaying the multitude from the platform, teaching the people through the press, dominating conventions, and compelling

victory at the polls. But his impetuosity and ferocity were elements of weakness as well as of strength. His party withered and faded when it should have been in its first bloom. Know-Nothingism, which suddenly sprang from its buried roots, was scarcely less fierce and equally illogical. It was composed of heterogeneous elements and irreconcilable factions—dissatisfied Democrats, despondent Whigs, a few violent Abolitionists, and even the Temperance propagandists. Prohibition had become a political force of considerable magnitude. These alliances proved fatal, especially as they were brought in conjunction with Mayor Conrad's attempts to carry the principles of reform into practical administration. In the organization of the new police force the Mayor went to the extreme of Know-Nothingism, restricting his appointments of nine hundred policemen to citizens of American birth. The Prohibitionists were very active, and the liquor interest was alienated by the Mayor's rigorous enforcement of the new Sunday liquor law, which went into effect April 1, 1855. All the Sunday laws, the enforcement of which had become obsolete, were revived. He went so far in enforcing the Sunday laws as to give even the Sunday newspapers a great deal of trouble, and created much bitterness of feeling by directing the police to enter saloons and drink liquor in order to obtain evidence against the saloon-keepers. This crusade entered into the contest for Mayor in 1856, and Richard Vaux, Democrat, was elected over Henry D. Moore, Whig and American, by a majority of nearly 4,000. It was a great triumph for the Buchanan Democrats, and foretold the downfall of the American party, although nobody suspected at the time that it also foreshadowed the rise of the Republican party.

The year 1856 is noteworthy for two national conventions in Philadelphia that marked the final struggle for existence of the Whig party, and the birth of a new party that was to maintain its ascendancy, with occasional reverses, until the end of the century. The first of these conventions was nominally American, but it was made up to a considerable extent of men who had not yet ceased to regard themselves as Whigs. It met on Washington's birthday. The "National Council" had convened in anticipation of the meeting of the convention and adopted the platform for the party. The purpose of this cut-and-dried platform was to prevent a straightforward declaration by the convention in favor of interdicting slavery in the territories. There was a test of strength on this subject, but the platform prepared by the "Council" prevailed, after which the delegates from all the New England States and Ohio and part of those from Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Iowa withdrew from the convention. The regular convention nominated Millard Fillmore for President and Andrew J. Donelson for Vice-President, and the seceders met and named John C. Fremont for President and William F. Johnston for Vice-President. This split was not considered a dangerous one by the Fillmore and Donelson men in Philadelphia, and it

was they who nominated Moore for Mayor in opposition to Vaux. The Whigs nominated John Thompson, but the pro-slavery adherents of the old party were anxious to vote for Vaux, and, under the leadership of William B. Reed, they finally succeeded in having the nomination withdrawn, thus leaving them free to act as they pleased. The election of Vaux showed the direction of the tide in the Presidential contest. The nomination of Fremont by the seceders from the American Convention did not enter into the local campaign, and neither the Know-Nothings nor the Democrats feared that the infant Republican party was in reality a young giant.

The organization of the Republican party in Philadelphia originated with William B. Thomas, afterward a soldier for the Union and Collector of the Port. At a meeting of the "Democratic League" in August, 1855, Mr. Thomas offered a resolution denouncing slavery and calling for the organization of a Republican association. Thomas even became the Republican candidate for Mayor in 1856, but he received only a few scattering votes. The acorn that had sprouted so feebly was soon to grow into a great tree. On the 16th of June the Republicans held a State convention in Philadelphia, of which Henry C. Carey, the eminent political economist, was the temporary chairman. The next day the first National Republican Convention met. The delegates were not chosen according to any settled rule, but there was no discord, and the proceedings were characterized by much enthusiasm. John C. Fremont was nominated for President and William L. Dayton for Vice-President. During the campaign a coalition was agreed upon between the supporters of Fillmore and Donelson and Fremont and Dayton and a fusion electoral ticket was formed. The canvass was one of the most vigorous in the history of Philadelphia politics. The Democratic leader in the city was Lewis C. Cassidy, the "young giant of the Democracy," who was a candidate for District-Attorney. His opponent was William B. Mann. Mann was nominated by the Fillmore and Donelson faction, and was called by his political enemies the "Republican-Fusion-Abolitionist-Know-Nothing" candidate. Political journalism again obtained something of the prominence it had enjoyed when Duane and Binns were party leaders as well as partisan editors. John W. Forney was at the same time the Chairman of the Democratic State Committee and the editor of the *Pennsylvanian*, the organ of the Buchanan Democracy. As a journalist Forney was singularly brilliant, trenchant, and aggressive. In the *North-American* Morton McMichael was wielding a vigorous pen for the fusion candidates. The other daily newspapers began to take a greater interest in politics than had been the policy of such conservative Whig editors as Robert T. Conrad and Joseph R. Chandler, but the epoch of political journalism was only beginning. Great public meetings became an imposing feature of the campaign, and many brilliant public speakers of national reputation were heard in Philadelphia during the canvass.

The result of the general elections was very close, both in the city and State. The Democrats elected all their candidates for Congress from the five Philadelphia districts, except James A. Marshall in the Second District. Cassidy was chosen District-Attorney by a majority of little more than 500, but his election was successfully contested by Mr. Mann. For President the Buchanan electors had 38,222 votes in the city, while the Fusion ticket had only 31,976 votes. This result was due in a great measure to the exertions of Col. Forney, who was to have received his reward by an election to the United States Senate, but he was defeated through the bad faith of three Democratic members of the Legislature, two from York and one from Schuylkill county.

The depression consequent upon the financial panic of 1857 failed to dim the star of the triumphant Democracy, and James R. Ludlow, then a popular Democratic orator, was elected a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas over Robert T. Conrad by a majority of more than 5,000, while William F. Packer, Democrat, for Governor received 27,749 votes in the city to 14,445 for Isaac Hazlehurst, American, and 10,001 for David Wilmot, Republican. The turn in the tide came with the Spring elections of 1858, when Mayor Vaux, who was a candidate for re-election, and the entire Democratic ticket were beaten by a People's ticket headed by Alexander Henry for Mayor. Dissatisfaction with the management of the police department under Mayor Vaux was an important factor in bringing about his defeat. With the autumn elections of 1858 began the Republican era that was to end in Republican ascendancy. President Buchanan's policy in regard to Kansas had caused a wide breach in the Democratic party. All the Democratic candidates for Congress were beaten except Col. Florence. The Douglas Democrats nominated George W. Nebinger to defeat Florence, but he was elected by a plurality of 300 over Col. John W. Ryan, the candidate of the People's party. William H. Kern, the People's candidate for Sheriff, carried the city by a majority of more than 5,000. This organization, which was only a cloak to cover the union of all the elements opposed to the Democracy, was continued in 1859, and was again successful, but the time had come when the old line Whigs, who were still active in "saving the Union" in behalf of slavery, were to make their last effort, and when all the factions opposed to the Democracy were to be swallowed up in the Republican party.

III.

REPUBLICAN ASCENDANCY.

ALTHOUGH Republican ascendancy began with the elections of 1860, the politicians were slow to see that the Republican party was destined to become the dominating influence in American politics. The Democratic party was discordant, but at the beginning of the year it was not yet hopelessly divided. The actual division came when the two wings of the party separated at Charleston, each of them nominating a Presidential ticket. In Philadelphia the two factions were almost equal in strength at the outset, and Henry D. Foster, who was nominated for Governor early in the campaign, had the undivided support of the party. The Republican strength was undeveloped, and in the city and State had not yet assumed the Republican name. It was the People's party that put Andrew G. Curtin in nomination for Governor and that nominated Mayor Henry for re-election. Henry had beaten Mayor Vaux two years before by a majority of 4,733, but now he succeeded in defeating John Robbins, Jr., the Democratic candidate, by only 982 votes. This result gave no assurance of Curtin's election over Foster in the State election in October, but on the contrary showed that the People's party was lacking in cohesive strength. The men who had supported Fillmore in 1856 still believed that they could oppose the Democracy without opposing slavery. The old line Whigs in the South were intent upon forming a Constitutional Union party, that would oppose the aggressive Republicans as well as the disorganized and discordant Democrats, and they had many sympathisers in the North. Philadelphia was chosen as the place in which to begin the movement, and it was started in January, 1860, with a dinner to Baillie Peyton, of Tennessee, at the Academy of Music. The parquet of the opera house was boarded over and turned into a great dining-hall. As many as seven hundred guests sat down to dinner. The boxes were filled with ladies. The galleries were crowded with spectators. The speakers were John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky; Horace Maynard, of Tennessee; Thomas W. Gilmer, of North Carolina; and Morton McMichael, of Philadelphia. The movement resulted in the nomination of John Bell, of Tennessee, for President, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President. Mr. Bell was at the La Pierre House at the time of his nomination, where his admirers honored him with a serenade. A week later the Republican National Convention at Chicago nominated Abraham Lincoln, and a great Lincoln ratification meeting was held in Independence Square on the 26th of May. From that time until the election in November Republican enthusiasm in the city was constantly on the increase. Parades and open air meetings followed

each other in rapid succession, the marching clubs and Republican associations being known by such names as "Wide-Awakes," "Lincoln Defenders," "Republican Invincibles," and "Rail-Splitters." The Constitutional Union men organized the "Bell-Ringers," and "Minute Men of '56," but as the canvass progressed the "Minute Men" and "Bell-Ringers" found they were four years too late. The People's party, that had opened the campaign in the State, rapidly fell out of sight, and the name Republican was accepted, for the time, by all the opponents of the Democratic factions except the little band of devoted adherents to the fortunes of Bell and Everett, who still clung tenaciously to the idea of a Constitutional Union party. The two Democratic factions entered the campaign for their respective tickets with much spirit, but lost heart after the October elections. Curtin carried the State by 262,346 votes to 230,230 for Foster. This was a great Republican triumph in the State, but while the People's party candidates in Philadelphia were elected by an average majority of 2,000, Curtin fell as many votes behind Foster in the city. With the exception of William E. Lehman, Democrat, in the First District, Republicans were chosen from all the Congress districts; Edward Joy Morris, Second; John P. Verree, Third; William D. Kelley, Fourth; and William Morris Davis, Fifth. These results were a prelude to a great Republican triumph in November, the Bell and Everett ticket receiving only 7,131 votes in November, and the Douglas and Breckenridge tickets 30,053, while Lincoln and Hamlin had 39,223, a majority of 2,039 over all the other candidates.

The Presidential election of 1860 was a revolution such as had never before been achieved by the ballots of the American people, but the event in Philadelphia was not attended by any incidents of historical importance. "We never saw an election for even ward officers," said one of the papers the next morning, "that excited so little interest." The result was received with a singular lack of enthusiasm. There was no excitement. There were no great crowds in the streets. About 9 o'clock in the evening a procession of doubtful composition marched down Chestnut street, with an equivocal transparency inscribed "Lincoln on the way to the White House." When the paraders reached Fifth street a disturbance occurred and the police interfered. At a later hour the Lincoln clubs of the different wards appeared with transparencies displaying the ward majorities. There was a show of interest in the neighborhood of the newspaper offices in the returns from New York, but the result in the State was accepted as a foregone conclusion. This may have had something to do with the apparent apathy, but the more probable explanation is that the consequences of a triumph so complete and far-reaching, which all saw looming up in the future, deterred the voters from a too exhuberant expression of their joy over their victory. The Democrats, however, were quick to voice their sorrow. A meeting was held at Germantown on the 8th of

November over which Harry Ingersoll, who had been beaten for Congress in the Fifth District, presided. At this meeting resolutions were adopted regretting the result, and while declaring it to be the duty of all Democrats to acquiesce in it, extending "to that portion of our fellow countrymen of the South, who think differently, the assurance of a cordial and respectful fellow-feeling, under the invasion of their constitutional rights and domestic peace and dignity to which they have been so long subjected by the controlling voice of the party which has now prevailed in the choice of a Chief Magistrate." Phrases like these could not induce the South to accept the result, and the business interests of Philadelphia were severely affected in consequence. On the 22d of November the banks suspended specie payments, but the march of events was too rapid to render the industrial depression more than an incident of the disturbed relations between the two sections of the Union. Although the Republican party had triumphed and the South was on the verge of war the old time feeling against the Abolitionists still existed, and a mob was organized in December to prevent George William Curtis from delivering a lecture on slavery before the People's Literary Institute in Musical Fund Hall. The menace proved sufficient and the lecture was not given. Meetings deprecating a dissolution of the Union, some of them positive in favor of its preservation at all hazards, and others appealing to the South to forbear, and declaring that "all denunciations of slavery as existing in the United States, and of our fellow-citizens who maintain that institution and who hold slaves under it, are inconsistent with that spirit of brotherhood and kindness which ought to animate all who live under and profess to support the Constitution of the American Union," were frequent during the winter of 1860-61. On the 13th of December an immense Union meeting was held in Independence Square; the next day there was a meeting of the Democratic Association of the Twenty-Second Ward in Germantown; on the 3d, 4th and 5th of Jan- January meetings were held at the Board of Trade rooms by citizens representing the mercantile interests; the veterans of the war of 1812 held a meeting on the 10th, and there was a mass-meeting of people opposed to coercion on the 16th at which it was resolved that "in the deliberate judgment of the Democracy of Philadelphia, and so far as we know it of Pennsylvania, the dissolution of the Union by the separation of the whole South—a result we shall greatly deplore—may release this commonwealth to a large extent from the bonds which now connect her with the confederacy, except so far as for temporary convenience she chooses to submit to them, and would authorize and require her citizens through a convention to be assembled for that purpose, to determine with whom her lot should be cast, whether with the North and East whose fanaticism has precipitated this misery upon us, or with our brethren of the South whose wrongs we feel as our own, or whether Pennsylvania should stand by herself, as a distinct com-

munity, ready, when occasion offers, to bind together the broken Union, and resume her place of loyalty and devotion." Nearly all the visiting statesmen who came to Philadelphia during this period were serenaded, and made speeches on the absorbing topic of the time. Among those who were thus received in the month of February were the President-elect, Senator Simon Cameron and Senator-elect David Wilmot.

An Act was passed by the Legislature during the session of 1861, postponing the municipal elections in Philadelphia until the autumn, which was denounced by the Democratic City Executive Committee as "an outrage perpetrated by the Black Republican majority in the State Legislature," and it was determined to have the legality of the law tested. This movement was afterward abandoned. When the war actually began party spirit sank out of sight for awhile, but the alignment of parties continued very much as it had been in the preceding years—the Peoples' party, the Union party, and the Democrats. The first election in war time was a special election for a member of Congress from the Second District in place of Edward Joy Morris, who resigned to accept a foreign mission. The Democrats nominated Col. Charles J. Biddle, the Peoples' party Charles O'Neill, and the Union party William M. Meredith. Mr. Meredith declined to be a candidate and the contest was between Biddle and O'Neill, both being pledged to support the Federal government and to the prosecution of the war. Col. Biddle was elected. In the autumn there were three candidates for Register of Wills, City Treasurer, and City Commissioner, which secured the election of Democrats to these offices. As between the Democrats and the Peoples' party some of the contests were very close. Robert Ewing, Democrat, was elected Sheriff over John Thompson, Peoples', by 747 majority, and A. Lawrence, Democrat, succeeded in being elected Clerk of the Orphans' Court over W. C. Stevenson, Peoples', by only 49 majority. The Judges of the Common Pleas and District Courts, who were made elective in 1850, were chosen for the second time this year. The only successful Democrat was George Sharswood, who was re-elected President Judge of the District Court without opposition. Oswald Thompson, re-elected President Judge of the Common Pleas, had 2,616 majority over William B. Hieskell, Democrat, and for Associate Judge Joseph Allison, re-elected, had a majority over Furman Sheppard of 1,277. J. I. Clark Hare was re-elected Associate Justice of the District Court by 2,663 majority over James Otterson, Democrat, and George M. Stroud was re-elected over William O. Bateman by a majority of 2,525. C. M. Donovan, Democrat, was elected to the State Senate from the Third District by 1,230 majority over M. H. Dickinson, Peoples' candidate. An element in this election was the soldiers' vote. An Act had been passed to give the suffrage to the soldiers in the field, but contrary to expectation the vote was Democratic nearly two to one. It was this vote that elected Ewing

Sheriff and Lawrence Clerk of the Orphans' Court. Some of the returns were irregular, and it was alleged that they were fraudulent, but they were counted under protest by an order of the Court of Common Pleas. The contests were carried to the Supreme Court, which decided in June, 1862, that the law was unconstitutional. In consequence of this decision the cases of Sheriff Ewing and Clerk Lawrence were reopened, and the offices were finally given to the candidates of the Peoples' party. Under a subsequent enactment the soldiers were again accorded the right to vote. In 1864 Henry C. Howell, National Union, had a majority of 7,726 for Sheriff in the city, which was increased by the army vote to 8,946. The soldier vote elected C. M. Donovan, Democrat, to the State Senate in 1861 by an increase of 610 majority over his vote in the Third District, but in 1864, when he was a candidate for re-election, the army vote reduced his majority to 257. A great change had come in the politics of the city with three years of war, Lincoln's majority in 1864 being 9,508, and with the army vote 11,762.

The relations of parties in Philadelphia while the war was in progress were peculiar. The Democratic party, in spite of the division of 1860, showed remarkable vitality in 1861. In 1862 it was not only united but aggressive. While it professed to favor the vigorous prosecution of the war, its attitude toward President Lincoln's administration was one of open hostility. In August, 1862, the Democrats held a mass-meeting in Independence Square, at which they denounced secession and abolition doctrines as equally subversive of the Constitution, and arraigned the government for the suppression of the freedom of the press and the suspension of the *habeas corpus*. "The despotisms of the Old World," Charles Ingersoll said in his speech at this meeting, "can furnish no parallel to the corruptions of the administration of Abraham Lincoln." On the following day Mr. Ingersoll was arrested for uttering treasonable language. A writ of *habeas corpus* was obtained in the United States District Court, but the proceedings were brougnt to an end by Mr. Ingersoll's release by order of the Secretary of War. The next year, in June, another Democratic mass-meeting in Independence Square denounced the arrest of Clement N. Vallandingham, of Ohio, who was one of the most outspoken opponents of the war. The invective of the speakers at this meeting was very bitter. The Vallandingham episode was the occasion of much political excitement in Philadelphia, and even the conservative *Public Ledger* spoke of his exile as a "martyrdom." In 1863 the Democrats circulated a pamphlet upholding slavery, written by Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont, in 1861, as a campaign document. This insistence upon the preservation of slavery while the country was at war with the slave power, and the Democratic claim of 1864 that the war was a failure, gradually undermined the strength of the party and made it possible for the Republicans to achieve an almost unbroken series of triumphs ever afterward.

Although Abraham Lincoln was elected in 1860 and re-elected in 1864 as a Republican, the party in Philadelphia was slow in accepting the name. In 1861, as has been shown, two factions were in the field against a reunited Democracy. In 1862, when the Democrats nominated Daniel M. Fox for Mayor and a Republican convention named Amos Briggs, the National Union party put Mayor Henry in nomination for re-election without reference to the previous action of the Republicans. Judge Briggs refused to be a candidate, and the Republicans finally decided not to nominate a third ticket. The result was that Mayor Henry was re-elected by a majority of 5,088, receiving 37,249 votes to 32,161 for Mr. Fox. This was in reality a Republican victory. The Democrats carried the State by a small majority, but the National Union or Republican party elected all their candidates for Congress in the city, except in the First District, from which Samuel J. Randall was chosen.

The re-election of Judge Sharswood without opposition in 1861 bore excellent fruit in the re-election of many Philadelphia judges under similar circumstances in later years, so that the judiciary ever since the judges have been elected has been as nearly non-partizan as it is possible to make it. With the elections of 1862 began another Philadelphia method almost equally noteworthy—that of giving the Representatives in Congress from the city districts what is practically a life tenure. William D. Kelley, who was chosen for the second time in 1862, was re-elected continuously every two years until his death in 1890. Samuel J. Randall was also continuously re-elected until his demise, the same year that Judge Kelley died. Charles O'Neill, who had been beaten at the special election in 1861 by Colonel Biddle, was almost equally fortunate. He was elected from the Second District for the first time in 1862, and served continuously until 1871, when he was succeeded by John V. Creely, Republican. Mr. O'Neill was again elected in 1870, and served until his death in 1894. The other Congressmen elected in 1862 were Leonard Myers and Martin Russell Thayer. Mr. Myers was re-elected continuously until 1875, but Judge Thayer contented himself with only two terms. Alfred C. Harmer, who was elected for the first time in 1870, it still a Representative in Congress, although he has not served continuously. Henry H. Bingham was elected for the first time in 1880, and is still a Representative. This is a showing that cannot be matched by any city in the United States.

The Republicans of Philadelphia continued to call their party the Union party, even when the war for the Union was over, but after the elections of 1865 the name was dropped, or was used only by the so-called Conservative Republicans who supported the policy of President Johnson and opposed the Reconstruction measures of the Republican majority in Congress. This was the first division in the dominant party. Philadelphia was the centre of the agitation throughout the

summer and autumn of 1866. On the 14th of August occurred the famous "arm-in-arm" convention, which was intended to lay the foundations of a national party of Unionists-Conservative Republicans and Democrats and ex-Confederates. It took its name from the fact that ex-Governor James L. Orr, of South Carolina, and Gen. Darius N. Couch walked down the central aisle of the convention hall arm in arm on the first day of the gathering. The convention met in the Wigwam in Girard avenue, between Nineteenth and Twentieth streets,—a quaint building erected for the purpose,—and continued in session three days. Gen. John A. Dix, of New York was temporary and Senator James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, permanent chairman. This body excited much ill-feeling among the people of Philadelphia, and it was found necessary to take precautions against a riot that seemed to be impending. President Johnson afterward attempted to give vitality to the movement by a tour of the country, described in the slang of the period as "swinging around the circle." The President arrived in the city on the 28th of August, accompanied by Secretary of State Seward, General Grant, Admiral Farragut, and others, the ostensible purpose of the roundabout journey being a visit to Chicago to lay the corner-stone of a monument to Stephen A. Douglas. To counteract this movement the Republicans held a convention of Southern loyalists in National Hall in Market street on the 3d of September, while a Northern convention was held at the same time at the Union League House. The Southern convention was presided over by James Speed, of Kentucky, and that at the League House by Gov. Andrew G. Curtin. The result of these conventions was a spirited political campaign in the city and State, but the Johnson Republicans failed to make a dangerous breach in the Republican party, or to bring the Democrats into alliance with them. The Republicans nominated Gen. John W. Geary to succeed Pennsylvania's distinguished war Governor, and the Democrats named Hiester Clymer. In the city Gen. Joshua T. Owen was the Republican candidate for Recorder of Deeds, and James McManes, then only in the beginning of his career as a local political leader, for Prothonotary of the District Court. Geary had a majority of 7,178 in the State and Owen 1,329 in the city, with McManes only a few votes behind Owen. In 1867 the Philadelphia Democracy carried the city, electing their entire local ticket by an average majority of 4,000 votes, and in 1868 they again succeeded by reduced majorities, Daniel M. Fox being elected Mayor by 1,838 votes over Hector Tyndale, Republican. Fox had been beaten in 1865 by Morton McMichael by 5,869 votes. Fox was the last of the Democratic Mayors of Philadelphia, except Samuel G. King, 1881–4.

The Presidential campaign of 1868 revealed a new element in the political demonstrations in Philadelphia. The nomination of General Grant by the Republicans called out the "Boys in Blue" in great force. These veterans of the war, who were the forerunners of the Grand Army of the Republic, held a convention in National Hall on

the 1st of October, and in the evening a rousing reception was given to Generals Burnside, Sickles, Kilpatrick, and other distinguished commanders in Independence Square. The next evening there was a torchlight parade of soldiers and sailors, with Gen. Owen as Marshal, in which all the Republican clubs in the city participated. The object was to arouse Republican sentiment, in order to carry the State in October, and thus assure the selection of Grant electors in November. As Pennsylvania was then a doubtful State, the Democrats as a counter demonstration gave a reception to General McClellan on the 8th, which was a very imposing affair. A great procession, with Gen. William McCandless as Marshal, passed in review before General McClellan at the Continental Hotel, from the balcony of which he made a speech to the multitude. On the 30th of October Horatio Seymour, the Democratic candidate for President, was received at the Academy of Music, but the war spirit was still too strong in the hearts of the people to make Grant's defeat possible, and in a city which elected a Democratic Mayor in October the Republican electoral ticket had a majority of 5,815 in November.

The results of the October elections in the city were not accepted by the Republicans, who charged that gross frauds had been committed by the Democrats. Thomas Greenbank, who had been returned as elected a Judge of the District Court, was displaced in favor of M. Russell Thayer, and Furman Sheppard, whose election as District-Attorney was set aside in favor of Charles Gibbons, Republican, only succeeded in obtaining the office after a contest and a prolonged examination. In 1869 it was found that the political tide had set steadily in favor of the Republicans, and Governor Geary, who was a candidate for re-election, had a majority of 4,400 in the city over Asa Packer, the Democratic candidate, while the local Republican ticket was elected by equally decisive majorities. In 1870 William R. Leeds, the Republican candidate for Sheriff, had 6,907 majority, and in 1871 William S. Stokley was elected Mayor by 9,080 over James S. Biddle, the Democratic candidate. In these years rowdyism again became conspicuous in political campaigns—a condition that was generally attributed to the demoralization of the police under Mayor Fox. After the election of 1870 a party of roughs broke open the door of an apartment in which the judges of election returns were in session. During the affray Alexander Crawford, one of the judges, shot and fatally wounded John C. Nolan, a Democratic politician. An attempt was made to connect Colonel William B. Mann with this affair, and he was arrested, but a coroner's jury found that he had acted only in self-defence. In 1871 the election disturbances were even more serious. On the night before the election Jacob Gordon, a colored man, was killed at Eighth and Bainbridge streets. The next day there was a riot in the Fourth and Fifth Wards, directed against the negroes, whose recent enfranchisement had given offence to the class of white

citizens that had engaged in the negro riots before the war. During the rioting Isaiah Chase and Professor Octavius V. Catto, both colored, were shot down in the neighborhood of Eighth and South streets, and seventeen persons were wounded. Professor Catto was principal of the Institute for Colored Youth and was held in high esteem. His murder excited great indignation, and was denounced at a mass-meeting in National Hall, over which Henry C. Carey presided. The bitterness of feeling of which this murder was the occasion was cherished by the colored people for a number of years.

The Presidential campaign of 1872 began with the nomination of President Grant for a second term at the Academy of Music on the 6th of June. Vice-President Colfax was also a candidate for another term before the Republican National Convention, but Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, was nominated. There was a dissatisfied element in the Republican party at this time. A so-called Liberal Republican Convention at Cincinnati had already nominated Horace Greeley, of New York, for President, and B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, for Vice-President, and this ticket was afterward accepted by the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore. The cry of the campaign was "Anything to beat Grant," but in spite of the disaffection in the Republican party the movement proved a complete failure. Greeley's endorsement by the Democrats brought the party to the verge of ruin, and the Republican majorities were greater than they had ever been before. In Pennsylvania and Philadelphia Republican enthusiasm rose to the highest pitch it had ever reached. Gen. John F. Hartranft, the Republican candidate for Governor, was elected by a majority of 35,527 in the State over Charles R. Buckalew, the Democratic candidate, and in the city his majority was 20,419. In November the Greeley electoral ticket polled only 23,410 votes in Philadelphia to 68,856 for Grant. A Citizens' Municipal Reform Association was organized this year, and nominated a Citizens' Reform ticket, but it fared no better than the Liberal Republican movement, polling only about 3,000 votes, while Amos Briggs, Republican, for Judge of the District Court, had 15,904 majority over William Henry Drayton, the Democratic and Reform candidate.

The first municipal election in Philadelphia under the Constitution of 1873 was held February 17, 1874, when William S. Stokley was re-elected Mayor by a majority of 10,995 over Alexander K. McClure, who was an Independent candidate, and the first State election under the new Constitution was held November 3, 1874. Notwithstanding the Republican State ticket had a majority in the city of 13,000 votes, Furman Sheppard, Democrat, was elected District-Attorney over Col. William B. Mann by a majority of 1,467, and the Democrats also elected their candidate for Coroner. This was the beginning of the independent voting that has since been exemplified in the results of many elections. It happened, however, that Republican ascendancy

was not again seriously menaced until 1877. When Governor Hartranft was a candidate for re-election in 1875, he had a majority in the city of 17,282 over Cyrus L. Pershing, the Democratic candidate, and the majority of David H. Lane, Republican, for Recorder of Deeds, was 11,277. The majorities of 1876 vacillated between these figures, but the next year, when Mayor Stokley was a candidate for the third time, he had only 2,866 over Joseph L. Caven, Independent and Democrat. In the November elections Henry S. Hagert was elected District-Attorney by 2,010, and Robert E. Pattison, Controller, by 1,962 majority over the Republican candidates. These results were again the work of the independent voter. There was a Labor vote of nearly 5,000 this year. Mr. Hagert was the last Democratic District-Attorney, George S. Graham, the present incumbent, being elected his successor in 1880.

After the incomplete Democratic and Reform triumph of 1877 the Republican strength remained unbroken until 1880, when Controller Pattison was re-elected, and in 1881, when Mayor Stokley was again a candidate, he was beaten by Samuel G. King by a majority of 5,787. Stokley's defeat was brought about by a new and vigorous organization known as the Committee of One Hundred. This Committee was composed entirely of Republicans, nearly all of them business men, who had never taken an active part in politics. The project of forming the Committee of One Hundred was undertaken a few days after the Presidential election of 1880, and on the 3rd of December Philip C. Garrett, a retired merchant, was elected its chairman. The Committee adopted a rigid declaration of principles in the matter of reform to which its candidates were required to subscribe, and it then proceeded to nominate John Hunter for Receiver of Taxes, Joseph L. Caven for City Solicitor, and William S. Stokley for Mayor. Mayor Stokley declined to make the pledges required by the Committee, and became the regular Republican candidate, relying on the vigor and efficiency of his previous administrations. The Committee then named Mr. King to oppose Stokley, and he was also nominated by the Democrats. A vigorous campaign ensued, the result demonstrating that the Committee of One Hunnred had become an important factor in local politics. The causes of complaint at this time affected the management of the Gas Trust and the collection of taxes, but the principal incentive to opposition to the dominant party was the method of making nominations that then prevailed. While occupying no other official position than that of a Trustee of the Gas Works, James McManes had become the virtual leader of the Republican party, and it was against his ability to dictate the nominations for local offices and his power as a "boss" that the revolt was directed. That the effort would succeed was not expected by those to whom the interposition of the business man in politics was a menace. These business men were derided as novices, who had set for themselves a hopeless task, but they proved

more than a match for the trained politicians they had undertaken to combat. The defeat of Mayor Stokley showed the earnestness and energy with which the work of the Committee had been conducted, and its power was afterward exerted in municipal affairs with appreciable results for a number of years. The Committee of One Hundred was afterward replaced by the Municipal League of Philadelphia, which aims at carrying forward the work begun by its forerunners.

In 1882, when the Republicans of the State were divided, and Robert E. Pattison had a majority of more than 40,000 over Gen. James A. Beaver, the regular Republican candidate, the city gave Beaver a majority of 3,464 over Pattison, but the Committee of One Hundred secured the election of Michael Arnold as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas and of William E. Rex as Register of Wills by small majorities. For Sheriff the Committee succeeded in polling 14,880 votes for William J. Hofmann, in opposition to both of the regular party candidates. In 1884 the Committee attempted to secure the re-election of Mayor King, but failed, William B. Smith, the Republican candidate, receiving a majority of 9,112. In the Presidential election of that year James G. Blaine had a majority of more than 30,000 over Grover Cleveland in the city, and the average Republican majority for local candidates was about 20,000. Gen. Garfield's majority four years before was 20,883. In 1885 Matthew S. Quay, for State Treasurer, had a majority of only 6,237 in the city, while William E. Rowan's majority for Sheriff was nearly 12,000. The difference indicates to some extent the waning power of the independent vote. The Philadelphia majority for Gen. James A. Beaver for Governor, in 1886, was 25,795 over Chauncey F. Black, and in 1890, when there was another Republican revolt, and Robert E. Pattison carried the State for the second time for Governor, the city gave George W. Delemater, the Republican candidate, a plurality of 20,888. In recent years the Republican candidates have been almost uniformly successful, but in 1896 Alexander Crow was elected Sheriff over the "Combine" candidate, although the majority for the McKinley electoral ticket was the greatest that was ever given for the Republican party in Philadelphia. This result was due to dissensions between Senator Quay, as the leader of the party in the State, and David Martin, who had succeeded McManes as the local leader, over the nomination of Charles F. Warwick for Mayor in 1895. The breach that then occurred is still an open one, and so is not a proper subject for a historical review of Republican ascendancy in Philadelphia.

LITERARY PHILADELPHIA.

I.

PHILADELPHIA AUTHORS AND THEIR WORKS.

THE early Philadelphia authors and their works have an interest for the curious gatherers of unconsidered and long-forgotten trifles, rather than for scholars and critics. Their books, whether in prose or verse, are not literature, and deserve to be treated only as bibliography. The making of books, or more properly pamphlets, in Pennsylvania began almost with the introduction of printing. To George Keith, the Quaker schismatic, is to be accorded the distinction of being the first Philadelphia author, unless Daniel Leeds is given that honor for his almanac, printed by William Bradford in 1686. Besides his controversial pamphlets, for the printing of which Bradford was prosecuted and had his types seized, Keith was the author of "Travels from New Hampshire to Caratuck," London, 1706. In this connection Thomas Makin, who was chief of the ushers in the Friends' public school when Keith was at its head, and who became Keith's successor, is deserving of a word. Makin published nothing during his lifetime, but after his death two Latin poems in praise of Pennsylvania, "Enconium Pennsylvaniæ" and "In Laudes Pennsylvaniæ," were found among the papers of James Logan. These poems were written when Makin was an old man. As a poetical panegyrist of Pennsylvania he was anticipated by Richard Frame, whose poem "A Short Description of Pennsylvania," was printed by Bradford in 1692. Four years later, in 1696, John Holme wrote "A True Relation of the Flourishing State of Pennsylvania," but this is not known to have been published until 1847. Nothing whatever is known of Frame, but the existence of his little book with the Bradford imprint seems sufficient to entitle him to rank as the earliest of the Philadelphia poets. Holme was a planter in Barbadoes, and after he took up his residence in Philadelphia he was the owner of a library, a luxury that few Philadelphians enjoyed at the close of the seventeenth century. The next of the poets in chronological sequence was William Rakestraw, who got into trouble at the time of the disputes between James Logan and the Assembly, 1707, in consequence of "several scurrilous libels and rhymes against the proprietary and his secretary." The earliest of the Philadelphia versifiers

entitled to rank as a poet was Aquila Rose. He was a journeyman printer, and was employed in the printing office of Andrew Bradford at the time of his death in 1723. Although Rose was recognized as "a tolerable poet" in his lifetime, to use Franklin's phrase, it was not until 1740 that a few of his poems were collected and printed in a meagre volume by his son, Joseph Rose. Samuel Keimer, emulating the example of Rose, also aspired to be a poet printer, but his only claim to this distinction is the fact that he was in the habit of putting his verses in type, without taking the trouble of committing them to paper.

The earliest of the prose writers after Keith was Edward Penington, who wrote a number of pamphlets on the Keith controversy in 1695–6. Dr. John Penington, of the same family, was a contributor to the *Columbian Magazine* in 1790. Jonathan Dickinson, an English Quaker, who became a member of the Provincial Council in 1712, was shipwrecked off the coast of Florida, and published an account of his perils and sufferings, which is described as a very pathetic narrative. When Benjamin Franklin first went to Philadelphia in 1723, he found there a little band of literary enthusiasts whose names are still remembered, even if their effusions are never read. Among these was James Ralph, who accompanied Franklin to England, and was immortalized by Pope in two lines of the "Dunciad." Whether Ralph was born in Philadelphia is uncertain, but when Franklin found him there he was inclined to "give himself up to poetry," and so is generally included among the Philadelphia poets, although his poems and plays, such as they were, were all published in England. It was not until after Franklin's return that the "Junto" was formed, with George Webb and Joseph Brientnall among its members. Webb was an Englishman, who ran away from the university at Oxford to become a player, and was finally compelled to take passage for Philadelphia as a redemptioner. In 1731 Webb perpetrated a poem, called "Bachelor's Hall," to which Brientnall, who was a copyist for a scrivener, contributed some prefatory verses. Brientnall was a contributor to Bradford's *Mercury*. Another Philadelphia poet of this period was Jacob Taylor, a printer, who published a poem called "Pennsylvania," and the "Story of Whackum," a satire. Franklin also wrote verses, but his claims to be considered an author rest on much higher grounds than his rhymes would have afforded him. Franklin's "Autobiography," considered as a literary production, stands above all the efforts of all his contemporaries in Philadelphia. Indeed, it is the only American work of the eighteenth century that is entitled to rank as literature.

The literary activity of Philadelphia between 1731 and 1751 was mostly confined to the newspapers, but in the latter year John Bartram, the eminent botanist, published his "Observations," made in a journey from Pennsylvania to Lake Ontario. Fifteen years later he published his journal of a similar journey in East Florida. His

researches gave him a great reputation among the scientific men of Europe. His son, William, gave to the world the results of similar studies in the Southern States in 1791. As the printers had been the exponents of what may be called the first epoch of Philadelphia literature, so the schoolmasters represented the literary activity of the second epoch. John Beveridge, who came from Scotland to Philadelphia by way of New England, and became a teacher in the Academy in 1758, where he was sometimes the victim of the pranks of the larger boys, was a versifier in Latin, and in 1765 published his "Familiar Epistles and Miscellaneous Pieces." He was esteemed the best writer of Latin verse in the Province. Contemporary with Beveridge was another schoolmaster, David James Dove. Dove was not at all dove-like in disposition, and his rhymes were often bitterly satirical. The most noted of his pieces was "Washing a Black-a-Moore White," a personal and political satire directed against William Moore, of Moore Hall, on the occasion of his arrest by the Assembly. But the most conspicuous figure in the literary society of Philadelphia at this period was the Rev. Dr. William Smith, who became the Provost of the Academy in 1754. His pre-eminence was not so much in the superior quality of his own productions, as in his encouragement of the efforts of others. It was Dr. Smith's sympathy and assistance that saved Thomas Godfrey, the younger, from the drudgery of a disagreeable apprenticeship, and helped him to become the first American dramatist and the poet of his epoch best entitled to remembrance. The impetus Dr. Smith gave to the intellectual development of his pupils was afterward exemplified in the pulpit oratory of the Rev. Jacob Duchè, and the graceful versification of Francis Hopkinson. It was also exemplified in the literary accomplishments of his own descendants through three generations. Godfrey's tragedy, the "Prince of Parthia," was written when he was only twenty-one years old, but it was not played until after his death, and then only once. In 1767 young Godfrey's poems were collected, and together with his tragedy, printed in a volume, for which Dr. Smith wrote an appreciative analysis. The collection was made by the Rev. Nathaniel Evans, who contributed to it a memoir of Godfrey. Evans was also one of Dr. Smith's pupils at the Philadelphia Academy, and as a poet he was only inferior to young Godfrey. His poems were collected and printed in 1772 by Miss Elizabeth Græme, better known as Mrs. Ferguson. Many of the best pieces in the volume were addressed to *Laura*, which was the literary pseudonym of Miss Græme. Her epistles in reply to *Damon* are included in the collection. In the Philadelphia Library is the MS. of her translation of Fenelon's *Telemaque* in English blank verse, but it has never been published. Mrs. Ferguson was a daughter of Dr. Thomas Græme, an eminent physician, and granddaughter of Sir William Keith. Francis Hopkinson, the most famous of Dr. Smith's pupils, is best known as the author of "The Battle of the Kegs." His writings, in three vol-

umes, were published by Dobson in 1792. A collection of Dr. Smith's "Works" was made by Bishop White and published in 1803.

A species of literature in which Philadelphia was peculiarly prolific were the published journals and memoirs of public Friends. Only one or two of these need be cited here, because they are nearly all devoid of literary charm or historical value. An exception is the "Journal" of John Woolman. In spite of the labored phraseology, that makes Quaker narratives such hard reading, it is the best account extant of the journeys and experiences of a Quaker itinerant in the later colonial era. Woolman published a number of tracts and treatises besides his "Journal." A less noteworthy diarist among the Friends at the same period was John Griffith, whose "Journal" was published in London in 1779. There were few writers of verse among the Friends, but Hannah Griffiths, a granddaughter of Isaac Norris, the elder, wrote some religious pieces that were highly esteemed by her contemporaries.

The approach of the Revolution brought forward a succession of political writers in Philadelphia unsurpassed by any of their contemporaries, either in American or England, with the exception of the author of "Junius." First among these was John Dickinson, whose "Farmer's Letters" was the most logical and dispassionate statement of the reason for the opposition of the colonies to the Stamp Act of which the crisis was productive. Mr. Dickinson's political writings were collected and published in two volumes in 1801. The only Philadelphia loyalist able to meet Dickinson in political controversy was Joseph Galloway, and Galloway is better remembered for his arraignment of Sir William Howe than for his attempts at refuting Dickinson. In this connection Thomas Paine may be set down as a Philadelphia author, for his "Crisis" and "Common Sense" were Philadelphia productions. Similar claims might also be made for Philip Freneau and Hugh H. Brackenridge, two of the poets of the Revolution, as Philadelphians, but to Hopkinson that distinction more indisputably belongs.

Notwithstanding the literary activity of the colonial and Revolutionary periods, it can scarcely be gainsaid that the literature of Philadelphia begins with Charles Brockden Brown, the novelist. Brown was the first Philadelphian to make authorship a profession, and to devote himself to writing works of fiction. His first novel, "Wieland," was published in 1798, and the others—"Arthur Mervyn," "Ormond," "Edgar Huntly," "Clara Howard" and "Jane Talbot"—followed in rapid succession. Besides these works of the imagination, he produced a great deal of "copy" for the periodicals of which he was the editor, wearing himself out by his literary labors, and dying at the early age of 40. Of Brown's novels "Ormond" is the best, but "Wieland" the most characteristic. The best known of his works is "Arthur Mervyn," probably because it gives a graphic but overdrawn

picture of the ravages of the yellow fever in Philadelphia. Some of his novels show traces of the romantic school of Mrs. Radcliff, but Godwin, the Sir Hildebrand Horrible of English fiction, must be conceded to have been his master. His plots are crude and deficient in method; his imagination is narrow in range, but remarkable for intensity; his incidents are often improbable and wrought out by obscure agencies, as somnambulism, spontaneous combustion and ventriloquism, but even when most incredible they are not without their parallels in human experience. A voluminous writer, and one who will always be remembered by the students of literary history, Brown was never popular as a novelist, and at one time he was so completely overlooked that he seemed destined to be forgotten. In more recent years there has been a revival of interest in his work and some acknowledgment of his merit. An English writer has asserted that he was the progenitor of Poe, Hawthorne, Holmes and Winthrop, but the assumption may be dismissed as entirely without foundation. Brown's place is distinctively that of the first American novelist, and as such, rather than as the founder of a school, he will always be a conspicuous figure in American literature. Brown as a writer of fiction had no contemporary in Philadelphia, for, while Mrs. Rowson wrote her "Trials of a Heart," as well as her play, "Slaves in Algiers," while she was engaged as an actress at the Chestnut Street Theatre, her stay was only temporary, and although Hugh H. Brackenridge, the author of "Modern Chivalry," had been a Philadelphian, he was a resident of Western Pennsylvania for many years before he attempted to depict American politics in the form of a novel.

Although Philadelphia had only one novelist at the close of the last century, it was not deficient in meritorious writers of prose. Among these Dr. Benjamin Rush was conspicuous for his essays on scientific, political and literary subjects, and his contributions to the *American Museum* and the *Columbian Magazine*. His biographies of Anthony Benezet and Christopher Ludwick are admirable specimens of this species of narrative. Another writer who may be claimed as a Philadelphian, although his "Memoirs of a Life Chiefly Passed in Pennsylvania" was written on his farm in Dauphin county, was Alexander Graydon. His book is essentially a Philadelphia book, and Graydon was afterward a frequent contributor to the *Port Folio*. The other writers of the epoch included Tench Coxe on commerce and manufactures, Jacob Rush on religious subjects, and James Wilson, whose lectures on law and "Commentaries on the United States Constitution" are attracting renewed attention. The only historian belonging to the closing years of the eighteenth century was Robert Proud, whose "History of Pennsylvania" was published in two volumes in 1797–8. It is a very dull work, now valued chiefly on account of its scarcity, but it must be regarded as an important contribution to the early history of the city and province.

The most noteworthy of the Philadelphia poets after the Revolution was William Clifton, who died in 1799, at the early age of 27. Clifton's poems were collected by John Ward Fenno and published in 1800. They are for the most part political in theme and satirical in character. The earliest and the longest of these productions was called "The Group." It was written in 1793, when the championship of the French Revolution showed itself in violent opposition to the measures of Washington's administration. John Stripe, a schoolmaster, Solon Verges, carpenter, Nat Futtock, a shipwright, Gobbo Finis, a coffin-maker, and other mechanics and tradesmen were represented as meeting for the discussion of political questions beyond their reach, and mercilessly lashed by the keen satire and polished verse of the young poet. Some of the characters in "The Group" pointed unmistakably to certain commissioners of the district of Southwark, who were so incensed at the publication that, being unable to discover the author, they prosecuted Stephens, the publisher, for libel. Clifton afterward wrote "A Rhapsody on the Times" in Hudibrastic measure, and left incomplete at the time of his death another political satire, called "The Chimeriad." At the suggestion of Cobbett he also wrote "An Epistle to Gifford," to be prefixed to the American edition of the "Baviad and Mæviad." Peter Markoe was another Philadelphia poet of the post-Revolutionary period, but he preceded Clifton by a few years. He was a son of Abraham Markoe, the first captain of the Light Horse, now the First City Troop. Markoe published a volume of miscellaneous poems in 1787; "The Times," a poem, in 1788; and "The Patriot Chief," a tragedy, and "Reconciliation," an opera. He died in 1792. Joseph Hopkinson is entitled to rank as a Philadelphia poet, although he is known only as the author of one song, "Hail Columbia." Another poet of the period was John E. Harwood, one of the original members of the company of comedians engaged by Wignell for the New Theatre in 1793. Harwood married a daughter of Hartman Bache and granddaughter of Benjamin Franklin. His fugitive verses were collected and published in a volume in 1809, the year of his death. Alexander Wilson, the celebrated ornithologist, is also entitled to be classified as a Philadelphia poet, and so, too, is John Blair Linn, the friend and brother in-law of Charles Brockden Brown. Wilson was a schoolmaster, but the offer of an engagement to edit Rees' "Cyclopædia" enabled him to escape from the drudgery of teaching and to interest Bradford, the publisher, in his "Ornithology." Wilson's longer poems are "The Solitary Tutor," printed in the *Literary Magazine;* "The Foresters," originally published in the *Port Folio;* and "The Pilgrim," written in 1810. The last two are poetical descriptions of his journeys while pursuing his studies of American birds. The "American Ornithology" is a monumental work in nine volumes that was not finished at the time of his death. The last volume was prepared by George Ord. Linn was a clergyman, the greater

part of his ministerial life being spent in Philadelphia. His principal poems are "The Powers of Genius" and "Valerian." Neither of these works displays the powers of genius in an eminent degree. Mr. Linn also wrote a play called "Bourville Castle," which was produced in New York. Other Philadelphia poets at the beginning of the century were Harriet Fenno, a daughter of John Ward Fenno; Charles J. Ingersoll, whose tragedy, "Edwy and Elgiva," was played at the Chestnut Street Theatre, and whose poem, "Chiomara," was printed in the *Port Folio;* John Lawson, author of "The Maniac and Other Poems," whose identity has not been established; and Joseph Hutton, the playwright, who published a volume entitled "Leisure Hours, or Poetic Effusions" in 1812.

Nearly all of the noteworthy Philadelphia families have been literary. Among these the Ingersolls were specially conspicuous. Charles J. Ingersoll wrote his first poem and his first play when he was a young man of 20. His literary activity continued even when he was an old man. He was the author of many pamphlets, discourses and orations; a frequent contributor to the newspapers and magazines; wrote a volume on American literature and politics called "Inchiquin the Jesuit's Letters" in 1810; "Julian," a tragedy in 1838; a "History of the War of 1812–15" in four volumes, 1845–52; and at the time of his death, in 1862, he was engaged on a "History of the Territorial Acquisitions of the United States." His brother, Joseph R. Ingersoll, published a number of addresses and speeches, and translated the treatise of Roccus, "De Navibus et Nauto;" and another brother, Edward, was the author of a series of poems called "Horace in Philadelphia," published in the *Port Folio.* The Biddles, who turned their attention to authorship, were not so voluminous as Charles J. Ingersoll, but at least one of them, Nicholas Biddle, the President of the Bank of the United States, against which President Jackson turned all the power of the Federal government, would have been distinguished in literature if his business career had not overshadowed his literary work. He was at one time the editor of the *Port Folio,* and contributed many articles to its pages. He compiled the narrative of Lewis' and Clarke's expedition to the Pacific, and was the author of many essays and speeches. Among his productions in verse his "Ode to Bogle" is, perhaps, the most graceful and characteristic. His brother, Richard Biddle, who removed to Pittsburg, where he became an eminent lawyer, was the author of a "Life of Sebastian Cabot," that is still quoted with respect by the students of American exploration and discovery. Charles Biddle, the father of Nicholas and Richard, was the author of a well-written autobiography, edited by Judge Craig Biddle, and privately printed in 1883. Col. Charles J. Biddle, a son of Nicholas, was at one time editor of the *Age* newspaper, and wrote a monograph on Major Andrè, published in the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Owen Biddle, the

second of the name, was the author of "A System of Architecture," published in 1805. Col. Clement Biddle, of Revolutionary memory, compiled and published the Philadelphia Directory of 1791, a work that ought to entitle him to rank as an author, and his son, Col. Clement C. Biddle, edited the American edition of Say's "Political Economy." Dr. John Barclay Biddle published "Therapeutics and Materia Medica." Among the most important contributions of George W. Biddle to the literature of the law are his addresses before the Law Academy—"Lien of Debts of a Decedent," 1854, and "Contributions Among Terre-Tenants," 1863. Besides these, Henry D. Biddle compiled a genealogy of the family of Owen Biddle. The Shippen family was not distinctively literary, but Joseph Shippen occasionally wrote society verse, and Dr. Edward Shippen, U. S. N., has written on many subjects, including a historical account of the Naval Asylum. Dr. Benjamin Rush has already been mentioned in this chapter as a Philadelphia author. His sons, Richard and James, were also writers of distinction. Richard Rush published an edition of "Laws of the United States" as early as 1815, and "Washington in Private Life" in 1857. His "Memoranda of a Residence at the Court of St. James," 1833, is a faithful and animated contemporary picture of the English Court and Parliament. Dr. James Rush, the founder of the Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library, was author of "The Philosophy of the Human Voice," long recognized as one of the most philosophical works on the subject ever written. He also published "Hamlet, a Dramatic Prelude," 1834; "Analysis of the Human Intellect," 1865, and "Rhymes of Contrast," 1869. A distinctively literary family, as already indicated, were the descendants of the Rev. Dr. William Smith. His eldest son, William Moore Smith, published a volume of poems in 1786, which was reprinted in London the same year. Two of Dr. Smith's grandsons, William Rudolph and Richard Penn, sons of William Moore Smith, were authors, the former writing a "History of Wisconsin," of which he was one of the pioneer settlers, and the latter becoming a very voluminous writer for the press and the stage. In 1831 Richard Penn Smith published a novel of the Revolution called "The Forsaken," the scene of which was laid in and around Philadelphia. The "Actress of Padua, and Other Tales" and a "Life of David Crockett" appeared in 1836. Mr. Smith's plays included two tragedies, "Caius Marius" and the "Venetian." The former was written for Edwin Forrest, and was produced at the Arch Street Theatre in 1831. Within three years, 1828–31, seven of his pieces had been produced in Philadelphia—"Quite Correct," "Eighth of January," "Disowned," "William Penn," "Triumph at Plattsburg," "Deformed," and "Water Witch." Besides these, he wrote "A Wife at a Venture," "Sentinels," "Is She a Brigand," "My Uncle's Wedding," "The Daughter" and "Actress of Padua." In 1856 some of his fugitive poems and tales were collected and published in one volume by his

son, Horace Wemyss Smith. Horace W. Smith wrote "Nuts for Future Historians to Crack," and edited the "Yorktown Orderly Book," 1856; compiled the "Life and Letters of the Rev. William Smith," 2 vols., 1880, and was author of a "History of the Germantown Academy," 1882. He was also a frequent contributor to the press. Among the Philadelphia families that have contributed to the literature of the city are to be included such noteworthy names as Logan, Sower, Carey, Bache, Dallas, Duane, Waln, Rawle, Bradford, Hazard, Wistar, Wister and Wharton.

James Logan was more celebrated for his scholastic attainments than for his contributions to literature, but no sketch of the books and authors of Philadelphia would be complete without the titles of his "Experimenta et Maletemata de Plautarum Generatione," a Latin essay, printed at Leyden in 1739, and republished in London, with an English translation by Dr. Fothergill, in 1747; "Epistola ad Virum Clarissimum Joannem Abertum Fabricius," published at Amsterdam in 1740; and "Demonstrationes de Radiorum Lucis in Superficias sphericas ab Axe incidentium a primaria Foco Aberrationibus," printed at Leyden in 1741. He, also, made translations of Cicero's "De Senectute," and Cato's "Distichs," in English verse, and left behind him a number of essays and dissertations in MS.; but his real claim to rank among the literary worthies of Philadelphia will rest upon his letters published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, as the "Penn-Logan Correspondence." His sons inherited none of the literary tastes of their father, but his grandson, Dr. George Logan, published "Experiments on Gypsum, and on the Rotation of Crops," in 1797. Dr. Logan, although an active politician, was the most scientific farmer of his time in Pennsylvania. More noteworthy in the literature of Philadelphia than any of the Logan name, was Mrs. Deborah Logan, born Norris. Her recollections and memoirs, of which only fragments have been printed, have a charm peculiar to an accomplished and observant woman who had seen much of the world. To her industry and her reverence for the character of James Logan was due the preservation of the priceless papers of which Stenton was the store-house.

Christopher Sauer, now written Sower, the printer of Germantown, was a publisher and editor rather than an author, but he was so intimately connected with the literary activity of the early German settlers, that he may be considered the father of German literature in Pennsylvania. His son, of the same name, followed in his footsteps. The elder, Christopher, began the publication of a magazine, a religious quarterly, as early as 1746. The business that he founded is now the Christopher Sower Publishing Company. Matthew Carey, like Sauer, was also a printer and publisher, but he was besides an industrious compiler, and left his name on the title-pages of numerous essays and pamphlets.

Matthew Carey was a native of Ireland, but he was a conspicuous

citizen of Philadelphia from 1783, the year of his arrival, until his death in 1839. He was the founder of the *Pennsylvania Herald*, one of the founders of the *Columbian Magazine*, and the publisher of the *American Museum*. In 1798 he closed a long controversy with William Cobbett, with "The Porcupiniad, a Hudibrastic Poem." The most noteworthy of his pamphlets were a "History of the Yellow Fever of 1793," and "Essays on the Benevolent Charities of Philadelphia." A collection of his writings appeared in 1830, with the title of "Miscellaneous Essays." In 1810 he published "Essays and Reflections on the United States Bank," and in 1814 appeared "The Olive Branch; or, Faults on Both Sides." The latter was an appeal to the good sense of the two political parties. The "New Olive Branch," an argument in favor of protection to American industries, was published in 1820, and in 1822 "Essays on Political Economy." These works were the first important contributions to the discussion of economic questions in America, and paved the way for the exhaustive treatises of Henry C. Carey, who succeeded to his father's extensive publishing business in 1821.

When Henry C. Carey published his first essay on political economy, "The Rate of Wages," in 1836, he made it clear that a new writer of extraordinary force and vigor had appeared in the almost unexplored domains of economic science. When he expanded this essay into "The Principles of Political Economy," 3 vols., 1837–40, he put himself at the head of a new school of economic thinkers. Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," quickly followed by the French Revolution, and the growth of discontent with existing conditions, everywhere had laid the foundations for two opposing theories of economic science, one represented by Godwin's "Political Justice," and the other by Malthus "On Population." The former was a protest against the defects and failures of the existing social organization, and was denounced as Democratic and Revolutionary. The latter was a plea for the governing classes, the suffering masses being told that their miseries were due to their pernicious folly in begetting children. Ricardo attempted to explain the organic law of Malthusianism by his theory of Rent, but Carey swept aside this "philosophy of despair, resting upon an arithmetic of ruin," and by substituting for the "dismal science" of Malthus and Ricardo, the new doctrine of the Measure of Value, and the grand law of distribution. Scarcely had Mr. Carey startled the political economists by his "Essay on the Rate of Wages," when they were distracted still further by the light he shed on the question of currency in his "Credit System in France, Great Britain, and the United States," 1838, and "Answers to the Questions, What Constitutes Currency? What are the Causes of its Unsteadiness? And What is the Remedy?" 1840. He, also, contributed copiously to *The Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil*. Many of these articles were reprinted in a volume, "The Harmony of Interests, Agricultural, Manufacturing, and Commercial," and in a pamphlet, "The Prospect, Agri-

cultural, Manufacturing, Commercial, and Financial," in 1851. In 1853 he published "The Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign; why it exists, and how it may be extinguished," and "Letters on International Copyright." In addition to the voluminous contributions to economic literature, Mr. Carey published "Principles of Social Science," and a number of letters, essays, and pamphlets. His works are the foundation of the American school of Political Economy, of which the Republican party became the exponent after the Civil War. Henry C. Carey died in 1879, aged 85 years.

The Bache family inherited the scientific tastes and literary activity of their great ancestor, Benjamin Franklin. Franklin's daughter, Sarah Franklin Bache, without intending it, left a literary memorial in "Letters to Benjamin Franklin, from his Family and Friends," of which her's are the most frequently quoted. Her eldest son, Benjamin Franklin Bache, was the editor of the *Aurora*, William was a physician, and wrote an "Inaugural Dissertation on Carbonic Acid Gas," 1794, and Richard, who was also a journalist and edited the *Franklin Gazette*, published a "Manual of a Pennsylvania Justice of the Peace," 1810–14, and "The Case of Alien Enemies Considered and Decided," 1813. William Bache, the second, wrote a little volume on the early history of Bristol. Dr. Franklin, the eldest son of Benjamin Franklin Bache, was a voluminous writer on medical subjects, and the learned editor of a number of scientific treatises. In conjunction with Dr. George B. Wood, he prepared "The Dispensatory of the United States," the first edition of which appeared in 1833, and he also published his "Introductory Lectures on Chemistry," and assisted in the three decennial revisions of the "United States Pharmacopœia," beginning with 1830. One of Dr. Bache's sons, Dr. Thomas Hewson Bache, has been a frequent contributor to medical literature. Richard Bache, a brother of Dr. Franklin Bache, wrote "Notes on Columbia, South America, 1822–3," published in 1827. Richard Meade Bache, son of Brigadier-General Hartman Bache, and grandson of Benjamin Franklin Bache, published "Vulgarisms and Other Errors of Speech," "American Wonderland," and "Under the Palmetto in Peace and War." But the most distinguished author and Scientist of the name was Alexander Dallas Bache, the first President of Girard College, and for many years at the head of the United States Coast Survey. Among other honors he was the recipient of a gold medal from the king of Sweden, 1855, as "a mark of satisfaction afforded by the Coast Survey Charts"; of the Danish Cross of Danneburg, 1856, for "services in the general field of science"; of the Victoria Gold Medal from the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain, 1858, for "successful labors in carrying out the great coast survey of the United States"; and of a gold medal from the King of Sardinia, 1859, for "scientific merit as exemplified in the publications of the Coast Survey." Besides the Annual Reports of the U. S. Coast Survey, published under his supervision, he con-

tributed thirty-five papers to the Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1849–58; nineteen papers to the Journal of the Franklin Institute, 1831–42; six papers in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 1834–40; the Annual Reports on Weights and Measures, 1844–56, and a number of papers to scientific journals. He visited Europe to examine the sysytems of instruction there, the results of which he embodied in one large volume, 1839, and he was also the author of "Observations at the Magnetic and Meteorological Observatory, Girard College," 1840–45, in 3 vols., 1847. Alexander Dallas Bache was a descendant of Richard Bache, Jr., the son of Richard and Sarah Franklin Bache.

Alexander James Dallas was a lawyer rather than an author, but he was a graceful writer for the magazines and public journals and was for some time editor of the *Columbian Magazine*. He edited the "Laws of Pennsylvania" from 1700 down to the close of the eighteenth century, and "Dallas' Reports," 4 vols., 1790–1807, of which Lord Mansfield said, "they do credit to the Court, the Bar and the Reporter," were, with the exception of Kirby's, the earliest "Reports" in the United States. He published "Features of Jay's Treaty," 1795; "Speeches on the Trial of Blount and the Impeachment of the Judges;" "Address to the Society of Constitutional Republicans," 1805, a political paper of great ability; and an "Exposition of the Causes and Character of the Late War," 1815. He left among his papers some unfinished sketches of a "History of Pennsylvania" that have not been published. Mr. Dallas was born in Jamaica and was a son of Robert Charles Dallas, the friend and connexion of Lord Byron. His son, George Mifflin Dallas, Vice-President of the United States, 1845–9, was the author of a long list of orations, addresses and speeches, covering a period of more than forty years, 1811–53. Among his addresses were eulogies on Jefferson, Jackson and Polk. His "Letters from London" during his residence at the Court of St. James, were collected by his daughter Julia, and his "Diary," kept when he was Minister to Russia, was edited and published by Miss Susan Dallas.

Like Benjamin Franklin Bache, with whom he was associated on the *Aurora*, and whose widow he married, William Duane was better known as an editor than an author, but he prepared "A Military Dictionary," 1810, "A Handbook for Riflemen," 1813, and after his retirement from journalism, he wrote "A Visit to Columbia, 1822–3," which appeared in 1826. Besides these he wrote the "Mississippi Question," 1803, and "An Epitome of the Arts and Sciences," 1811. His son, by his first marriage, William J. Duane, an able lawyer, wrote a popular treatise on the Law of Nations, 1809; "Letters to the People of Pennsylvania on Internal Improvements," 1811; and a narrative of his refusal to remove the public deposits from the United States Bank, when he was Secretary of the Treasury under President Jackson. He married Deborah Bache, a sister of Benjamin

Franklin Bache. His eldest son, William, was educated for the bar, but he inherited the Franklin taste for investigation and gave much of his time to historical research. He edited the "Remembrancer" of Christopher Marshall, and published a curious pamphlet on surnames. He compiled "A Treatise on the Law of Landlord and Tenant in Pennsylvania," 1844, and "The Law of Roads and Highways," 1848. Mr. Duane was for twenty years a contributor to *Notes and Queries*. His grandson, Russell Duane, was appointed junior counsel in the Behring Sea case, by Secretary Blaine, in consequence of his graduation oration on "The Case of the Sayward," at the University Law School in 1891.

Robert Waln, the elder, who descended from Nicholas Waln, the founder of this old Quaker family in Pennsylvania, wrote "Seven Letters to Elias Hicks," in 1824, that had an important effect in staying the most extended schism that ever occurred in the Society of Friends. His son, Robert, unlike the other members of the Waln family, never engaged in business, except once when failing health induced him to make a voyage to China as supercargo, but devoted himself to literature. In 1819 he published "The Hermit in America on a Visit to Philadelphia," in imitation of a popular English work, "The Hermit in London," and in 1820 "American Bards," a satire in verse modeled on Byron's "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers." In the latter a number of forgotten poets were subjected to the lash. Waln quickly followed "American Bards" with a second volume in verse, "Sisyphi Opus, or Touches at the Times," and in 1821 he wrote and published "The Hermit in Philadelphia," a continuation of his previous work. He also published a "History of China," and a "Life of La Fayette," and wrote some of the sketches in Sanderson's "Lives of the Signers." Mr. Waln died in 1824 in the midst of his literary labors, when only 27 years of age.

The first donor of books to the Philadelphia Library was William Rawle, who presented it with a set of the Works of Edmund Spenser in six volumes in 1733. Another, and younger, William Rawle, the eminent Philadelphia lawyer, published a "View of the Constitution of the United States" in 1824, and a number of addresses.

None of the noteworthy Philadelphia families did more to promote the literature of the city than the descendants of William Bradford, the first printer in the Middle Colonies. William Bradford's son, Andrew, began the publication of the first newspaper in Philadelphia, the *American Mercury*, in 1719, and the first magazine, *The American Magazine*, in 1740. Andrew's nephew, William Bradford, a grandson of the first William, also established a newspaper, and began the publication of the second *American Magazine*, in 1757. Col. William Bradford's son, Thomas, continued the publication of the *Pennsylvania Journal*, the weekly newspaper established by his father, until 1797, when it gave place to the *True American*, a daily paper. Col. Bradford's second son, William, was Attorney-General in Washington's

cabinet. He published an "Enquiry how far the Punishment of Death is Necessary in Pennsylvania," in 1795, and was a contributor to the magazines. Samuel F. Bradford, a son of Thomas, was the senior member of the firm of Bradford & Inskeep, who published the *Mirror of Taste*, and were at one time publishers of the *Port Folio*. Although not eminent as authors the Bradfords were so closely connected as publishers with the literary activity of Philadelphia that the family is entitled to mention.

An industrious collector of the materials for history was Ebenezer Hazard, whose "Historical Collections" was published in two volumes in 1792–4. He also wrote "Remarks on a Report on the Western Indians," printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society. His son, Samuel Hazard, at one time librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, published "The Register of Pennsylvania," 16 vols., 1828–36; "The United States Statistical and Commercial Register," 6 vols., 1839–42; and "Annals of Pennsylvania," in one volume. He also compiled the "Colonial Records," and the first series of the "Pennsylvania Archives." Willis P. Hazard edited Watson's "Annals," to which he contributed many revisions and additions.

Both the Wistar, or Wister, and the Wharton families have exhibited the literary gift in many directions. Dr. Casper Wistar was a very learned man and an accomplished lecturer on anatomy. As an author he left little behind him, such papers as he published being buried in the Transactions of the College of Physicians and the American Philosophical Society. Miss Sally Wister's "Diary," printed in the Historical Society's *Pennsylvania Magazine*, is oftener quoted than anything so far published relating to the campaign around Philadelphia in 1777. Owen Wister is one of the most graceful writers of short stories of the last decade of this century. The Wharton family was late in developing the literary instinct, but during the last half century has been distinguished for contributions to the literature of the law, medicine, and economic science. Thomas I. Wharton wrote a "Memoir of William Rawle," and published many biographical sketches of eminent Philadelphians and a number of historical discourses and addresses. As a young man he was a contributor to the *Port Folio* and was associate editor of the *Analectic Magazine*. He prepared a "Digest of Reported Cases in Pennsylvania," generally known as "Wharton's Digest," and six volumes of "Supreme Court Reports," 1839–41. His son, Francis Wharton, was a voluminous writer on theology and jurisprudence. His theological works were "Theism and Modern Sceptical Theories," 1859, and "Silence of Scripture," 1867. His law books comprised "Homicide," "Criminal Law," "Criminal Pleading and Practice," "Precedents of Indictments and Pleas," "Criminal Evidence," "State Trials in the United States," "Conflict of Laws," "Evidence," "Negligence," "Contracts," "Agency," "Commentaries on Law," and "Digest of International

Law." The last was published as late as 1886. Henry Wharton, Francis' brother, was editor of the *American Law Register* and author of a "Treatise on the Law of Vicinage." Henry's son, Thomas, published two novels, "A Latter Day Saint," 1887, and "Hannibal in New York," 1888. Charles Wharton, a merchant and ironmaster, wrote a volume entitled "Treatment of the Horse in the Stable and on the Road," and his son, Dr. Henry R. Wharton, is author of a "Text Book on Minor Surgery and Bandaging." Joseph Wharton, the founder of the Wharton School of Finance, is a pronounced disciple of the Carey school of political economy and has written a number of pamphlets on Protection. Anne Hollingsworth Wharton has published two volumes of historic interest, "Through Colonial Doorways" and "Colonial Days and Dames."

Philadelphia has always been noted for voluminous contributions to medical science and the literary activity of its physicians. Dr. Nathaniel Chapman, besides his medical writings, published two collections of "Speeches." Other writers on medical and cognate subjects have been Dr. Thomas D. Mitchell, Dr. Adam Seybert, Dr. James Johnston, Dr. Benjamin Say, Dr. George B. Wood, Dr. Robley Dunglison, Dr. William P. Dewees, Dr. Isaac Hays, Drs. Joseph, Edward, and Henry Hartshorne, Dr. J. F. B. Flagg, Dr. W. W. Gerhard, Dr. Paul B. Goddard, Dr. John Morgan, Dr. Samuel G. Morton, Dr. Henry S. Patterson, Drs. Joseph, Isaac, and Samuel Parrish, Dr. Francis Gurney Smith, Dr. Alfred C. Stillé, Dr. Robert P. Thomas, Dr. Philip Syng Physic, Dr. John Neill, Dr. John H. Packard, Drs. Joseph and William H. Pancoast, Dr. Richard Harlan, Dr. Thomas Stewardson, Dr. Robert M. Patterson, Dr. Robert E. Griffith, Dr. James Tyson, Dr. Joseph J. Woodward, Dr. D. Francis Condie, Dr. William E. Horner, Dr. J. Cheston Morris, Drs. David Meredith and John J. Reese, Dr. Henry H. Smith, Dr. Samuel D. Gross, Dr. Jacob Green, Dr. Benjamin H. Rand, Dr. Joseph Leidy, Dr. Benjamin Lee, Dr. James B. Walker and Dr. John V. Shoemaker. Medical biography has not been neglected by the eminent physicians of Philadelphia. Dr. George B. Wood published a volume of "Addresses and Biographical Memoirs," that includes an appreciative sketch of Dr. Franklin Bache. He also wrote a "History of the Pennsylvania Hospital" and a "History of the University of Pennsylvania." The latter was recently reprinted with additional chapters by Frederick D. Stone. Dr. Henry S. Patterson wrote a biography of Dr. Samuel G. Morton and a sketch of Dr. William R. Grant. Dr. Isaac Parrish was author of a memoir of John C. Otto, and Dr. James J. Levick has written the lives of a large number of the eminent Philadelphia practitioners. Dr. Henry S. Shuber wrote a continuation to the "Autobiography" of Benjamin Franklin, and Dr. Joel B. Sutherland, who was an active politician, prepared a "Manual of Legislative Practice" and "A Congressional Manual." Dr. Joseph Thomas, besides compiling a "Comprehensive Medical Dictionary,"

prepared "A Geographical Dictionary of the World" and "Lippincott's Dictionary of Biography and Mythology," and wrote "Travels in Egypt and Palestine," 1854. Dr. John K. Mitchell was not only a ready writer on professional subjects, but he obtained recognition as a poet. His first poem, "St. Helena, by a Yankee," was published in 1821, and his longest production, "Indecision, a Tale of the Far West," in 1839. His son, Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, has been a constant contributor to medical journals for many years, and has besides achieved distinction as a poet and novelist. His principal poetical work is "The Masque," a dramatic poem, and his novel, "Hugh Wynne, Free Quaker," is a Philadelphia story of the Revolutionary period. The charm of the tale is the fidelity of the local color, an element that all previous writers on the same theme failed to catch.

Besides the lawyers already mentioned, the Philadelphia Bar has contributed a number of important names to the list of Philadelphia authors. Robert Walsh, who was admitted to practice in 1810, was compelled to abandon the law for literature by increasing deafness. He was a prolific writer. His most important work, "An Appeal from the Judgment of Great Britain Respecting the United States," was published in 1819. William S. Walsh, also a lawyer, is better known as an editor and writer. John Sanderson, the author of the "Lives of the Signers," was admitted to the Bar in 1840, but he had previously written "The American in Paris" and "Sketches of Paris," both of which were published in 1838. Another literary lawyer was Charles West Thomson, who began to write verses at an early age, and published "The Phantom Barge and Other Poems" in 1822, "Eleanor" in 1826, and "The Sylph" in 1828. Mr. Thomson was a frequent contributor to the annuals that were once very popular. John Cadwalader McCall published "The Troubadour" in 1822, and "The Club, a Satire, and Other Poems." Bird Wilson, a son of James Wilson, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, collected and published his father's law lectures, orations and legal disquisitions in 1803. He afterward took orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church, and wrote "Memoirs of the Right Rev. William White." In this list are to be included Henry Reed and William Bradford Reed, both grandsons of Gen. Joseph Reed. Henry Reed was admitted to the Bar in 1829, but he relinquished his profession after two years to become Assistant Professor of English Literature in the University of Pennsylvania. His principal writings were his lectures, collected and edited after his death by his brother, William B. Reed. These were "Lectures on English Literature, from Chaucer to Tennyson," "Lectures on English History and Tragic Poetry as Illustrated by Shakespeare," and "Lectures on the British Poets." He edited a number of American reprints of the works of English writers, and wrote a biography of his grandfather, Gen. Joseph Reed, for Sparks's "American Biography." Prof. Reed's brother, William B. Reed, was

author of the "Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed," 2 vols., 1847, and "Life of Esther Reed," 1853. When the strictures on his grandfather in Bancroft's "History," were published he wrote a "Vindication of Joseph Reed," printed in pamphlet form. He also wrote a vindication of the administration of James Buchanan. Mr. Reed published a number of orations and addresses on historical and political subjects, and he was a prolific writer for the newspapers.

Among Philadelphia lawyers who wrote for the stage the most eminent were David Paul Brown and Robert T. Conrad. Brown's best known plays were "Sertorius" and "The Prophet of St. Paul," both of which were produced and published. He also wrote "The Trial," a tragedy, and "Love and Honor," a farce. He also published "The Forum, or Forty Years Full Practice at the Philadelphia Bar," 4 vols., 1856–9, and many of his speeches and addresses were printed. Judge Conrad's dramatic pieces were "Conrad of Naples" and "Aylmere, or the Bondman of Kent." The latter was written for Edwin Forrest, and the acting version was long familar to theatre-goers as "Jack Cade."

John Read, a son of George Read, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, published "Arguments on British Debts" in 1798, and his son, John Meredith Read, Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, was a copious writer on legal subjects. Gen. John Meredith Read, Jr., wrote a "Historical Inquiry Concerning Henry Hudson," 1836, and was a frequent contributor to the newspapers and magazines. John Bradford Wallace and his son, John William Wallace, were both industrious contributors to the literature of the law. The latter was an earnest student of local history, and he was one of the Presidents of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. His twenty-two volumes of "Reports of Cases in the Supreme Court of the United States" represent only a part of his legal labors. In 1863 he delivered the commemorative address on the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of his ancestor, William Bradford, before the New York Historical Society. This discourse was published, and he afterward prepared and published, in a limited edition, a sketch of William Bradford of Revolutionary memory. Horace Binney Wallace, the younger brother of John William, who died when he was only 35 years of age, leaving the law books on which he was engaged incomplete, was a writer of unusual merit. At the age of 21 he wrote "Stanley, or the Recollections of a Man of the World," and two collections of his contributions to literary periodicals were made after his death,—"Literary Criticisms and Other Papers" and "Art and Scenery in Europe, with Other Papers." Other lawyers who were, and some of whom continue to be writers of merit, are George Sharswood, Henry D. Gilpin, Job R. Tyson, Edward Joy Morris, William A. Porter, Edward D. Ingraham, P. Pemberton Morris, Henry Phillips, Jr., Henry B. Hirst, Thompson Westcott, Charles Henry Hart, M.

Russell Thayer, Furman Sheppard, F. Carroll Brewster, John Hill Martin, Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, and Horace Howard Furness. Edward Joy Morris published "Notes of a Tour Through Turkey, Greece, Egypt, Arabia Petræa, etc.," "The Turkish Empire," and "Life and Love in Norway." Hirst was a poet, and published three collections of verse that took their names from the principal poem in each,—"The Coming of the Mammoth," "Endymion," and "The Penance of Roland." Westcott abandoned the law for journalism and the investigation of local history. His principal works were a "Life of John Fitch," a "History of Philadelphia," printed in the *Sunday Dispatch*, and "Historic Mansions of Philadelphia." Judge Pennypacker is distinguished for research concerning the history of Germantown and the Pennsylvania Germans. He has published a number of essays relating to Mennonite emigration and the early German literature of Pennsylvania, a volume entitled "Historical and Biographical Sketches," "Annals of Phoenixville," and "The Pennypacker Pedigree." His contributions to the literature of the law have been important. John Hill Martin has published a history of Bethlehem and a history of Chester, and compiled a useful volume on the "Bench and Bar of Philadelphia." The fame of Horace Howard Furness will rest on his "New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare," the first volume of which, "Romeo and Juliet," appeared in 1871, but which is not yet complete.

Beginning with the Rev. Jacob Duchè, whose "Caspipina's Letters," 1774, and published discourses attracted attention in their day, the clergy of Philadelphia have always been very prolific writers. Samuel Brown Wylie, D.D., besides his theological works, published a "Life of Alexander McLeod"; the Right Rev. William White, "Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States," 1820–35; the Rev. Benjamin Allen, "Miscellaneous Poems" by Osander, and numerous volumes in prose and verse; Abel Stevens, D.D., wrote voluminously on the history of Methodism in America; Benjamin Dorr, D.D., a "Historical Account of Christ Church"; and the Rev. Jehu Curtis Clay, a "History of New Sweden." Others among the theological writers have been James Patriot Wilson, James Abercrombie, Albert Barnes, Alonzo Potter, William Edward Schenck, W. H. Odenheimer, James Barr Walker, Charles Philip and Charles Porterfield Krauth, William M. Engles, William H. Furness, and George Dana Boardman.

Philadelphia has had a long list of writers of history and biography since Robert Proud published his "History of Pennsylvania." John Fanning Watson was the founder of the school of local historians that have done so much to rescue from oblivion the early history of Philadelphia. Watson was an annalist rather than a historian. His "Annals of Philadelphia" will always remain a monument to his memory. Watson was an industrious collector of the materials for

history, his manuscript collections being deposited with the Philadelphia Library and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. He also published "Annals of the Olden Time in New York." He was followed by Thompson Westcott, already mentioned, and by Townsend Ward. Mr. Ward was a constant contributor to the early volumes of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, his papers on South and North Second streets, and the Germantown road and their associations, and "Walk to Darby" being a rich mine of Philadelphia memories. Among noteworthy works pertaining to the local history of Philadelphia are histories of the First City Troop, and the Colony on Schuylkill, and a "History of the Free Quakers" by Charles Wetherill. Dr. James Mease published the "Picture of Philadelphia" in 1811, and Thompson Westcott an "Official Guide of Philadelphia," in 1876. The historian of the "Old State House" is Frank M. Etting. Henry Simpson prepared "Lives of Eminent Philadelphians," 1859, and Stephen Simpson wrote a "Biography of Stephen Girard," 1832, and biographies of Washington and Jefferson. The most eminent writer of historical biography in Philadelphia is Charles J. Stillè, Provost of the University and President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. His lives of John Dickinson and Anthony Wayne are important contributions to American history. He also wrote a "Memoir of William Smith," the first Provost of the University, and has published many papers and addresses. Dr. Stillè's pamphlet, "How a Free People Conduct a Long War," published in 1862, was one of the most powerful pleas for the Union that appeared at that period. One of the most noteworthy examples of biographical genealogy is "Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania," by Charles P. Keith. In recent years genealogy has been a popular species of book-making in Philadelphia. One of these, "The Descendants of Joran Kyn," by Gregory B. Keen, goes back to the Swedes on the Delaware. The second of the State historians belonging to Philadelphia was Thomas F. Gordon, whose "History of Pennsylvania from the Beginning to 1776" was published in 1823. Mr. Gordon wrote other historical works, including a "History of New Jersey," 1831. The latest of the Pennylvania historians is Sydney George Fisher, whose "Making of Pennsylvania" and "Pennsylvania — Colony and Commonwealth" are contemporary works. Thomas Allen Glenn has written a work showing much research, "Merion in the Welsh Tract." Julius F. Sachse has published "German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania." No American writer has contributed so much or so ably to the literature that can only be described as "Washingtoniana" as William Spohn Baker. Mr. Baker published "Engraved Portraits of Washington," 1880; "Medallic Portraits of Washington," 1885; "Character Portraits of Washington," 1887; "Bibliotheca Washingtoniana," 1889; "Itinerary of General Washington," 1892; "Early Sketches of George Washington," 1894; and "Washington After the

Revolution." His writings on Washington portraits and the Washington medals are exhaustive and authoritative. A voluminous writer, both of history and historical fiction, was Charles J. Peterson, for many years proprietor of *Peterson's Magazine.* His published works are "Military Heroes of the Revolution," 1842; "Military Heroes of the War of 1812 and of the War with Mexico," 1848; "Grace Dudley, or Arnold at Saratoga," 1849; "Cruising in the Last War," 1849; "Naval History of the United States," 1850; "The Valley Farm," "Kate Aylesford," and "History of the Refugees," 1855; "Mabel, or Darkness and Dawn," 1857; and the "Old Stone Mansion," 1859. Almost equally prolific was Henry C. Watson, a native of Baltimore, who wrote "Camp Fires of the Revolution," 1851; "Nights in a Block House," and "Old Bell of Independence," 1852; "Yankee Tea Party," "Lives of the Presidents," and "Heroic Women of Philadelphia," 1853, and other works. Dr. John Frost, long connected with the public schools of Philadelphia, also wrote on American history. The most eminent of the Philadelphia historians is Prof. John Bach McMaster, of the University of Pennsylvania. His "History of the American People," of which four volumes have been published, has been received with much approbation. In conjunction with Frederick D. Stone, Prof. McMaster edited "Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution," published by the Historical Society. Charlemagne Tower, Jr., has written "The Marquis de La Fayette in the American Revolution," an interesting study of the share of France in the war for Independence. Other Philadelphia historians are John Foster Kirk, whose "Charles the Bold" takes high rank, and Henry Charles Lea, the author of "A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages." Charles Durang printed a "History of the Philadelphia Stage" in the *Sunday Dispatch,* and George O. Seilhamer has published three volumes of an exhaustive "History of the American Theatre."

The most successful book of exploration and adventure ever published in America was "Arctic Explorations: The Second Grinnell Expedition During the Years 1853–5," by Elisha Kent Kane. The author received $65,000 on the first year's sale of this work. It is necessary to say in this place that the most detailed account of a journey for pleasure and sight-seeing was "Around the World with General Grant," by John Russell Young.

The two leading Philadelphia poets of the century were George H. Boker and Thomas Buchanan Read. Mr. Boker published his first volume of verse, "The Lesson of Life, and Other Poems," in 1847, and his first tragedy, "Calaynos," in 1848. His subsequent plays were "Anne Boleyn," "The Betrothal," "Leonor de Guzman," "Francesca da Rimini," and a comedy, "All the World a Mask." His most successful pieces on the stage were "Calaynos" and "Francesca da Rimini." The latter was re-written by Mr. Boker, and acted by Lawrence Barrett. A collected edition of Mr. Boker's "Plays and Poems," in

two volumes, was published in 1856. Mr. Boker wrote many stirring war lyrics. He also published "Poems of the War" and "Book of the Dead." Thomas Buchanan Read was an artist as well as a poet. The first volume of his "Poems" appeared in 1847, and "Lays and Ballads" in 1848. The most elaborate of his compositions were "The New Pastoral" and "The Wagoner of the Alleghanies." His war poem, "Sheridan's Ride," is the most familiar of his pieces. An English edition of his poems, illustrated by Kenny Meadows, was published in 1852. William B. Tappan, who came to Philadelphia in 1817, was a copious writer of verse. He published "New England, and Other Poems," 1819; "Songs of Judah," 1820; and "Lyrics," 1822. Two collected editions of his "Poems" were published, one in 1834 and the other in 1836. Catherine H. W. Esling, formerly Miss Waterman, published "The Broken Bracelet, and Other Poems." She was a frequent contributor to the annuals and magazines. Thomas Mackellar, although actively engaged in business as a type-founder, published "Droppings from the Heart," 1844; "Tam's Fortnight's Ramble, and Other Poems," 1847; and "Lines for the Gentle and Loving," 1853. Thomas Fisher, who was also a scientific writer, published "Dial of the Seasons," 1835, and "Songs of the Sea Shells, and Other Poems," 1850. Sarah J. Lippincott, "Grace Greenwood," published a volume of poems in 1850, and "Forest Tragedy, and Other Poems," 1856. She was a prolific writer in prose, and very popular. Among the later Philadelphia poets who promised to take high rank was Daniel L. Dawson, whose "Seeker in the Marshes, and Other Poems," was published in 1893. The recent volumes of verse by Philadelphia poets include "Songs of New Sweden, and Other Poems," by Arthur Patterson, U.S.N.; "Gettysburg, and Other Poems," by Isaac R. Pennypacker; "Some Dainty Poems," by Waldo Messaros; and "Hallo, My Fancy," by Charles Henry Lüder and another.

The list of Philadelphians who wrote novels and plays, and occasional poems, is a long one. As far back as 1812, Rebecca Rush, daughter of Judge Jacob Rush, had written a novel, called "Kelsey." Margaret Smith, a daughter of Col. John Bayard, wrote "A Winter in Washington," 1827. In 1824, James McHenry, a native of Ireland, brought out his first novel, "Halloran." This was followed by "The Wilderness," "The Spectre of the Forest," and "The Insurgent Chief." He had previously published a poem, "The Pleasures of Frindship," and in 1839 followed "The Antediluvians; or, the World Destroyed." His plays were "The Usurper," "Genius," and "Maid of Wyoming." J. W. Simmons wrote two novels, "The Exile's Return" and "The Maniac's Confession," and a tragedy, called "Valdemar." McHenry and Simmons are forgotten, but Robert Montgomery Bird is still remembered, both for his plays and his novels. Bird began his literary career by writing two tragedies, "The Cowled Lover" and "Caridorf," neither of which was published. His first tales were "The Ice Island," "The Spirit of

the Reeds," and "Phantom Players," published in the *Philadelphia Monthly Magazine* in 1828. His first successful attempt as a writer for the stage was the "Gladiator," produced by Edwin Forrest in 1831. Forrest continued to act this drama as long as he remained on the stage. The "Gladiator" was followed by "Oralloosa," produced in 1832, and the "Broker of Bogoto." He also wrote a tragedy called "Pelopidas," and two or three comedies. His novels were "Calavar; or, the Knight of the Conquest," a romance of Mexico, 1834; "The Infidel; or, the Fall of Mexico"; and "The Hawks of Hawk Hollow," a local tradition, 1835; "Sheppard Lee," 1836; "Nick of the Woods," a tale of adventure among the Indians, 1837; and "Adventures of Robin Day," 1839. A collection of his contributions to the magazines was published in 1838, with the title of "Peter Pilgrim; or, a Rambler's Recollections." He was a man of versatile talents, and ranked with the best American novelists of his time. The two most prolific of Philadelphia novelists were George Lippard and Timothy Shay Arthur. Lippard was a wild and untrained genius, whose novels have never been classed as literature. His principal works were "Washington and his Generals; or, Legends of the American Revolution"; "The Quaker City; or, the Monks of Monk Hall"; "Paul Ardenheim; or, Monk of Wissahickon"; "Blanche of Brandywine; or, September the Eleventh, 1777"; "The Nazarene; or, Last of the Washingtons"; "Legends of Mexico; or, Battles of General Zachary Taylor"; and "The Ladye of Albarone; or, the Poison Goblet." These have been often republished. His first novel was "The Lady Annabel." A selected edition of his writings was published in 1847. Among Arthur's voluminous writings were "Lights and Shadows of Real Life," "Leaves from the Book of Human Life," "The Loftons and the Pinkertons," "Tales for Rich and Poor," "Six Nights with the Washingtonians," "Maiden, Wife, and Mother," "Tales of Married Life," "True Riches," "The Hand, but not the Heart," "Tired of Housekeeping," "Stories of Domestic Life," and "The Good Time Coming." Arthur's stories and tales have never been out of print. His "Ten Nights in a Bar Room" was, after "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the most successful book ever printed in America. Eliza Leslie and Joseph C. Neal may also be classed as Philadelphia novelists, although their writings were mostly short stories and sketches. Miss Leslie was a sister of Charles R. Leslie, the painter. She was the most popular female writer of her time, and was the forerunner of the long list of writers of juvenile books in recent years. To give the titles of her books would be tedious. She began with a cook-book, "Seventy-five Receipts for Pastry, Cakes, and Sweetmeats," 1827. Neal was a humorist. His first humorous work was "The City Worthies," originally printed in the *Pennsylvanian*. His "Charcoal Sketches," of which two series were collected, were very popular, and are still read. Charles Dickens edited an English edition of the "Charcoal Sketches" in 1844. Mrs. Adelheid Shelton Mackenzie, wife of

Dr. R. Shelton Mackenzie, author of "Tressilian and his Friends," published a number of romances, including "Married Against Reason," and "Aureola." Mrs. A. L. Wistar, a sister of Horace Howard Furness, has made many translations from the German, that are so idiomatic that they almost deserve to be classed as original fiction. The two living female novelists of Philadelphia of the greatest reputation are Rebecca Harding Davis and Ellen Olney Kirk. Mrs. Davis is the wife of L. Clarke Davis, managing editor of the *Public Ledger*. She has published "Margaret Howth," "Waiting for the Verdict," "Dallas Galbraith," and "A Law Unto Herself." Her son, Richard Harding Davis, has written numerous short stories, that obtained remarkable popularity. Mrs. Kirk, wife of John Foster Kirk, has published "Through Winding Ways," "A Midsummer Madness," and the "Story of Margaret Kent." A number of anonymous novels, some of them not without merit, have been published in Philadelphia in the last three-quarters of the century.

Philadelphia has a long list of writers for the stage besides those already mentioned in this chapter. The plays of James Nelson Barker and Joseph Hutton were for many years popular pieces in the acting drama. Miss Charlotte Barnes, who became the wife of Edmon S. Connor, a favorite Philadelphia actor, wrote "The Last Days of Pompeii," "Lafitte, the Pirate of the Gulf," and "Octavia Brigaldi." Samuel Chapman, actor and manager, whose last play, the "Mail Robbers," was the indirect cause of his death, also wrote "Dr. Foster" and "Gasparoni," and dramatized "The Red Rover." Robert W. Ewing, better known as a dramatic critic over the signature of "Jacques," wrote many plays, including "Sponge Again," "Frontier Maid," "The Election," "La Fayette," and "Exit in a Hurry." James Fennell, the tragedian, wrote one or two farces after he came to Philadelphia, and an "Apology" for his life. Horatio Newton Moore, author of a "Life of Anthony Wayne" wrote a tragedy called "Orlando" at the age of 15. James Rees, better known as "Colley Cibber," wrote "Washington at Valley Forge," "Unknown," and "The Squatter," all of which were produced in New Orleans. He was the author of many other pieces, and of a "Life of Edwin Forrest." John Augustus Stone, the author of "Metamora," was also a Philadelphia dramatist, and Silas S. Steele produced in Philadelphia "Claudare," a Scottish melodrama, 1838; "Battle of Tippecanoe," a national melodrama, and "Kassimbar," a tragic drama, 1840; and "The Brazen Drum, or the Yankee in Poland," 1841. Among the later Philadelphia dramatists was John D. Stockton, whose comedy, "Fox and Geese," was produced by John S. Clarke. Mr. Stockton was a graceful writer and an accomplished dramatic critic.

The newspaper workers of Philadelphia have always been noted as the producers of books. Nearly all the writers already named were contributors to the magazines and the literary weeklies. Joseph

Dennie, the founder of the *Port Folio*, was at the head of the class of authors that has been described as the "mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease." Dennie's essays, under such heads as "The Lay Preacher," would have filled many volumes. Paul Allen, his successor, published "Original Poems, Serious and Entertaining," and he was the nominal author of a "History of the American Revolution." Dr. Charles Caldwell, who succeeded Nicholas Biddle in the editorship, wrote an "Autobiography," "Lives of Distinguished Americans," 1816, and a "Life of General Greene," 1819. Stephen C. Carpenter was author of an "Overland Journey to India" and a "Life of Thomas Jefferson," as well as many of the critical and biographical articles in the *Mirror of Taste*. Charles S. Coffin, the self-styled "Boston Bard," who tried to establish a literary paper called *The Bee*, published a volume of "Poems." Sarah J. Hale, the editor of *Godey's Lady's Book*, was the author of many books in prose and verse. Sumner Lincoln Fairfield, the poet, edited the *North American Magazine*. Alice B. Haven, "Cousin Alice," the wife of Joseph C. Neal, was a constant contributor to the *Saturday Gazette* and other periodicals, and the author of many volumes. One of her best stories was "The Gossips of Rivertown." The centre of a distinguished literary circle in Philadelphia was *Graham's Magazine*. Longfellow, Hawthorne, and Cooper were among its contributors. Edgar Allan Poe was one of its editors. James Russell Lowell lived in Philadelphia while assisting in the editorship. William E. Burton, the comedian, established the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, and is to be classed as a Philadelphia author. Willis Gaylord Clark, editor of the *Philadelphia Gazette*, gained great distinction in both poetry and prose. Thomas Dunn English was one of the editors of *John Donkey*. Robert Morris, for many years one of the editors of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, wrote extensively, and published some volumes of verse and a collection of his sketches. Dr. R. Shelton Mackenzie, literary editor of the *Press*, besides "Tressilian and His Friends," published "Memoirs of Robert Houdin," and lives of Charles Dickens and Sir Walter Scott. Francis J. Grund, who established *The Age*, wrote "The Americans in their Moral, Social and Political Relations," 1837, and "Aristocracy in America," 1839. Joseph R. Chandler, editor of the *United States Gazette*, published many orations and speeches. Joel Cook, one of the editors of the *Public Ledger*, published his first book, "The Siege of Richmond," in 1862, and has since written some interesting volumes of travel. Alexander K. McClure, editor of *The Times*, has written "Lincoln and Men of War Times" and other works. This list might be continued indefinitely.

The list of authors of Philadelphia birth comprises such well-known names as Mordecai M. Noah, who wrote many plays; George P. Morris, the poet; William D. Gallagher, the western poet and editor; Henry Wikoff, the "Chevalier" Wikoff, author of "My Courtship and its

Consequences ;" Charles Godfrey Leland, whose "Hans Breitman's Ballads" had great vogue, and Henry George, author of "Progress and Poverty."

II.

WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS AND THE MAGAZINES.

THERE were only two weekly newspapers in Philadelphia in 1740, when the first monthly magazine was started. These were the *American Weekly Mercury*, established in 1719, and the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, begun in 1728. The *Mercury* was printed by Andrew Bradford and "sold by him and John Copson." It is not clear whether Copson was a partner, but his name disappeared in 1721. Andrew Bradford continued the publication of the paper until his death in 1742, and it was afterward continued by his widow until it expired in 1746. When Samuel Keimer launched what was intended to be a rival for the *Mercury*, he gave it a singularly cumbersome name, *The Universal Instructor in all the Arts and Sciences and Pennsylvania Gazette.* It was not a successful enterprise, the subscription list not exceeding ninety, and was sold to Benjamin Franklin and Hugh Meredith for a nominal sum. It then became simply the *Pennsylvania Gazette.* Meredith retired in 1732, but Franklin's connection with the paper lasted until 1765. Franklin conducted it without a partner for fifteen years, but in 1748 he entered into a partnership with David Hall, the firm becoming B. Franklin and D. Hall. After Franklin's retirement Hall managed the paper alone for only a year, William Sellers becoming his partner in 1766. The firm name of Hall & Sellers lasted until 1805, and the paper continued to exist until 1821, when the last David Hall died. The firm was for awhile Hall & Pierie and afterward Hall & Atkinson. After Mr. Hall's death Samuel C. Atkinson took Charles Alexander into partnership with him, and Atkinson and Alexander changed the name of the paper to the *Saturday Evening Post.* The *Post* had a brilliant history as a literary weekly. It outlasted all of its early contemporaries, and finally died of extreme old age. When the transition was made from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* to the *Saturday Evening Post* many visible links remained to bind the new paper to the old. The old press at which Franklin had worked, and that was afterward placed among the relics in the Patent Office in Washington, still remained. What was called the "old Franklin type," although it was superseded by a new outfit, was preserved. But the two papers bore little resemblance to each other. Under Franklin and his immediate successors the *Gazette* was a typical newspaper of the period After the daily papers supplanted the weekly press it gradually lost

its character as a newspaper, and it was not found practicable to build up a literary journal on the old foundation. With the change of name came a new epoch of prosperity. The *Post* was edited in succession by Charles J. Peterson, Rufus W. Griswold, H. Hastings Weld, and Henry Peterson. Nearly all the great writers of the country contributed to its columns. Among English writers who were its contributors were G. R. P. James and Mary Howitt. Mrs. Henry Wood wrote a number of novels for the *Post* before "East Lynne" made her famous. In the end it succumbed only to the great change in journalistic methods that is characteristic of the closing years of the century.

The first two magazines in Philadelphia were the outcome of the rivalries of the *Weekly Mercury* and the *Pennsylvania Gazette.* Franklin seems to have been the first to conceive the idea of a magazine and to make preparations for its publication. He asked John Webbe to write for it, but Webbe forestalled him by making an arrangement with Andrew Bradford. Webbe's prospectus for the *American Magazine* was printed in the *Weekly Mercury*, October 30, 1740, and Franklin followed with his announcement of the *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle* in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 30, 1740. A lively controversy ensued between Webbe and Franklin, but both magazines appeared early in January, 1741, Webbe's three days in advance of Franklin's. Neither of these monthlies proved attractive. The *American Magazine* reached only the third number and Franklin discontinued the *General Magazine* in June. He made no mention of it in his Autobiography. The third magazine published in Philadelphia was also called the *American Magazine.* It was projected and printed by William Bradford, the third of the name, the first number being dated October, 1757. Bradford had begun the publication of the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser* in 1742. The new magazine was nominally edited by a "Society of Gentlemen," but the real editor was the Rev. William Smith, the Provost of the College. Smith wrote a series of eight papers under the general title of "The Hermit," and the poets included Joseph Shippen, Francis Hopkinson, James Sterling, Thomas Godfrey, the younger, and John Beveridge. The magazine contained the first recognition of the genius of Benjamin West, and James Logan wrote a paper claiming the invention of the quadrant called Hadley's for Thomas Godfrey, the elder. The second *American Magazine* was discontinued in November, 1758. The *Pennsylvania Journal,* William Bradford's newspaper, has a much longer history. It was a successful rival of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* down to the Revolution. In 1766 Bradford took his son Thomas into partnership with him in the publication of the *Journal.* The paper was not printed during the British occupation. William Bradford died in 1791, and the name of the *Pennsylvania Journal* was changed by Thomas Bradford to the *True American* in 1797, when it ceased to be a weekly.

The establishment of German newspapers and magazines was attempted in Philadelphia and Germantown at a very early period. Joseph Crellius is believed to have published the *German Pennsylvania Journal* in 1742, and Christopher Sauer established a religious magazine, with an interminable name, in 1742. It was soon discontinued, but was revived by Christopher Sauer, Jr., as *Das Geistlichies Magazien*, in 1764. Other early attempts at German newsapers were *The German and English Gazette*, established in 1751, Gotthardt Armbruster being the printer, and the publication of a weekly, *Der Wochenliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, was begun in January, 1762, by Henry Miller, and continued until 1779, except during the period of the British occupation. In 1768 the name was changed to *Der Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote*. But before all these was the newspaper printed by Christopher Sauer, the elder, at Germantown as early as 1739. At first it was published only quarterly, then monthly, and finally, in 1744, it became a weekly, when it was called *Der Germantauner Zeitung*.

William Goddard came to Philadelphia in 1767, and started the *Pennsylvania Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*. Thomas Wharton and Joseph Galloway were concerned in this enterprise. The partners soon quarreled, and after a brief existence the paper was discontinued. On October 28, 1771, John Dunlap issued the first number of *The Pennsylvania Packet* from "the newest printing office in Market street." The paper was published at Lancaster during the British occupation. After the Revolution Mr. Dunlap took David C. Claypoole as a partner. Dunlap & Claypoole published the paper as a tri-weekly for a while, but in 1784 they began to issue it daily. It was the first daily newspaper in the United States. The other newspapers published before the Revolution were *The Penny Post*, a tri-weekly established in 1769 by Benjamin Mecom, which had a brief existence; and the *Pennsylvania Ledger*, the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, and the *Pennsylvania Mercury and Universal Advertiser*, all of which were established early in 1775. James Humphreys, Jr., the publisher of the *Ledger*, was a Tory, and was compelled to suspend the publication of his paper, November 30, 1776. Its publication was resumed after the British captured the city in 1777. "Humphrey's paper came out to-day," is one of the entries in Elizabeth Drinker's Journal for the 10th of October. The last number of the *Ledger* was issued May 23, 1778. The *Evening Post* was the only paper published in Philadelphia before, during, and after the occupation. Benjamin Town, the publisher, was a pronounced Whig before the coming of the British, a sound Tory during their stay, and a pretended Whig again after their departure. When the other printers left the city he remained, and continued his paper as if nothing had happened; when they came back they found that he had already printed a full account of the evacuation. His course rendered him so unpopular that his paper was not successful, and he

stopped it in 1789. The new *Mercury* was published for only a few months. On the first of March, 1778, James Robertson began the publication of the *Royal Pennsylvania Gazette*, and on the 29th of May he announced that the paper would be "suspended for some time." It was the last *Royal Gazette* in Philadelphia.

In 1769 the third *American Magazine* was projected. The proprietor and editor was Lewis Nicola, who was town major of Philadelphia, and colonel of the Invalid Regiment during the Revolution. The magazine lasted only from January to September. The February number contained a curious engraving, by an unknown engraver, of the manner of fowling in Norway. A part of each issue was devoted to the publications of the American Philosophical Society, of which Nicola was curator. The next attempt was a few numbers of the *Royal Spiritual Magazine*, published by John McGibbon in 1771. Then came the most noteworthy of all these early periodicals,—*The Pennsylvania Magazine, or American Monthly Museum.* It was published by Robert Aitken, and edited by Thomas Paine, the celebrated author of "Common Sense." The first number was for January, 1775, and it lasted eighteen months. In the first number was a portrait of Doctor Goldsmith, engraved by Poupard. In the succeeding numbers were maps and illustrations of battle scenes of the first year of the Revolution, most of them engraved by Aitken. The other engravers were Lownes and Smither. Some of the designs were by Du Simitiere. Paine wrote the greater part of the letter-press, but Dr. Smith and Dr. Ewing were among the contributors. There were poems suggested by events of the Revolution, and the "Monthly Intelligence" contained reports of the progress of the war. But the times were not propitious, and the magazine succumbed, notwithstanding the last number contained the Declaration of Independence. Another attempt to establish a magazine was made in 1779. This was called *The United States Magazine.* It was published by Francis Bailey, and edited by Hugh Henry Brackenridge. It contained some wit and more scurrility, but it was on the whole a rather dull performance. The contributors were not famous, but the magazine brought into notice for the first time the "poet of the Revolution," of whom Washington afterward spoke as "that rascal Freneau." The magazine lasted a year. The magazines published in Philadelphia between the Revolution and the close of the century were the *Columbian Magazine, or Monthly Miscellany*, 1786–92; the *American Museum*, 1787–92; the *Philadelphia Magazine*, 1788–9; the *American Magazine*, 1789–90; the *Lady's Magazine*, 1792–3; the *Philadelphia Minerva*, 1795–8; the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 1795; the *American Monthly Review*, 1795; the *American Annual Register*, 1796; the *Literary Museum, or Monthly Magazine*, 1797; the *Methodist Magazine*, 1797–8; the *American Universal Magazine*, 1797–8; the *Philadelphia Monthly Magazine*, 1798; the *Weekly Magazine of Original Essays*, 1798–9; and the *Philadelphia*

Magazine and Review, 1799. Of these the *Columbian* was the most noteworthy. Among its original contributors was Matthew Carey. Alexander James Dallas was one of its editors. It was embellished with portraits, views, and other engravings. Most of the engravings were by John Trenchard, who became the sole publisher in 1789. Carey withdrew from the *Columbian* to establish the *American Museum*. Carey's *Museum* attracted almost universal praise, and it was an excellent and important publication, but it finally ceased from want of sufficient support. The *Universal Magazine* was embellished with engravings, including Du Simitiere's portrait of William Penn and the first portrait of Napoleon engraved in America. There was a portrait of Mrs. Merry, the actress, in the *Philadelphia Monthly Magazine*, the first portrait of a player in an American periodical. Charles Brockden Brown was a contributor to the *Weekly Magazine*, and began the publication of "Arthur Mervyn," in the second volume. The other magazines require no comment. An attempt was made to establish a professional journal, the *Medical Examiner*, in 1787. It was edited by Dr. John Barclay Biddle, but only one volume of the work appeared.

After the Revolution Philadelphia was as prolific of weekly newspapers as of magazines. Francis Bailey started the *Freeman's Journal* in 1781, and Eleazur Oswald the *Independent Gazetteer* in 1782. These papers lasted only a few years, the *Gazetteer* being discontinued in 1790, and the *Journal* in 1792. Oswald, while he lived, made his paper remarkably interesting and attractive for that period. The *Pennsylvania Mercury* was revived in 1784, and published until 1788. In 1785 Matthew Carey started the Pennsylvania *Evening Herald and American Monitor*, which proved successful in spite of its name. Its success was due to Carey's ability as a reporter of the speeches of Jared Ingersoll and other eminent orators of the period, but he was a very enterprising publisher, and soon found that he had "too many irons in the fire" to give the paper the attention it needed, and so he determined to discontinue it in 1788. A controversy with Col. Oswald led to a duel, in which Carey was seriously wounded. The *Evening Herald* was published twice a week, and gave place to the dailies of which Philadelphia sometimes had as many as five during the next ten years.

With the beginning of the eighteenth century a weekly paper was started in Philadelphia that was to develop into the most important literary magazine in the country. This was the *Port Folio*, a name that Joseph Dennie, its inventor, said could not be found in any dictionary but meant "a portable repository for fugitive papers." Dennie came to Philadelphia as a clerk in the State Department under Pickering, as Freneau had been a clerk under Jefferson. The one was as hostile to Jefferson as the other had been hostile to Washington,—indeed, he carried his political bitterness so far as to characterize the Declara-

tion of Independence as "a false and flatulent and foolish paper." It is not surprising that Duane, in the *Aurora*, called the *Port Folio* the "portable foolery." Dennie soon gathered a coterie of accomplished young writers around him, and, notwithstanding he called himself "Oliver Oldschool, Esq," he soon became the animating spirit of a set of youngsters of epicurean as well as literary tastes. Tom Moore, when he visited Philadelphia in 1804, found congenial companionship among this set and the Tuesday Club. Dennie was a man of strong personality and engaging qualities, and Buckingham, who saw him slipping along Chestnut street "in a pea-green coat, white vest, nankeen smallclothes, white silk stockings, and pumps fastened with silver buckles, which covered at least half the foot from the instep to the toe," said he was "a premature victim to social indulgence." Among the poets who contributed to the *Port Folio* were Moore, John Shaw, the Maryland bard; Robert H. Rose, whose "Sketches in Verse" had great vogue, particularly one of them, "To a Market Street Gutter"; Edward Ingersoll, author of "Horace in Philadelphia"; Harriet Fenno, whose verses were signed "Violetta"; and Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist. The writers of the essays and biographical, historical, and descriptive papers included Charles J. Ingersoll, Condy Raguet, John Sanderson, Robert Hare, the father of Judge J. I. C. Hare; Alexander Graydon, Richard Rush, Judge Richard Peters, Joseph Hopkinson, and Horace Binney. After Dennie's death, in 1812, the successive editors were Paul Allen, Nicholas Biddle, Dr. Charles Caldwell, and John Elihu Hall. The *Port Folio* was started as a quarto, but it was afterward changed to octavo, and published monthly. The first publisher was Asbury Dickins. John Watts undertook its publication in 1806, and Bradford & Inskeep in 1812. It began January 3, 1801, and lasted until 1826–7. In its last years it had lost the brilliant literary qualities of its beginning.

The next Philadelphia magazine to be started after the *Port Folio*, was the *Literary Magazine and American Register*, founded in 1803 by Charles Brockden Brown. The *Literary Magazine* lacked the variety, the piquancy, and the contemporary interest of the *Port Folio*,—it affected a severe literary tone and met with a limited measure of success. Brown printed a part of his "Memoirs of Carwin, the Biloquist," in the magazine. Brown also edited the *American Register, or General Repository of History, Politics, and Science*, begun in 1806. Five volumes of this publication had appeared when the editor died. It was a heavy periodical, filled with reviews of books, abstracts of laws, State papers, and summaries of events. The *American Register* was followed in 1809 by *Select Reviews and Spirit of the Magazines*, which contained little original matter. In 1812 it exchanged its descriptive but unwieldy name for that of the *Analectic Magazine*, with Washington Irving as the editor. The *Analectic* continued to be published until 1821. Irving contributed to it some of the essays of the "Sketch

Book," "Traits of Indian Character," and "Philip of Pokanoket." Like the *Port Folio*, the *Analectic* was sometimes illustrated with portraits. Among its contributors were James K. Paulding and Gulian C. Verplanck, friends of Irving. In its last year it was called the *Literary Gazette*. "I observe," said a citizen, "that the form of the *Analectic Magazine* was changed on the first of the month." "No," his friend answered, "it has been weakly for some time past."

The ephemeral weeklies of the beginning of the century began with the *Philadelphia Repository and Weekly Register*, in 1801, and the *Evening Fireside, or Weekly Intelligencer*, in 1805. The *Repository* was popular, but is almost forgotten. The *Evening Fireside* was established by a literary club and published by Joseph Rakestraw, but ceased to exist with the second volume. With *The Tickler*, in 1807, began what has been described as the witty and sarcastic press of Philadelphia. It was noted for abuse and vituperation, rather than for wit and sarcasm. The editor was George Helmbold, who used the pen-name of "Toby Scratch'em," as Dennie used that of "Oliver Oldschool." The paper was Federalist in politics, and very hostile to Duane and the *Aurora*. It was especially remarkable for quips and doggerel. Owing to pecuniary difficulties the paper was not regularly issued during the year 1808. At one time it had a large circulation and a great crop of libel suits. To avoid these actions Helmbold enlisted in the army in 1812, and distinguished himself for bravery. In 1817 he started the *Independent Balance*, which he edited until his death in 1821. Another journal, that indulged in nick-names like the *Tickler*, was called the *Spirit of the Press*. It was published at irregular intervals, the first number appearing in 1806. Two other weeklies were the *Eye*, by "Obadiah Optic," in 1808, and the *Philadelphia Repertory*, 1810. Another journal intended to be devoted to wit and satire was the *Tranagram, or Fashionable Trifler*, by "Christopher Crag, Esq., his Grandmother and Uncle," 1809. The publisher was George E. Blake, a music-dealer. It had three editors—Mordecai M. Noah, the dramatist, Alexander F. Coxe, a son of Tench Coxe, and William Duane, and printed only three numbers. In the last number there was an account of the visit of "Jeremy Corsica," Jerome Bonaparte, to "Bangilore," Baltimore, and his acquaintance with "Cornelia Pattypan," Elizabeth Patterson. The *Beacon*, "erected and supported by Lucidantus and his Thirteen Friends," 1811, aimed to surpass all its contemporaries, but it reached only its second number. Other forgotten journals, weekly and monthly, were the *Cynic*, 1812; the *Porcupine*, 1813; the *Focus and Weekly Messenger*, 1813; the *Luncheon*, 1815; a second *Critic*, 1820; the *Bee*, 1821; the *Erin*, 1822; the *Arcadian*, 1823; and the *Album and Ladies' Weekly Gazette*, 1826. None of these lasted long, and all of them would be heavy reading in these days.

After the death of Charles Brockden Brown, *Reviews* and *Registers*

followed each other in quick succession in Philadelphia. Their names were generally long and unweildy. In 1811 appeared the *American Review of History, of Politics and General Repository of Literature and State Papers*, of which Robert Walsh was the editor, and then came the *Historical Register of the United States from the Declaration of War in* 1812. The *Review* lasted two years and the *Register* four years. In 1814 John Conrad issued the *American Weekly Messenger, or Register of State Papers*, but soon abandoned it. The *Philadelphia Register* was started in 1818, the name changed to the *National Recorder* in 1819, and the *Saturday Magazine* in 1821. At first it was published weekly, but the *Saturday Magazine* became a monthly, when the name was changed to *Museum of Foreign Literature and Science.* The founder of this periodical, with its many changes of name, afterward sold it, when it was transferred to New York, where it was published as the *Electic Museum of Foreign Literature and Science.* Mr. Littell then went to Boston, where he established *Littell's Living Age.* Walsh was for a while editor of the *Museum*, and conducted the *American Quarterly Review*, 1827–37. He also edited the *American Register, or Summary Review of History, Politics and Literature*, 1817–18. The *American Monthly Magazine*, edited by James McHenry, was attempted in 1824. It lasted only from January to June. None of these periodicals had a literary history like the *Port Folio*, or some of the later magazines.

Dramatic criticism, or more properly reporting, was a marked feature of Philadelphia journalism during the first quarter of the century. The weeklies, like the *Cynic* and the *Tickler*, gave much space to the theatre, but this interest languished after the war of 1812. The daily press gave little attention to the stage until within a comparatively recent period, but now so completely absorbs everything pertaining to the theatre that there is no longer room for theatrical newspapers or magazines. The earliest theatrical periodicals were the *Theatrical Censor*, 1805 ; *Theatrical Censor and Critical Miscellany*, 1806 ; *Thespian Monitor and Dramatick Miscellany*, 1809 ; *Mirror of Taste*, 1810 ; and the *Whim*, 1814. The *Censor* was always critical and sometimes severe. Being accustomed to praise, the actors often felt aggrieved at its strictures. The second *Censor* was by "Gregory Gryphon," and gave attention to theatrical affairs in other cities as well as Philadelphia. The *Monitor* was published by Matthew Carey. It is, perhaps, the scarcest publication of its class in this country. Probably only one number was issued. The *Mirror of Taste* was superior to any attempt of the kind ever made in the United States. It was an American dramatic magazine in immitation of the English *Monthly Mirror.* The publishers were Bradford & Inskeep, and the editor was Stephen C. Carpenter, the eulogist and defamer of President Jefferson. It contained a "History of the Stage," essays on the drama, biographies of actors, and dramatic miscellany. The full name of the

magazine was *Mirror of Taste and Dramatic Censor*. Under the latter title were criticisms of plays, of which those on the acting of George Frederick Cooke were the most noteworthy. Each number was embellished with a portrait of a prominent actor or actress of the time, including John Hodgkinson, William Warren, Mrs. Warren, better known as Mrs. Merry, Wood as *Charles de Moor*, Jefferson and Blissett in a scene in the "Budget of Blunders," and Cooke in a number of his great parts. The Cooke prints were from drawings by Charles R. Leslie, then a lad, and served to call attention to the young artist. Some of the engravings were by Leney, but most of them by Edwin. The magazine lived to complete four half-yearly volumes. After the *Mirror of Taste* came the *Whim*, edited by James Fennell, the tragedian. Its publication ceased with the tenth number. After these the only journal wholly devoted to the stage that was at all noteworthy was the *Dramatic Mirror and Literary Companion*, the publication of which was began in 1841. The editor was James Rees. It was a dramatic chronicle rather than a critical journal. It contained biographies of actors, but its most noteworthy contents were a compilation of the "Dramatic Authors of America" and a "History of the Southern Stage." It expired in 1842. Later publications were *The Playbill* and *The Stage*, both of which began in 1870, and some more recent journals of a like character that had an ephemeral and not very brilliant existence.

A new style of Philadelphia magazine began with *The Casket* in 1827. It was a casket of "flowers of literature, wit, and sentiment," from the *Saturday Evening Post*, and was published monthly. It was illustrated with portraits and views. It was afterward merged with *Graham's Magazine*. Another monthly absorbed by *Graham's* was the *Gentleman's Magazine*, begun in 1837. It was edited by William E. Burton, assisted by Edgar Allan Poe. It was "characterized by the lightest of stories and the most sluggish of poems." Poe contributed "The Man that was Used Up," "The Fall of the House of Usher," and "The Conversation of Eiros and Charmion," and "William Wilson" was reprinted from *The Gift* for 1840. Poe also contributed "The Journal of Julius Rodman" to Burton's magazine, but his only contribution in verse, printed for the first time, was the fine sonnet, "Silence." Before leaving the employment of Burton, Poe announced an undertaking of his own, *The Penn Magazine*, but it never got beyond the prospectus. In the last number of the *Gentleman's*, after it had passed under the control of Graham, Poe printed "The Man of the Crowd." With the numbers for December, 1840, the *Casket* and the *Gentleman's* ceased to exist, and *Graham's Magazine* was established on the double foundation. George R. Graham was the publisher, and Poe was his first editor. Poe's first important contribution to *Graham's* was "The Murders in the Rue Morgue," perhaps, the most famous of his tales. Poe wrote voluminously for *Graham's*, among his articles being some

piquant, but bitter, criticisms of the leading writers of that time, and the magazine sprung into immediate popularity. In January, 1841, its circulation was 8,000; in July, 17,000; in December, 25,000; and in March, 1842, 40,000. It is evident that Poe thought this success due to his own work and the distinguished contributors he secured for the magazine, and that Graham attributed it largely to his skill as a publisher and his generous advertising. The relations of the editor and the publisher were not entirely harmonious. Poe was discontented, and Graham added to his discontent by a pretended staff of editors, that comprised Mrs. Emma C. Embury and Mrs. Ann S. Stephens, besides George R. Graham, Charles J. Peterson, and Edgar Allan Poe. Poe had James Russell Lowell as an assistant editor, and the contributors included Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Edwin P. Whipple. Among the Philadelphia contributors were Joseph C. Neal, Richard Penn Smith, Dr. J. K. Mitchell, Robert Morris, and Thomas Dunn English. Poe was succeeded in the editorship by Rufus W. Griswold. Griswold's connection with the magazine was brief. The subsequent editors of the magazine besides Graham, were Robert T. Conrad, Joseph R. Chandler, Bayard Taylor, and Charles Godfrey Leland. Longfellow's "Spanish Student" and a number of his most noteworthy poems were first printed in *Graham's*, and James Fenimore Cooper wrote for it "The Isles of the Gulf," afterward called "Jack Tier." He received $1,800 for it. "The money might as well have been thrown into the sea," Graham said, "for it never brought me a new subscriber." Graham relinquished the magazine in 1848, bought it back in 1849, and finally sold it in 1854. It deteriorated in quality after 1850; languished afterward, and expired in 1859. No American magazine had ever equaled it in popularity, and none has surpassed it in reputation.

Closely allied to the *Casket*, and to *Graham's* after it, was the *Saturday Evening Post*. This popular family paper absorbed a number of its imitators, and had several offshoots. The papers merged in the *Post* were the *Saturday News*, originated by Joseph C. Neal, Louis A. Godey, and Morton McMichael, in 1836; the *Saturday Bulletin*, of which Edmond Morris was the publisher; the *Saturday Chronicle*, 1836–42, published by Matthias and Taylor; and the *United States*, 1841–2, of which Swain, Abell, and Simmons were the founders. Its offshoots were of two classes—the papers originated in the *Post* establishment and those projected by detached members of its large staff. One of the first class was the *Gentleman's Vade Mecum, or the Sporting and Dramatic Companion*, 1835–6. Joseph C. Neal was the editor. It was merged into the *Saturday News and Literary Gazette*. Another was the *National Atlas and Sunday Morning Mail*, 1836–7, an attempt at publishing a Sunday paper that was not successful. T. Cottrell Clarke, the first editor of the *Post*, started the *Album and Ladies' Weekly Gazette* in 1826, and the *Ladies' Literary Portfolio*

in 1828. The two papers were afterward consolidated. The "literary gazettes" between 1825 and 1850 included the *Ariel*, 1827; *Waldie's Select Circulating Library*, 1833; *Waldie's Literary Omnibus*, the *Philadelphia Visitor and Parlor Companion*, and the *Ladies' Garland*, 1837; the *Lady's Amaranth*, 1838; the *Philadelphia Repository*, 1840; the *People's Library*, 1841; the *Saturday Museum*, 1842; the *Dollar Newspaper*, 1843; *Smith's Weekly Volume*, edited by John Jay Smith, 1845; *Ladies' Dollar Newspaper*, 1848; *Scott's Weekly Paper*, 1849; and the *Drawing-Room Journal and Author's Home Gazette*, 1850. All these are forgotten except the *Dollar Newspaper*, and that is remembered only because Poe's great puzzle story, the "Gold Bug," was first printed in its columns. It was a prize story. The committee consisted of Judge Conrad, Dr. H. G. Patterson, and Washington L. Lane. The second quarter of the century was the epoch of Saturday and Sunday papers. Among these were the *Saturday Courier*, 1831; the *Sunday Gazette*, of which only a few numbers were issued; the *Sunday Sun*, 1836, which reached only its third number; the *Sunday Sun*, 1843, a greater failure than its predecessor, for it issued only two numbers; the *Saturday Gleaner*, 1848, also a short-lived paper; the *Sunday Dispatch*, 1848, still published; the *Sunday Globe*, 1849–52; and the *Saturday Emporium* and the *Sunday Ledger*, 1850. The only paper in this list that has a history is the *Sunday Dispatch*. It was founded by John Lawlor, Robert Everett, and Edward J. Hincken. The partnership remained unbroken until 1869, when Mr. Lawlor died. Everett and Hincken conducted the paper until the close of 1882, when Everett withdrew. Thompson Westcott was the editor from the start until his death. The paper in its best days was especially strong in local history. Such files of it as exist are highly valued for Durang's "History of the Philadelphia Stage" and Westcott's "History of Philadelphia," neither of which were reprinted. At the start the prospects of the paper were unpromising. Only twenty-eight copies of the first number were sold. A paper intended to be read on Sunday was a shock to the religious community. Three years passed before it was mentioned by any of its contemporaries. But it succeeded in spite of the obstacles that beset it, and it is to-day the oldest Sunday paper in Philadelphia. The other weeklies, during the first half of the century, were the *Commercial List and Price Current*, 1827, still published; *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, 1828–35; the *Mechanics' Free Press*, 1828; the *Banner of the Constitution*, 1831, a short-lived Free Trade journal, brought from New York; the *Pioneer*, 1830, afterward the *Fireman's Chronicle;* the *Germantown Telegraph*, 1830, still in existence; the *Cholera Gazette*, 1832, conducted by George W. Dixon, "the great American buffo singer;" the *Spy in Philadelphia and Spirit of the Age*, 1833; the *Radical Reformer and Workingman's Advocate*, 1835; the *Independent*

Weekly Press, 1836; the *Independent Democrat*, 1836; the *American Citizen*, 1845, a short-lived Native American paper; the *Item*, 1847; and the *Banner of the Union*, 1850. In 1835 Col. Cephas Childs, the engraver, became the owner and editor of the *Commercial List*. In 1843 Stephen N. Winslow became attached to the paper in a subordinate capacity; in 1854 Mr. Winslow secured an interest in it, and he has controlled it ever since, sometimes as a partner, sometimes as sole owner. Hazard's *Register* was a repository of information respecting the State. The *Germantown Telegraph* was founded by Philip R. Freas, who conducted it for fifty-four years. It is now owned by Henry W. Raymond, a son of Henry J. Raymond, the founder of the New York *Times*. The *Item* was started by Thomas Fitzgerald. From a weekly it developed into an evening paper that has the largest circulation of any daily newspaper in Philadelphia.

Apart from the magazines, whose history was associated with that of *Graham's*, there were a number of others established before 1850 that were scarcely less noteworthy. The *Philadelphia Monthly Magazine*, 1827–29, was projected by Dr. Isaac Clarkson Snowden. To this magazine Richard Penn Smith contributed a "History of Literature in Pennsylvania" that ran through five numbers. Sumner Lincoln Fairfield, the poet, made an attempt to establish the *North American Magazine* in 1833–8. David Paul Brown's drama, "The Prophet of St. Paul's," was printed in this magazine. In the meantime, in 1830, appeared the first number of *Godey's Lady's Book*, which has had the longest continuous history of any magazine in Philadelphia. Mr. Godey conducted it until 1877. Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale became its editor in 1841. The most distinguished writers in the country contributed to its pages. At one time it had a circulation of 150,000 copies per month. Its success was mainly due to the perfection of its fashion plates. After Mr. Godey's retirement the *Lady's Book* rapidly declined, but intelligent effort, abundant capital, and profuse expenditure afterward brought it renewed popularity. Another magazine that sought to occupy the field filled by *Godey's* and the *Gentleman's* was the *Ladies' Companion*, 1838. Still another rival of *Godey's*, and one that was more successful than the *Companion*, was *Peterson's Ladies' National Magazine*, 1840. It was a fashion magazine founded and edited by Charles J. Peterson at the suggestion of George R. Graham. Mr. Peterson wrote extensively for the magazine that bore his name and it had the assistance of the brilliant galaxy of writers that made *Graham's* so successful. As Mrs. Henry Wood was a contributor to the *Saturday Evening Post* before "East Lynne" made her famous, so in later years, Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett wrote for *Peterson's* before "That Lass o' Lowrie's" brought her fame. Mrs. Burnett's first story in *Peterson's Magazine* was "Ethel's Sir Lancelot" in November, 1868. After *Peterson's* reached one hundred volumes the name of this popular monthly was changed to the *Peterson Magazine*. In 1843

John Sartain established *Campbell's Foreign Semi-Monthly*, and in January, 1849, he began the publication of *Sartain's Magazine*. The foundation of *Sartain's* was a New York publication, the *Union Magazine of Literature and Art*, and, after an existence of four years, it was merged in another New York periodical, the *National Magazine*. Harriet Martineau wrote her "Year at Ambleside" for *Sartain's*, and for it Mary Howitt translated some of the writings of Frederika Bremer. It had many noted contributors, the two most distinguished Philadelphians being Thomas Buchanan Read and George H. Boker. Its most famous poem was "The Bells." It came to Sartain at three different times in three distinct forms. The first version consisted of only eighteen lines—the last of one hundred and thirteen lines. The editors employed by Mr. Sartain were Mrs. Kirkland, Prof. John S. Hart, and Dr. Reynell Coates. Other periodicals of the first half of the century were *Metcalfe's Miscellany*, 1841; *Miss Leslie's Magazine*, 1843; the *Nineteenth Century*, 1848; and *John Donkey*, the first comic paper in America. The *John Donkey* was edited by Thomas Dunn English.

The earliest of the successful magazines of the last half of the century was *Arthur's Home Magazine*. It was begun in 1852. The proprietors were Louis A. Godey and T. S. Arthur, but Mr. Arthur had full control. He became the sole proprietor in 1867. Between the establishment of *Arthur's*, and the appearance of *Lippincott's*, were sandwiched such monthlies as the *Monthly Rainbow*, 1855, a meteorological and astronomical journal; the *Gardeners' Monthly*, 1859; devoted to horticulture; and the *American Naturalist*, 1867, a magazine of natural science. *Lippincott's Magazine* was established in 1868, and is published by the J. B. Lippincott Company. Its special feature is a complete novel each month instead of the serial. After *Lippincott's* came the *People's Magazine*, 1868, and the *Penn Monthly*, 1870. The *Penn* was started by an association of graduates of the University of Pennsylvania, but by degrees the committee of editors fell off until Prof. Robert E. Thompson was left in sole charge. Attempts at collegiate publications were the *University Magazine*, 1875, and *Chaff*, 1882. The *American Historical Record* was started in 1872 with Benson J. Lossing as the editor. It changed hands in 1875 and became *Potter's American Monthly*. The best of all the historical magazines in Philadelphia has been the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, founded in 1877 by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and edited by Frederick D. Stone and John W. Jordan. Its historical interest and value are very great. It is peculiarly rich in diaries of local and Revolutionary importance. It is unequaled as a repository of information in regard to Philadelphia and Pennsylvania and their people. The latest attempt at a historical magazine was the *American Historical Register*, started in 1894. It was intended to be a gazette of the patriotic-hereditary societies. A magazine of Shakesperian liter-

ature, entitled *Shakespeariana*, was started in 1883, but at the close of 1888 was transferred to the New York Shakespeare Society, and was succeeded by *Poet Lore*, 1889, conducted by Charlotte Porter, who had been the editor of *Shakespeariana*. In 1889 William Henry Thorne started the *Globe*, a "new review of world-literature, society, religion, art, and politics." It began as a quarterly, but was soon changed to a monthly, and has since been published in Chicago and in New York. The latest of the monthlies is the *Ladies' Home Journal*, which has attained a large circulation.

The literary and weekly journals of Philadelphia since 1850 have been too numerous for an attempt at complete enumeration. Among them were *Church's Bizarre*, 1852, superseded by the *Fireside Visitor* in 1856; the *Nation*, 1856; the *Southern Monitor*, 1857; the *Palmetto Flag*, 1861; *Saturday Night*, 1865, a story paper originated by James Elverson and Robert S. Davis; the *Keystone*, 1867, a Masonic paper of which Richard Vaux was at one time the editor; *Public Opinion*, 1869; the *Commonwealth*, 1874; the *Farm Journal*, 1877; *Progress*, established by Col. John W. Forney in 1878; *Afield and Afloat*, a sporting paper, 1879; *Golden Days*, a juvenile paper, 1880; the *American*, an offshoot of the *Penn Monthly*, 1880; the *Easy Hour*, 1881; *Life*, a society journal, 1881; *Our Continent*, a spirited but unsuccessful attempt at a high-class literary weekly, 1882; and the *Illustrated World*, 1883, stopped in consequence of the opposition of a citizen who complained that his rest was disturbed by running the presses at night. During the last twenty years there has been no field for literary journals and weekly newspapers, the Sunday issues of the daily press being too strong for successful competition.

After the *Sunday Dispatch* demonstrated that a Sunday paper could live in Philadelphia in spite of prejudice and opposition, it was not allowed to remain without competitors. The first rival to enter the field was the *Sunday Mercury*, 1851. The *Mercury* was followed by the *Sunday Delta*, and the *Sunday Press*, 1853; the *Sunday Transcript*, 1856; the *Sunday Atlas*, 1858; the *Sunday Courier*, 1861; the *Sunday Times*, and the *Sunday Observer*, 1863; the *Sunday Republic*, 1868; the *Sunday Tribune*, 1874; the *Sunday Mirror*, 1875; the *Sunday World*, and the *Sonntags Journal*, 1876; the *Sunday Herald*, and the *Sunday Argus*, 1879; the *Sunday Independent*, 1881; and *Truth*, a Sunday paper, 1883. Only a few of these survived their infancy. The *Mercury* was in existence a dozen years before it became a marked success. In 1862 it became the property of William Meeser, George W. L. Johnson and Frederick W. Grayson. With the aid of a staff of bright young writers of whom John D. Stockton was the most brilliant, they made their paper successful and the *Sunday Mercury* became one of the best newspaper properties in the city. Johnson retired in 1865. Prosperity proved too trying for the remaining partners, and in 1876, William Meeser & Co. were compelled to surrender

the paper. It is still published. Before the *Transcript* was three months old it had acquired a circulation of ten thousand copies. The original proprietors were John S. Jackson, George W. L. Johnson and E. W. C. Greene. Mr. Greene was the first editor and was succeeded, in 1877, by William M. Bunn, who still controls the paper. The *Sunday Times* came into the possession of Col. John H. Taggart, in 1869, and is now known as *Taggart's Times*. Col. Taggart made the *Times* a vigorous paper and it became very prosperous. It is now conducted by his surviving son, William M. Taggart. The *Republic* was also a prosperous Sunday paper for many years, and the *World* achieved a fair degree of prosperity. The *Sonntags Journal* became popular with the large German population of Philadelphia. With it ends the list of prosperous Sunday papers, outside of the Sunday issues of the daily press.

Beginning at a very early period, the periodical literature of Philadelphia has presented a long array of juvenile, religious, philosophical, scientific, and medical publications. Later came the papers devoted to specialties,—the beneficial and other societies, the commercial and trade interests, anti-slavery agitation, and the labor organizations. So numerous have the class-papers been that it would be impossible to enumerate or even to classify them. Besides these, is a long list of newspapers in foreign tongues. The earliest of the juvenile publications was the *Olio*, established in 1802; it was followed by the *Juvenile Portfolio* in 1813. Among the later publications of the same class was the *Young Peoples' Book*, 1841. What was, perhaps, the last attempt, was *Santa Claus*, 1889. The religious newspapers and magazines comprise a very long list. Following the *Methodist Magazine*, 1797, founded by the Rev. John Dickens, were the *General Assembly's Missionary Magazine*, Presbyterian, 1805; the *Religious Remembrancer*, 1813, the first religious weekly newspaper published in the United States; the *Evangelical Repository*, 1816; the *Quarterly Theological Review*, 1818, conducted by the Rev. Ezra Styles Ely; the *Latter Day Luminary*, Baptist, 1819; and the *Episcopal Magazine*, 1820, and the *Episcopal Recorder*, 1822. The *Recorder* was established through the exertions of the Rev. G. T. Bedell, D.D., then rector of St. Andrew's Protestant Episcopal Church, and became one of the most powerful of the religious weeklies. The Moravians established their first paper in 1822, the *United Brethren's Missionary Intelligencer*. The American Sunday-School Union started the *Teacher's Offering, or the Sabbath Scholar's Magazine* in 1823, and the *American Sunday-School Magazine* in 1824. In 1824 appeared the *Reformer*, whose purpose was to "expose the clerical schemes and pompous undertakings of the present day under the name of religion, and to show that they are irreconcilable with the spirit and the principle of the gospel." Then came the *Philadelphian*, 1825; the *Friend*, 1827; the *Protestant Episcopalian*, 1830; the *Presbyterian* and the *Luth-*

eran Observer, 1831; the *Christian Observer* and the *Baptist Record*, 1838; the *Banner of the Cross*, 1839; the *Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, 1843; the *Friends' Intelligencer* and the *Christian Instructor*, 1844; the *Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review*, a famous quarterly, and the *Christian Chronicle*, 1848; the *Presbyterian Banner*, the *Presbyterian Magazine*, and the *Presbyterian Review*, 1852; the *Moravian*, 1856; the *Sunday-School Times*, 1859; the *Sunday-School World*, 1861; the *Lutheran*, 1861, and the *Christian Recorder*, the organ of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, 1862. In 1832, the *Messenger*, the organ of the Reformed Church in the United States, was established at Chambersburg, but after the burning of that place in 1864, it was removed to Philadelphia. Among the other religious publications have been the *National Baptist*, 1865; the *Christian Statesman*, 1866; the *Guardian Angel*, 1867, then the only journal for Roman Catholic children in the United States; the *Christian Standard*, 1867; the *Episcopal Register*, 1870; the *Jewish Record* and the *Presbyterian Journal*, 1875; the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, 1876; the *Protestant Standard*, 1878; the *Catholic Advance* and the *Philadelphia Methodist*, 1879; and the *Catholic Times*, 1892. Only less numerous than the religious journals, were the philosophical, scientific, and medical publications of the century. The *Journal* of the Academy of Natural Sciences was begun in 1817 and the *Journal* of the Franklin Institute in 1826. Among the more note worthy medical periodicals were the *Philadelphia Medical and Physical Journal*, 1804, edited by Benjamin Smith Barton; the *Medical Museum*, 1805, conducted by John Redman Coxe; the *Eclectic Repertory and Analytic Review*, 1811; the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, 1820, projected by Nathaniel Chapman; the *Medical Review and Analectic Journal*, 1824, edited by John Eberle and George McClellan; the *American Journal of Pharmacy*, 1825; the *North American Medical and Surgical Journal*, 1826, conducted by Franklin Bache and others; the *Botanic Sentinel and Literary Gazette*, 1835, a Thomsonian organ; the *Medical Examiner*, 1838; the *Medical News*, 1843; the *Medical and Surgical Reporter*, 1847; the *Dental Cosmos*, 1859; the *Hahnemannian Monthly*, 1865; the *American Journal of Homœopathic Materia Medica*, 1867; the *Medical Times*, 1870; and the *Medical Bulletin*, 1879. The principal law publications have been the *Legal Intelligencer*, 1843; the *American Law Journal*, 1849; the *American Law Register*, 1852; *Notes of Cases*, 1874; and *Daily Legal News*, 1879, which ran for only a few weeks. Besides the *Commercial List* there have been many financial and commercial journals, including the *Price-Current*, 1783; *Finlay's American Naval and Commercial Register*, 1795; the *Philadelphia Prices-Current*, 1805; the *Public Sale Report*, 1811; the *Philadelphia Business Journal*, 1854; the *Railway World*, 1856; the *Insurance Reporter* and the *Legal and Insurance Reporter*, 1859; and the *Commercial Bulletin*, 1881.

Among the military journals have been *United Service* and *Grand Army Review*, 1879, and *Post and Camp*, and the *Grand Army Scout and Soldiers' Mail*, 1881. The anti-slavery crusade began with the *Colonization Herald*, 1836, which was followed by the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, 1844, and the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, 1856. John Greenleaf Whittier was the most famous editor of the *Freeman*. It was a curious counterpart of this species of journalism that the *Palmetto Flag*, a pro-slavery journal, appeared in 1861, only to justify the capture of Fort Sumter, and expire. The *Radical Reformer and Workingman's Advocate* was published in 1835. The *Masonic Mirror* was established in 1852. The first newspaper printed in the French language in Philadelphia was *Le Courrier de l'Amerique*, 1784. Altogether ten or twelve French newspapers have been published in Philadelphia, and twice as many German papers.

What may be called the suburban journalism of Philadelphia did not obtain a strong foothold until after consolidation. The old Germantown *Telegraph* was for many years without a rival. In 1848 an attempt was made to establish the *Manayunk Courier*, but the paper lived only a few months. The *Manayunk Star* was started in 1859, and lasted until 1862. The first Frankford paper was the *Gazette*, 1868, and it found a rival in the *Dispatch* ten years later. The third paper at Manayunk was the *Sentinel*, 1870. In 1871 the *Guide* was established at Germantown. Other Germantown papers have been the *Express*, the *Chronicle*, the *Commercial*, and the *Gazette*. The *West Philadelphia Telephone* was started in 1877; the *Advertiser* the same year; the *North Philadelphian*, in 1879, the Falls *Advertiser*, in 1879, the *Northwest*, in 1880, the Bridesburg *Standard*, in 1881, the Tacony *New Era*, in 1881, and the *Chestnut Hill and Montgomery News*, in 1882. Some later experiments with local papers have been made in different parts of the city.

III.

FREE LANCES IN PHILADELPHIA JOURNALISM.

With the Revolution Philadelphia journalism became very personal. Every writer constituted himself a free lance. The first of these free lances to become famous was Thomas Paine by his contributions to the *Pennsylvania Magazine* and his "Crisis" phamplets. It was in the "Crisis" that the popular phrase,—"These are the times that try men's souls,"—was used for the first time. Another of Paine's pamphlets, "Common Sense," was very effective in promoting the Revolution. Paine was a man of little education, but he was a power-

ful thinker and a vigorous writer. He was highly appreciated by the friends of independence, and was amply rewarded, although he was never satisfied with the provisions that were made for him. This was partly due to the fact that he was improvident, but mainly because of the high estimate he placed on the value of his services. He regarded himself as the author of the American Revolution, as well as of the "Crisis" and "Common Sense." Another free lance of the Revolutionary period scarcely less distinguished than Paine was Hugh Henry Brackenridge. As early as 1779 the *United States Magazine*, of which Brackenridge was the editor, indulged in what is even now called the "new journalism" by printing a letter written by Gen. Charles Lee to Miss Rebecca Franks, in which the lady was quoted as saying that he "wore green breeches patched with leather." Lee retorted in the *Pennsylvania Advertiser* upon "the impertinence and stupidity of the compiler of that wretched performance with the pompous title of the Magazine of the United States." Brackenridge then called Lee a "metempsychosist," whereupon the general called upon the editor with the intention of chastising him. Brackenridge looked out of an upper story window when he heard Lee's knock. "Come down," exclaimed the irate warrior, "and I'll give you as good a horse-whipping as any rascal ever received." "I would not come down, general," the editor calmly responded, "for two such favors."

After the Revolution the political conditions were favorable to the free lance in journalism. The newspapers were partizan, but the editorial column had not yet been invented, and the publishers were printers, not editors. Discussions were in the form of letters addressed to the printers, and were signed by such names as Camillus, Cato, Lucius Crassus, Pacificus, Phocion, Publius and Scipio, all of which were used by Alexander Hamilton. Some of these signatures were used by other writers who were, like Hamilton, prominent in public affairs,—Camillus by Rufus King and William Duane, Cato by Robert R. Livingston, Publius by John Jay and James Madison, and Scipio by Uriah Tracy. Hamilton signed some of his letters in the *Gazette of the United States*, 1792, "An American;" Tench Coxe used the signature "An American Citizen" in the *American Museum*, 1788, and the *Federal Gazette*, 1790; Matthew Carey adopted numerous disguises, both for his pamphlets and his newspaper articles; and William Cobbett's favorite pen name was "Peter Porcupine," which he used in his pamphlets, and the title of his journal, *Porcupine's Gazette*. Following the example set by Freneau, Fenno, and Cobbett, in their *Gazettes*, and Benjamin Franklin Bache and William Duane, in the *Aurora*, the free lances in Philadelphia journalism became not only personal, but scurrilous. Fictitious names were adopted as a screen for the conductors of abusive journals, as "Oliver Oldschool," for Joseph Dennie, in the *Port Folio;* "Toby Scratch'em," for George Helmbold, in the *Tickler;* and "Christopher Crag, Esq., his Grand-

mother and Uncle," for Alexander Coxe, Mordecai M. Noah, and another writer in the *Tranagram*. Of these, "Toby Scratch'em" and his poets and punsters were the most offensive, in spite of his motto:

> "Curst be the verse, how well soe'er it flow,
> That tends to make one worthy man my foe;
> Give virtue scandal, innocence a fear,
> Or from the soft-ey'd virgin steal a tear!"

But it was in the *Port Folio*, edited by Dennie, the "American Addison"—the *Portable Foolery*, as Duane called it—that the free lances of Philadelphia journalism were at their best. Dr. John Shaw, of Maryland, then a medical student in the University of Pennsylvania, was "Ithacus"; Edward Ingersoll was "Horace" and the author of the satirical verses, "Horace in Philadelphia"; Robert Hare used the pen-name of "Eldred Grayson"; Samuel Ewing a son of Provost Ewing, of the University of Pennsylvania, was "Jacques"; Dr. Nathaniel Chapman was "Falkland"; John Elihu Hall was "Sedley"; Mrs. Elizabeth Ferguson was "Laura"; and Harriet Fenno was "Violetta." Among the other writers were Robert H. Rose, author of "Sketches in Verse"; Alexander Graydon, who contributed "Notes of a Desultory Reader"; Francis Cope, Charles J. Ingersoll, Condy Raguet, John Sanderson, Philip Syng Dorsey, William B. Wood, Gen. Thomas Cadwalader, Richard Rush, Richard Peters, Joseph Hopkinson, Paul Allen, Nicholas Biddle, and Horace Binney. These formed the first distinctively literary set in Philadelphia, but it was only during the early years of the *Port Folio* that they were able to maintain their character as free lances.

Many of the free lances who employed pen-names as literary disguises were pamphleteers as well as letter writers for the newspapers-but, whatever the form of their writings, their work was essentially jour, nalistic in spirit, as in the letters signed "Fabius," in which John Dickinson discussed the Federal Constitution in 1788; Benjamin Franklin's "Historicus" essay on the slave trade, printed in the *Federal Gazette* in 1790; William Duane's letters to Washington with the signature of "Jasper Dwight" in 1796; and Albert Gallatin's "Examination of the Conduct of the Executive of the United States toward the French Republic" by "A Citizen of Pennsylvania" in 1797. Samuel F. Bradford used the signature of "Timothy Tickletoby" in replying to "Peter Porcupine" in 1796; Timothy Pickering that of "Varus" in a series of letters in 1797, and Hugh Henry Brackenridge that of "Democritus" in political discussions about 1802. Matthew Carey used many pen-names during his long career, including even such as "A Catholic Layman," "A Clergyman of the Church of England," "Hamilton" and "Jefferson," and Duane sometimes wrote over the signature of "Anti-Monopoly," but the habit of using pseudonyms

fell into comparative disuse when editorial responsibility brought impersonal journalism into vogue.

With editorial responsibility came the succession of great editors that made Philadelphia journalism so eminently respectable for many years—Joseph R. Chandler, of the *United States Gazette*, William M. Gouge, of the *Philadelphia Gazette*, Richard Penn Smith, of the *Aurora and Franklin Gazette*, Robert T. Conrad, Dr. Robert M. Bird, and Morton McMichael, of the *North American*, Robert Morris, of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, John W. Forney of the *Pennsylvanian* and the *Press*, William V. McKean, of the *Public Ledger*, John S. Du Sollè, of the *Spirit of the Times*, Charles G. Leland, of the *Evening Bulletin*, Thompson Westcott, of the *Sunday Dispatch*, Thomas Fitzgerald, of the *Item*, Charles J. Biddle, of the *Age*, John D. Stockton, of the *Morning Post*, and Alexander K. McClure of the *Times*. These took the places of the printer-publishers, who were editors only because they issued newspapers at regular intervals—Poulson, of the *Daily Advertiser*, Fenno, of the *Gazette of the United States*, McCorkle, of the *Freeman's Journal*, and Relf, of the *Philadelphia Gazette*. They supplanted the free lances, of which Bache and Duane and Helmbold and Binns had been conspicuous examples. Unlike many of their predecessors, they were Americans by birth. Chandler was foremost among the new school of Philadelphia journalists who demonstrated that it was possible to be decent without being insipid. He was a vigorous writer and an unwearied worker, and for a quarter of a century was recognized as the leading journalist of Philadelphia. Gouge was a specialist in finance, and Smith a writer of diversified gifts, although always something of an amateur editor. Conrad, Bird, and McMichael were the contemporaries and successors of Smith, Gouge, and Chandler. Conrad was a fine writer, and, for his epoch, a splendid journalist, but he aspired to fill too wide a sphere of activity, for, besides being an editor, he wrote plays, presided in the courts, filled the Mayor's chair, and took part in business enterprises. Dr. Bird, better known as a novelist and playwright than as an editor, introduced the literary element into Philadelphia journalism. McMichael, more than any one else, combined the two elements of editor and publisher—the graceful writer and capable business man. Morris wrote continuously for the *Inquirer* for many years, but his work was marked by grace rather than vigor. Forney was the ablest of all the Philadelphia journalists of the school of Chandler and Conrad, the forerunner of the newer journalism that turned the organ into a newspaper. McKean obtained his first lessons in journalism under Forney on the *Pennsylvanian*, and he was leader writer on the *Inquirer* in war-time, 1860–64. He became editor-in-chief of the *Ledger* when the paper was purchased by George W. Childs, and was for nearly thirty years the journalistic embodiment of the newspaper policy of that distinguished publisher. Du Sollè represented the personal and political journalism of an earlier

era. Du Sollè was twice assaulted by victims of his caustic pen,—once by a physician at the door of a theatre and once by an infuriated dry-goods merchant in an oyster cellar. Leland was graceful and versatile. Westcott's strength was as an annalist and local historian. Fitzgerald wrote some successful plays, but he was chiefly remarkable for building successful papers from a very modest foundation. Biddle was the last of the purely partisan political editors in Philadelphia. Stockton was a man of remarkable gifts, an all-round newspaper writer, but he died young. McClure is the last of the Philadelphia editors of the school of Chandler, Conrad, and Forney. Some of these editors sometimes employed pseudonyms as literary disguises. Dr. Bird assumed the names of "Peter Pilgrim" and "Sheppard Lee"; Col. Forney signed many of his letters "Occasional," Du Sollè wrote for the *Sunday Dispatch* over the signature of "Knickerbocker," Leland had a number of pen-names as "Mace Sloper," "Meister Karl," and "Hans Breitman," and Westcott was "Joe Miller, Jr."

The free lances of Philadelphia journalism between 1820 and 1850 were salaried editors and joint publishers rather than willing but unpaid contributors, as in Dennie's time. They included such men as T. Cottrell Clarke, of the *Saturday Evening Post*, Robert Walsh, of the *National Gazette and Literary Register*, Stephen Simpson, of the *Columbian Observer*, Joseph C. Neal, of the *Philadelphia Saturday News* and *Neal's Saturday Gazette*, and others of varied talents and occupations, as William E. Burton, Edgar Allan Poe, Rufus W. Griswold, Charles J. Peterson and Lambert A. Wilmer. Clarke was the founder of the *Ladies' Album*, and was chiefly noteworthy as the forerunner of the epoch of Philadelphia journalism devoted to literary miscellany. Walsh gave its first literary impulse to the political press. Simpson began as a newspaper writer by a series of articles signed "Brutus," on the management of the Bank of the United States, in which he was note clerk. These articles were not only vigorous but vindictive, and they exhibited a knowledge of the subject so unusual that they attracted wide attention. Neal's work as a free lance was seen at its best in "The City Worthies" in the *Pennsylvanian* and in his "Charcoal Sketches." His wife, Alice Bradley Neal, better known as Mrs. Alice B. Haven, was also a free lance in the Philadelphia journalism of the period. Burton was more famous as a comedian than as a writer for the press, but if he had not been a great actor he would have become a brilliant journalist. Poe's "hack work" in Philadelphia in the magazines,—his book reviews and his "Marginalia" especially,—was essentially that of a free lance, keen, incisive, bitter, often unjust. Griswold, even at his best, was journalistic rather than literary. Lacking Poe's gifts he carried his character as a free lance into his detraction of the erring child of genius whose literary executor he assumed to be. He will be remembered only because he gave vitality to the story of Poe's frailties, while failing to appreciate

the qualities that give Poe the first place among American men of letters. Peterson was the Dennie of this later epoch,—editor, publisher, literary maid of all work, the centrifugal centre of the activities of the Della Cruscan age of magazine poetry and fiction. But Wilmer, though less known than any of these and almost completely forgotten now, was typical of all of them. He was the forerunner of the modern newspaper worker who refuses to call himself a journalist and declares that he is merely a newspaper man. Wilmer worked at the same time on the magazines, the weeklies and the daily papers, drawing an insufficient income from all of them. He edited, for a brief period, or assisted in editing the *Saturday Evening Post* and the *Casket*, wrote for *Godey's Lady's Book*, and found employment in quick succession on the *Public Ledger*, the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Evening Express*. While he was connected with the *Express* it changed its name as often as he had changed employers, becoming, in turn, the *Evening Mercury* and *Daily Keystone*. Wilmer also served on other newspapers and acted as the Philadelphia correspondent of a number of New York and Boston journals, but previous to his death he was able to announce that he was independent of the newspaper press and could live comfortably if "that most beneficent institution of the age" was entirely blotted out of existence. But the spirit of the free lance was still alive within him, and in 1859, he published a book called "The Press Gang," in which he showed more of the bitterness of a disappointed man than the wisdom of a just censor. His best exhibit of his qualities as a free lance was in "The Quacks of Halicon," a so-called satire in verse. Apart from these, some of the almost forgotten editors of the period were James Gordon Bennett, of the *Daily Chronicle*, William F. Small, of the *Daily Focus*, and Lewis C. Levin, of the *Daily Sun*. Bennett, as is not very surprising, was too much the free lance for Philadelphia. General Small, as a young man, had imbibed the anti-slavery views of his preceptor in law, David Paul Brown, and the *Focus* under his direction was the first daily newspaper in Philadelphia that advocated abolition. The riots that resulted in the destruction of Pennsylvania Hall, in 1838, led to his withdrawal. Levin was a lawyer and politician, and edited the *Sun* in the interest of the Native American party. Like Bache and Duane, Small and Levin were free lances of political journalism.

The unattached writers of the second quarter of the century, whose names and pen-names are remembered, were few in comparison with those of the preceding epoch. William McKoy wrote articles reminiscent of old Philadelphia over the signature of "Lang Syne." Robert W. Ewing used the signature of "Jaques,"—a pen-name previously employed by Samuel Ewing—for criticisms of dramatic performances in 1825–6. As early as 1828, John Musgrave used the name Colley Cibber as a *nom de plume* for articles on the drama, but a few years later this became widely known as the pen-name of James Rees. He

placed it over many of his articles in the *Dramatic Mirror*, of which he was the editor, 1841–2, and employed it instead of his real name when he wrote for or concerning the stage during the rest of his life. Dr. R. Shelton Mackenzie, after he came to Philadelphia in 1852, dropped his London pseudonym of "Sholto," and when he signed his articles affixed only his initials. Among the well-known Philadelphia writers who used pseudonyms after the middle of the century, were Townsend Ward, who occasionally used that of "Logan;" Michael C. Hart whose contributions to the *Sunday Mercury* were signed "Chevallier"; Nathan Haskell Dole, who employed that of "The Cerberus," in his criticisms of art, literature and the drama, in the *Press*; John F. Graff, who wrote voluminously for the *Press* for a quarter of a century, signing his articles "Graybeard;" and George Alfred Townsend, who is best known as "Gath," although he has employed a number of other signatures. As a young writer John Russell Young sometimes signed his letters "Bizarre," but more frequently with his initials "J. R. Y." James Rankin Young has written Washington letters for the *Evening Star* over the signature of "S. M.," since 1866. His work has always been that of a free lance in politics, and his continuous use of the same signature is the longest in the history of Philadelphia journalism. The noteworthy articles signed "John Penn," that have appeared in the *Times* from time to time, were written by Dr. A. C. Lambdin. The founder of the theatrical column in the *Press*, called the "Lounger in the Lobby," was Royal W. Merrill, and the department "by an Ex-Editor," in the *Inquirer*, was the work of George O. Seilhamer. Many other writers have used pen-names in the Philadelphia papers, including those of the present epoch.

An attempt at sketching the writers for the Philadelphia newspapers, during the last three-quarters of the century, whose contributions were unsigned, and whose work was subordinate to the known responsible editors, must necessarily be incomplete. Of some of these nothing is known except their names, and even the names of many of them are forgotten. Editors like Duane, Binns, Chandler, Conrad, McMichael, Forney, and McClure, have been widely known, and such was also the case with newspaper publishers like Zachariah Poulson, Jesper and William W. Harding, William M. Swain, George W. Childs, Frank McLaughlin, and William M. Singerly, but the staff writers, except those who are remembered as the authors of books, have been relegated to almost complete forgetfulness. In his day Russell Jarvis, the first editor of the *Public Ledger*, was a prominent figure in Philadelphia journalism, but this fact is in itself his history. W. H. Crump was a popular writer, and for many years one of the editors of the *Inquirer*, but he is only remembered because his name is on the title-page of a book of statistics. Few newspaper readers will remember Benjamin Mathias as editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, and his

name is preserved only as a member of the Legislature, and the author of Mathias's "Legislative Manual." John Jay Smith is forgotten as the editor of Waldie's *Select Circulating Library* and Smith's *Weekly Volume*, his local fame being confined to his long service as librarian of the Philadelphia Library. His son, Lloyd P. Smith, at one time editor of *Lippincott's Magazine*, must be placed in the same category. Horace Wemyss Smith, like his father, Richard Penn Smith, was a voluminous newspaper writer, but was not generally known as such. Washington L. Lane, and afterward William V. McKean, of the *Public Ledger*; L. Clarke Davis of the *Inquirer*, and later of the *Ledger;* William Henry Fry, the composer of "Leonora," a writer for the *National Gazette*, 1839, and the *Ledger*, 1844; Thomas Earle, a lawyer, who edited the *Columbian Observer* and the *Pennsylvanian;* Charles Heber Clark, of the *Evening Bulletin;* Joel Cook, of the *Ledger;* Charles Emory Smith, Moses P. Handy, James H. Lambert, and Melville Phillips, of the *Press;* Dr. Alfred C. Lambdin, George E. Mapes, William H. Thorne, and Darwin G. Fenno, of the *Times;* John H. Filler, Charles E. School, and William L. Lester, of the *Record;* Charles H. Heustis and Joseph M. Rogers, of the *Inquirer*, and James McConnell, of the *Evening Star*, together with a long list of others equally noteworthy, are all familiar names of the last half century in Philadelphia journalism,—names of men well known at home and in newspaper circles as editors and managing editors,—some of them widely known to the general public through their connection with politics or literature. Indeed the list of Philadelphia editors and Philadelphia politicians comprise, to a great extent, the same names, and the rolls of Philadelphia authors and Philadelphia journalists are almost identical. The history of Philadelphia journalism shows that the tendency of the editors was to become politicians, and of the politicians to become editors, and most of the authors were journalists, and many of the journalists were authors. From these categories must be excepted the majority of the news-gatherers and copy-readers, who make newspaper work a trade, and are generally described as newpapermen.

IV.

LIBRARIES, AND HISTORICAL AND LITERARY SOCIETIES.

PHILADELPHIA has nearly one hundred libraries, all of which are free to the public, or accessible on very easy terms. Four of these were founded during the first half of the eighteenth century—the Library Company of Philadelphia, in 1731, the Library of the Carpenters' Company, in 1736, the Friends' Library, in 1742, and the

Library of the American Philosophical Society, in 1743. To these may be added the Loganian Library, which was collected by James Logan as a private library, and transferred to the care of the Philadelphia Library, in 1791.

The foundation of the Philadelphia Library is generally attributed to Benjamin Franklin, although he is entitled only to equal credit with his associates who shared with him in the work,—Thomas Hopkinson, Thomas Cadwalader, Robert Grace, and the others. The first importation of books from London, at a cost of £45 8s. 5d., was made in 1732, and in that year the library was opened in a room in Pewter Platter alley, between Front and Second streets. The library-room was in the house of Robert Grace, who was characterized by Franklin as "a young gentleman of some fortune, generous, lively and witty, a lover of punning, and his friends." Grace's house was afterward occupied by David Hill as a printing office, and was pulled down in 1850. This house was occupied in 1732 by Louis Timottiée, sometimes spelled Timothee, who was the first librarian of the Philadelphia Library. The librarian attended at the library from two to three o'clock on Wednesdays, and from ten to four o'clock on Saturdays. He was allowed to permit "any civil gentlemen to peruse the books of the library in the library-room, but not to lend to or suffer to be taken out of the library by any person who is not a subscribing member, any of the said books, James Logan only excepted." Franklin acted as Timothee's successor in 1733–4, and then William Parsons became librarian. The library was removed from Parsons' house to the State House in 1740. The first catalogue was prepared by a committee of the directors, and printed by Franklin in 1740–41. The Library Company was chartered by the proprietary in 1742. In 1743 John Bartram was given free access to the library and "permitted to read and borrow the books." An additional catalogue was prepared by John Loder and Lynford Lardner in 1746, and the books were new numbered by Mr. Greenway, the librarian, in 1750, and a new catalogue prepared. Another catalogue was ordered to be printed in 1764, and it was resolved that every member, desiring to enter the library and examine the books, should execute a bond to the librarian binding himself to be answerable for his proportional part of the loss that might arise from any books being stolen.

Previous to 1769, three other libraries had been formed in Philadelphia,—The Union Library Company, at the corner of Third and Pear streets, and the Amicable and Association Libraries. The latter two were merged in the Union, and in that year the Union was absorbed by the Philadelphia Library Company, Ludowic Sprogle being appointed to take charge of the books at the State House, and John de Mauregnault to have charge of those in the house in Third street. This arrangement lasted only one year, the old Union Library being let, in 1770, to Robert Bell, the bookseller. In 1772 the library was

removed to the second floor of the Carpenters' Hall. The books remained in the Carpenters' Hall until 1790, when the library building, at Fifth and Library streets, was completed and occupied.

As early as 1738, Thomas Penn presented a lot of ground in Chestnut street, between Eighth and Ninth streets, to the Library Company "to build a library upon." Application was made for a deed for this lot, in 1744, and for a patent, in 1752, but the patent was not received until 1762. The situation of this lot was not satisfactory to the members of the company, and, in 1769, the Assembly was asked for leave to build a library-house in the State House Square. This application was unsuccessful, and in 1784, in conjunction with the American Philosophical Society, it was renewed, but again without success. Finally, in 1789, the lots at the corner of Fifth and Library streets, were purchased and an adjoining lot was leased from Dr. George Logan, at the rate of one hundred dollars per annum. A two-story brick building, estimated to cost £1,999 8s., was authorized to be erected as soon as one hundred new shares were sold. At this time the assets of the company, apart from the value of the books, amounted to £2,346, the house in Third street, previously the Union Library, being valued at £500, the lot in Fifth street at £250, and the lot in Chestnut street at £200. Authority for the sale of the lot in Chestnut street was obtained from John Penn and John Penn, Jr., in 1790. The plan for the library building was prepared by Dr. William Thornton and the corner-stone was laid August 31, 1789. For the embellishment of the library building it was determined to place a statue of Dr. Franklin in a niche in the front of the edifice. "The statue of Dr. Franklin," said the *Columbian Magazine* for April, 1792, "was last Saturday fixed in its niche over the front door of the new library in Fifth street. Francis Lazzarini is the name of the sculptor, and Carrara the name of the place where it was executed. If the intrinsic merit of this masterpiece of art did not speak its value, the name of the artist where he is known would evince it. Here, perhaps, its price may give the best idea of its worth. We have heard that it cost above five hundred guineas. The statue of Dr. F. is a full-length figure, erect, clad with a Roman toga, the position easy and graceful; in the right hand is a sceptre reversed, the elbow resting on books placed on a pedestal; the left hand, a little extended, holds a scroll. This elegant piece of sculpture is executed in the finest white marble, and is the donation of William Bingham, Esq., of this city, to the Library Company." The library building was finished in 1790, and opened for the first time for the delivery of books, January 1, 1791. This structure was used continuously by the Library Company until 1880, when the existing edifice at the corner of Locust and Juniper streets was completed. The lot on which this building stands was purchased in 1870, but in consequence of conflicting views in regard to the bequest of Dr. James Rush, which finally resulted in the acceptance of what is known as the Ridgway Branch, the corner-stone was not laid

until 1879. The Locust street structure, which is built of brick, bears only a faint resemblance in its exterior to the old building at Fifth and Library streets, but its interior was designed to be an exact architectural copy of its predecessor. An extension in Juniper street, the gift of Henry C. Lea, has been added. The old library building, at Fifth and Library streets, was removed in 1887.

Gifts and bequests to the Philadelphia Library began at a very early period. Walter Sydserf, of Antigua, gave the library £34 6s 5d sterling in 1738. Thomas Penn presented an electrical apparatus in 1747. In 1777 the library received a collection of ancient authors under the will of William Logan. In 1786 the venerable Dr. Franklin expressed the wish that "some steps could be taken to secure a convenient lot to build on, and intimated that he had a valuable number of books which he intended for the library whenever there should be a safe place to deposit them in." Franklin's gifts to the library were not numerous or important, and his only bequest of books was a French work, "Descriptions des Arts et Métièrs," in 18 quarto volumes. In 1792 his grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, presented to the company the machine that Franklin used to make experiments in electricity. But the most valuable acquisition of the Library Company of Philadelphia up to this time, was the Loganian Library, which was finally obtained, after a long negotiation, in 1792.

James Logan, in his lifetime, acquired one of the best private libraries in America. By his will, Logan left his books to the city of Philadelphia, together with a house and £30 per annum. The endowment proved legally inoperative, but his sons carried the design into effect. A small building at the corner of Sixth and Walnut streets, erected by Mr. Logan for his library, was turned over to the use of the public, and in 1760 a conveyance was made to William Allen, Richard Peters, and Benjamin Franklin of the library and library property in Walnut street, and of certain lots of ground and ground rents in Bucks county. A special provision of the deed was that the office of librarian should be hereditary in the Logan family. In the failure of issue of the Logan name the librarianship was to go to the issue of Hannah Smith, the daughter of James Logan. The trust proved unsatisfactory. The trustees died, or were separated by the events of the Revolution. The librarian failed to act, and the library was closed. There was a proposition as early as 1784 to unite the Loganian with the Philadelphia Library, but it was not until 1792 that an agreement was reached. The transfer was made valid by an act of Assembly of the 31st of March of that year. The preamble to the act recited that William Logan, one of the trustees, and first librarian, was dead; that the avocations of the other trustees, with the condition of public affairs, had suspended the operations of the library, although the books were found to be in good order, and were increased in number by a bequest by William Logan of nearly one hundred volumes, the whole number

of books being about three thousand five hundred volumes. James Logan, the remaining trustee, it was declared, had entered into an arrangement with the Library Company of Philadelphia to render the said institution beneficial to the public, consistent with the designs of the founder. In this transfer were included the Loganian Library building and lot at the northwest corner of Sixth and Walnut streets, two rent-charges (issuing out of ground in Bucks county), books, and other properties. An addition to the library building for the accommodation of the books of the Loganian Library was at once authorized by the Library Company of Philadelphia, and in 1793 the trustees of the former agreed to lend the latter £700 for defraying the expense of this additional structure. At the time of the transfer Zachariah Poulson was librarian of the Philadelphia Library, an office that he held from 1785 to 1806. Poulson was succeeded by George Campbell, who was librarian until 1829. During this long period the hereditary librarianship of the Loganian Library was maintained, so that there were practically two librarians for one library. The arrangement was found inconvenient, and upon the resignation of Mr. Campbell, in 1829, the difficulty was obviated by the election of John J. Smith, a great-grandson of James Logan, who was the hereditary librarian of the Loganian Library, as librarian of the Philadelphia Library. Mr. Smith held the office until 1851, when he resigned, and was succeeded by his son, Lloyd Pearsall Smith. The younger Smith died in 1886, and was succeeded by James G. Barnwell. With the demise of Lloyd P. Smith, the hereditary librarianship of the Loganian Library ceased.

The most important bequest of the library early in the century was that of £1,000 of John Bleakley, which was paid to the company in 1804. The same year the company received the library of Dr. Samuel Preston, of England, together with a portrait of the donor by Benjamin West, the gift of Mrs. West. In 1828 William Mackenzie, of Philadelphia, bequeathed five hundred volumes of his English books to the Philadelphia Library, and his early printed books to the Loganian Library. In 1864 Joseph Fisher, a German by birth, who made and sold mathematical and optical instruments in Philadelphia, left five thousand dollars and one-half of his residuary estate to the Library Company. This unexpected bequest amounted to $54,488.12. This was the last of the important bequests to the Library Company previous to the announcement of the extraordinary contribution of Dr. James Rush in 1869.

Dr. Rush left an estate worth about one million dollars to his executor, Henry J. Williams, in trust for the erection of a building suitable for a library of large proportions. This gift he directed should be appropiated to the use of the Library Company of Philadelphia under certain restrictions. In case of its acceptance the new institution was to be called the Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library Company. This name was chosen by Dr. Rush in honor of his wife,

who was a daughter of Jacob Ridgway, through whom he had derived his wealth. The Philadelphia Library Company was not required to decide upon the acceptance of the trust until the new edifice was completed, and in the meantime a strong spirit of opposition to its acceptance was aroused. Mr. Willlams, the executor, chose as the site of the new library building the square bounded by Broad, Thirteenth, Christian and Carpenter streets, and he at once began preparations for the erection of the edifice. The plans were for a massive and imposing structure of the Doric order, capable of housing four hundred thousand volumes. The principal objection was to the site chosen for the building, and in 1871 the Directors of the Library Company filed a bill in equity to restrain the executor from proceeding with the work. The bill was dismissed by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in 1873, after which the building operations were vigorously prosecuted. The exterior walls of the structure are of granite, with a frontage of 220 feet and a depth of 105 feet. There are three porticoes, one in the centre and one at each end. In 1878 the Library Company accepted the bequest of Dr. Rush by a majority vote, and the property was formally transferred by the executor. The Loganian Library and a part of the Philadelphia Library were then placed in the new building. As the Ridgway Branch, it has been open to the public ever since. With the Rush Library it forms one of the most valuable collections of books of reference in America, but it is still claimed that much of its value is lost because of its situation. Students and scholars engaged in extensive research find its separation from the library in Locust street, which is a great lending library, an advantage.

The books in the two library buildings comprise nearly two hundred thousand volumes. An interesting chapter might be written on the *incunabula* and rare manuscripts in the different collections that make up the library. Among the rare books were Augustine's *Libre de Vita Christiana*, printed by the famous Faust and Schoeffer in 1459; the *Præparatio Evangelica* by Eusebius, and "A Commentary on the Psalms," on vellum, by Nicholai Delyra, both printed in 1470; the Bible in vulgate, printed in 1471 by Sweynheym and Paunartz, the first printers at Rome; another printed by Colneger, at Nuremberg, in 1475; Pliny's "Natural History," in Italian, printed on vellum in 1476 by N. Janson, the first Venetian printer; and a New Testament in French, printed at Lyons about 1480. Among the early English printed books are "The Golden Legend," by Caxton, 1483, and the "Polychronicon," by Wynkyn de Worde, 1492. Illustrative of American history are Plantagenet's "New Albion," which was published in 1648, the oldest extant English historical work relating to New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, the first edition having been published in 1637; two copies of Eliot's Indian Bible, the first American copy of the Scriptures—the New Testament published in 1661, the Old Testament in 1663. There is a copy of Thomas Campanius Holm's descrip-

tion of New Sweden (now Pennsylvania), published at Stockholm in 1702; Aitkin's rare edition of the English Bible, published at Philadelphia in 1782, with the approval of Congress; and Daniel Leed's "Almanac," published by William Bradford in 1687, the earliest piece of printing in Philadelphia. The collections of early American newspapers are unusually complete. They comprise files of Bradford's *Mercury*, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, the *Pennsylvania Journal*, Poulson's *Advertiser*, the *Federal Gazette*, the *Aurora*, Freneau's *Gazette*, Porcupine's *Gazette*, the *Gazette of the United States*, and many others. There are incomplete files of the New York *Gazettes* from 1745 to 1779, and of many other newspapers, including specimens of nearly all the journals printed in the United States in 1793. Among the library's valuable collections are the drawings and other contributions of Paul F. Du Simitiere, the artist; the drawings of old houses and other buildings presented by John F. Watson, the annalist; and the odds and ends presented by Charles A. Poulson, the son of Zachariah Poulson, the librarian. An interesting memento belonging to the Loganian Library is Peter Cooper's "South-East Prospect of the City of Philadelphia," the oldest view of the city known to be in existence.

A catalogue of the library in two volumes was printed in 1835, and a catalogue of the Loganian Library in 1837. Both were prepared by George Campbell. A third volume of the catalogue was issued in 1856 and a supplement in 1867. Bulletins of the new books have been printed since 1856. The card-catalogue system is now used for the new books.

The Library of the Carpenter's Company is not extensive, but it is rich in works pertaining to architecture and building.

The Library of Friends of Philadelphia is unequaled in this country in its collection of biographies and the writings of early Friends. It contains about ten thousand volumes. This library owes its origin to a bequest of Thomas Chalkley in 1741. Robert Jordan was the first librarian, and he was succeeded at his death by Anthony Benezet, the books being kept for many years at Benezet's house. The library was conducted without much system down to 1765, when John Todd, one of the teachers in the Friends' Academy, was engaged as librarian. The most important gift to the library was a bequest of John Pemberton in 1794. Since 1817 it has been in charge of a committee consisting of one member from each monthly meeting in the city. Another Friends' library is the Friends' Free Library and Reading Room in Germantown, opened in 1869. It has a fine hall, built in 1874. The Hicksite Friends established a library in 1834 in the meeting-house in Cherry street, below Fifth. It is now in Race street, above Fifteenth.

Akin to the library of the American Philosophical Society in possessing a special aim and character are the libraries of the University of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania Hospital, the German Society of Penn-

sylvania, the College of Physicians, the Law Association, and the Academy of Natural Sciences. The Philosophical Society's library is an admirable one. It is entirely scientific and contains about 25,000 volumes, arranged in eight classes. The library of the University of Pennsylvania began with the inception of the Academy and College of Philadelphia, but it was only within recent years that it reached extensive proportions. The first gift of books was made by the Rev. Richard Peters. Soon after the American Revolution Louis XVI. presented it with a fine collection, chiefly of French authorship, at the suggestion of the Marquis de la Fayette. Then came a long period, during which no important gifts or extensive purchases were made, but, after the removal of the university to West Philadelphia, the library received in rapid succession the collection of books on social science and political economy made by Stephen Colwell, the rich library of Professor Allen, a part of the law library of Judge Bouvier, Professor Alfred Stillè's gift of valuable historical works, and about five thousand volumes on engineering, presented by Professor Fairman Rogers as a memorial of his father, Evan Rogers. Other special collections, the creations of recent years, are the Tobias Wagner Library, the Isaac Norris Library, the J. B. Lippincott Library, the Henry Seybert Library of Modern Spiritualism, the Krauth Library of Philosophy, the B. B. Comegys, Jr., Library of Philosophy, the Psychological Library, the Leutsch Library, the William Pepper Medical Library, the Biddle Memorial Law Library, and the Library of the Wharton School of Finance. The Tobias Wagner fund yields an income of five or six hundred dollars per annum, and the University in 1889 received a gift of $25,000 from Joseph Wharton to found the library for the Wharton School. The corner-stone of the new building of the University was laid October 15, 1888. It is an imposing structure in Thirty-fourth street, at the intersection of Locust. In 1881 the University Library had only 20,000 bound volumes; now it has seven times that number, and as many unbound books and pamphlets. The fine medical library of the Pennsylvania Hospital was founded in 1763. The first book owned by the hospital, "An Experimental History of Materia Medica," by William Lewis, F.R.S., London, 1761, was a gift of the celebrated Dr. John Fothergill. Other gifts were the medical libraries of Dr. Lloyd Zachary and Dr. Benjamin Morris; books to the value of one hundred pounds received from William Strahan, of London, in 1774; and a valuable collection of medical books, inherited by Sarah Zane, presented in 1800. The rare collection of works on natural history owned by Dr. Benjamin S. Barton was purchased after his death. The library comprises more than 15,000 bound volumes. The German Society of Pennsylvania was founded in 1764, and the suggestion of establishing a library was made as early as 1766. A library was one of the privileges contained in the society's charter, granted in 1781. It was not until 1817 that decided efforts were made to carry the plan into effect.

The library now contains about 25,000 volumes, of which nearly two-thirds are in German. A special department consists of Americana relating to the German element in Pennsylvania. The new hall of the German Society at Marshall and Spring Garden streets was dedicated in 1888. A library has always been a part of the aims of the College of Physicians, founded in 1787. In 1836 the collection comprised only 291 volumes, and in 1863, when it was placed in the hall of the College at Thirteenth and Locust streets, it did not number more than 4,500 volumes. The most noteworthy addition to the library was the gift of Dr. Samuel Lewis of 2,500 volumes in 1864. Another important contribution was the bequest of George Ord. Many additions have been made in recent years, and the library is thought to rank in value second only to that of the Surgeon-General's office in Washington. The library of the Law Association had its inception in 1802, when the Law Library Company of Philadelphia was formed. The Associated Members of the Bar of Philadelphia was organized later, and the two societies were united as the Law Association in 1827. This library, which is the oldest of its kind in the United States, is especially rich in reports of cases and the original statutes of the various States. The formation of the library of the Academy of Natural Sciences was begun in 1812. It contains many valuable specialties. The library has received numerous gifts, Dr. T. B. Wilson, before his death in 1865, presenting more than ten thousand volumes, pamphlets, periodicals, and parts of series.

The first of the libraries organized during the present century to rival the Philadelphia Library Company was the Athenæum Library and Reading Room, which originated in 1813. The association was organized February 9, 1814. It first occupied a room over Carey's book-store at Chestnut and Fourth streets, and afterward for some years the first floor of Philosophical Hall. The corner-stone of the present building was laid November 1, 1845, and the library opened October 18, 1847. The building is of brownstone in the Palladian style of architecture. It is 50 feet front in Sixth street, 125 feet in Adelphi street, and 58 feet high. The building was erected largely through the bequest of William Lehman, one of the early members, who died in 1829, leaving $10,000 for the purpose. The Athenæum, previous to 1847, was also remembered in the wills of John L. Harris, Chief-Justice William Tilghman, John Savage, Roberts Vaux, Peter S. Du Ponceau, and Nathan Dunn. The Athenæum received many additional legacies during the last half century. The bequest of John Livezey in 1880 was for $10,000, which is safely invested for the purchase of books. The Presidents have been William Tilghman, 1814–27; Peter S. Du Ponceau, 1827–44; Samuel Breck, 1844–62; Samuel Norris, 1863–5; Joshua Francis Fisher, 1865–7; Edward E. Law, 1867.

The library contains about 30,000 bound volumes, besides many manuscripts, pamphlets and maps.

The Apprentices' Library Company of Philadelphia, the first free library in the city, was opened in 1820, and incorporated in 1821. It was established "for the use of apprentices and other young persons, without charge of any kind for the use of books." So much success attended the loaning of books to boys that in 1841 a separate library for girls was established. A free reading-room for men is a later feature. In 1882 the boys' and girls' libraries were consolidated. The Apprentices' Library, like the Athenæum, has received many legacies. The library was first opened in a second-story room in Chestnut street, below Third. It was afterward removed to a room in the Carpenters' Hall, then to the north side of Carpenter, now Jayne street, east of Seventh; then to the old Mint building in Seventh street, below Arch; and finally to the Free Quaker meeting-house at Fifth and Arch streets. Since 1868 the entire building has been devoted to the uses of the library, which has always proved a great public benefit. Another free library is that of the City Institute at Eighteenth and Chestnut streets. It was opened in 1855. It occupies a brick building, 44 by 120 feet, built for its use. A wealthy Philadelphian, George S. Pepper, who died in 1890, left a legacy of $250,000 for the establishment of a free library. Under this bequest, supplemented by an appropriation from the city, a free library of 7,000 volumes was opened in the City Hall in 1894. The first free library opened by the city was in the Wagner Institute in 1892. The Board of Education has also entered upon the work of establishing small free libraries in different parts of the city as an adjunct of the public school system. A free law library, the Hurst Library, was established in 1885, and placed in the Drexel Building in 1888. It is entirely free to the profession and the public.

The largest of the lending libraries for many years was the Mercantile Library Company of Philadelphia in Tenth street, above Chestnut. It was organized in 1821 with Robert Waln as its first president. The library was opened to its members March 5, 1822, in the rooms over Robert Winebrenner's store, No. 100 Chestnut street. At first its progress was slow, but in 1826 the association, as originally formed was changed to a stock company and a charter was obtained. In that year the library was removed to the corner of Fifth and Chestnut streets, and in 1844 a lot was purchased at Fifth and Library streets and a handsome building erected. The present building, erected by the Franklin Market Company, was bought in 1867 and fitted up for the use of the library at a cost of $100,000, the old library building being sold for $95,000. The new building has been occupied since July 15, 1869. The building is 80 feet front and 300 feet deep. The reading-room in the west end of the building is divided by a low partition into two apartments, one for women and one for men. There is accommodation for six hundred persons, and at times all the chairs in the men's apartment are occupied. The newspaper-room, which has

been a feature of the library since 1824, is on the second floor over the main entrance. The library contains nearly 200,000 volumes, with a circulation of nearly half that number. More than any other library in Philadelpha it has admitted light literature to its shelves, the novel being the chief attraction for the great body of its subscribers. Even as early as 1858 sixty per cent. of the whole number of volumes taken from the library was fiction, and this percentage has increased in recent years. The successors of Robert Waln as president of the company have been Thomas P. Cope, 1823–55; William E. Bowen, 1855–60; and T. Morris Perot since 1861. The librarians have been only seven in number—Daniel Culver, 1822–6; Hiram Ayres, 1826–30; James Cox, 1830–50; A. McElroy, 1850–55; Seth C. Brace, 1855–6; and John Edwards since 1856. The library has shown a willingness to become a free library if a sufficient endowment can be obtained.

Another library on the stock plan, the Southwark Library Company, was established in 1822 and incorporated in 1830. The company owns a substantial brick building in South Second street, below Almond. Other libraries worthy of mention in this place include the library of the Franklin Institute, which allows a part of its collection to be taken out; the Mechanics' Institute, Southwark, incorporated in 1852; the Moyamensing Institute Library, 1852; the Spring Garden Institute, 1853; the Kensington Institute Library, 1853; the library of the Numesmatic and Antiquarian Society, 1857; and the Mutual Library, 1879. Noteworthy circulating libraries of private ownership have been Brotherhead's and Wilson's. William Brotherhead was a dealer in second-hand books and at one time his library was extensive and successful, but later it languished and ceased to exist. Wilson's Circulating Library was established December 1, 1875, by William C. Wilson, who was murdered in his place of business at 1117 Walnut street, in 1897. For many years the library was at 111 South Eleventh street. It was always prosperous having a constant circulation of about three thousand volumes.

The library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is in many respects the most noteworthy and complete in Philadelphia. The society was formed in 1824, and chartered in 1826. The first meeting was held at the house of Thomas I. Wharton, December 2, 1824, only seven persons being present. These were Roberts Vaux, Stephen Duncan, Thomas I. Wharton, William Rawle, Jr., Dr. Benjamin H. Coates, Dr. Casper Wistar, and George Washington Smith. A constitution and by-laws were reported at the second meeting, December 27, 1824, and adopted January 29, 1825, to be in force from and after the 28th of February following. Officers were elected on the day the constitution and by-laws went into effect, and the first meeting of the council was held May 18, 1825, when President Rawle read a paper defining the intentions of the founders. The objects of the society, as declared in this paper, have been closely adhered to, and the results

are a splendid collection of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts illustrative of American history, and of original letters, books, journals, and narrations of the early settlers in Pennsylvania. The library contains about 30,000 bound volumes, and many local pamphlets. The manuscript collection is a voluminous one, and of great value. Among these are the Penn Papers, embracing the correspondence of members of the Penn family from a period previous to 1682 down to the Revolution, much of which has been printed as the "Penn Logan Correspondence"; the Franklin Papers, comprising much of the correspondence of the eminent Philadelphian, Dr. Franklin; and the Shippen Papers, containing letters written by, and documents relating to, members of this distinguished Philadelphian family. The recent acquisitions of the greatest importance are the extensive collection of autograph letters formed by Ferdinand J. Dreer, the work of a lifetime of an enthusiastic collector, who spared neither pains nor expense; the Charlemagne Tower collection, especially rich in the early printed Laws of the American colonies; and the unequaled collection of biographies, portraits, and medals of Washington, bequeated by William Spohn Baker. Besides these and other collections of only less importance, the society possesses many historical relics of great interest, a gallery of rare portraits of distinguished persons, and a vast amount of historical, biographical, and miscellaneous matter of great antiquarian value. Among the books of exceptional rarity in the library are the "Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense," an almanac for 1686, printed by William Bradford at Philadelphia in 1685; "Good Order Established in Pennsilvania and New Jersey," by Thomas Budd, printed by Bradford in 1686; the first and second volumes of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, the first printed by Samuel Keimer, and the second by Franklin and Meredith; and Sanderson's "Lives of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence," illustrated with autograph letters.

After its formal organization the Historical Society held its meetings in the rooms of the American Philosophical Society for a period of almost twenty years, but in 1844 quarters were obtained in the second story of a house in South Sixth street, afterward numbered 211. Three years later the society removed to the upper rooms of the newly-erected Athenæum building, where it remained for a quarter of a century. In the meantime much valuable material had been collected, and it was becoming apparent that the society needed better accommodations. In 1871 the managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital offered the Historical Society their building in Spruce street, originally erected for the exhibition of Benjamin West's great picture, "Christ Healing the Sick," and known as the "Picture House," for a long term of years. The offer was accepted, and the building, which overlooked the spacious gardens of the hospital on the south, was adapted to the uses of the society, ten thousand dollars being subscribed for the purpose of making the alterations. The work required nearly a year, but in

February, 1872, the collections of the society were transferred to it, and on the 11th of March the new hall was formally opened, John William Wallace, the president, delivering an admirable discourse, outlining the history of the institution from its inception in 1824. Although the society expected to remain many years in its new home in Spruce street, scarcely a decade had passed when the need of better quarters were painfully felt, and in consequence initiatory steps were taken in the latter part of 1882, looking to the acquisition of the commodious family mansion at Thirteenth and Locust streets, built in 1832, and long the home of General Robert Patterson. Great exertions were necessary to secure funds sufficient for the purchase of this valuable property, and the lot adjoining on which the auditorium was afterward built, but the money was obtained and the mansion bought at a cost, together with the additions, alterations and renovations, of $95,000. The new hall was formally opened March 18, 1884. An additional sum of $5,000 was spent in furnishing the new rooms, and many alterations and improvements have been made since the society has occupied the building. Besides the auditorium hall adjoining the mansion in Locust street, a new fire-proof structure, Jordan Hall, the gift of John Jordan, Jr., was erected in 1894 in Thirteenth street, which, like the auditorium, is in the nature of an annex to the old building. The mansion and additions were adapted to the uses of the society with great skill, and no similar society in America has a more comfortable home.

Features of the Historical Society's methods of management are the Library and Publication funds. The former has been put upon a basis that enables the society to place on its shelves all the current publications of historical value, besides adding annually to its collection of manuscripts and scarce books. To the latter students of American history are indebted for the society's quarterly, the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, and a number of important volumes. The magazine was started in 1872, and is still continued. It fills the place of the "Memoirs," the first volume of which appeared in 1825, but is much wider in its scope. While it prints many of the papers read before the society, it also contains many articles specially prepared for its pages. The first volume of the "Memoirs" was especially noteworthy as the record of a year's work of the infant society. It contained besides the constitution of the society, and the inaugural address of William Rawle, delivered November 25, 1825, "A Memoir of the Great Treaty of William Penn in 1682," by Roberts Vaux; "Notes on the Provincial Literature of Pennsylvania," by Thomas I. Wharton; "A Memoir of the controversy between William Penn and Lord Baltimore concerning the Boundaries of Pennsylvania and Maryland"; and "Original Letters and Documents relating to the History of Pennsylvania." These papers, with the exception of the original letters and documents, are no longer to be regarded as authoritative

on the subjects treated, having been superseded by later investigations, but they mark the beginning of the epoch of research in which the Historical Society of Pennsylvania played such a conspicuous part.

The officers of the Historical Society have always been distinguished as men of character and learning. The Presidents of the society have been William Rawle, 1825–36; Peter S. Du Ponceau, 1737–45; Thomas Sergeant, 1845–58; Dr. George W. Norris, 1858–60; Joseph R. Ingersoll, 1860–68; John William Wallace, 1868–84; Brinton Coxe, 1884–92; and Charles J. Stillè, 1892. All of the presidents have been active in promoting the objects and aims of the society. The council is the managing body. It has been composed at all times of eminent Philadelphians, many of them zealous in research and valued contributors to the archives and publications of the association. Among the men who have filled official positions, and served on committees, some of the most noteworthy were George Washington Smith, to whose initiative the organization was due; Daniel B. Smith, for many years the corresponding secretary; Joshua Francis Fisher, an earnest student of Pennsylvania history; Horace Binney, the distinguished lawyer; John Jordan Jr., one of the most active and liberal members of the society; Samuel Hazard, the editor of the "Colonial Records," and other compilations; John McAlister, Jr., an intelligent collector of Philadelphia ana; Townsend Ward, whose contributions enriched many of the early pages of the magazine; William S. Baker, the learned specialist in everything relating to General Washington; and Frederick D. Stone, for twenty years the efficient librarian. All these are dead. The first woman to become a member of the society was Mrs. Deborah Logan, a daughter of Charles Norris and the wife of Dr. George Logan. To her are due the rescue and preservation of the papers of James Logan. The living officers and members of the society have lost none of the zeal that characterized their predecessors. Dr. Stillè frequently writes for the magazine. Judge Samuel W. Pennypacker takes rank as the leading authority in regard to the German element in Pennsylvania. Prof. John B. McMaster, the historian, has assisted in editing some of the most important publications of the society. Prof. Gregory B. Keen, the author of the "Descendants of Joran Kyn," in the magazine, is an authority in Philadelphia family history. John W. Jordan has contributed many papers on Moravian history, in which he is a specialist, besides editing the magazine for many years and performing the duties of assistant librarian.

The Historical Society has real estate valued at $131,701. The publication fund is $35,000; the endowment fund, $33,000; the library fund, $16,000; and the building fund, $5,300. There is, besides, a general fund amounting to $11,000.

Societies of more limited scope than the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, are the Presbyterian Historical Society, founded in 1852; the American Baptist Historical Society organized in 1853; and

the American Catholic Historical Society, which began to attract public attention to the importance of its work when it first occupied its new quarters in the Athenæum building in 1889. The Presbyterian Society owes its foundation to the efforts of Samuel Agnew. It was chartered in 1857 but it was without a building of its own until 1881, when the modest but substantial structure at No. 1229 Race street was acquired. The library comprises about 20,000 bound volumes, a large collection of pamphlets, and a great mass of manuscript material. The Baptist Society was chartered in 1861, when the Rev. Howard Malcom was its president. It has a library of nearly ten thousand volumes, one thousand of which relate to church history. It has two alcoves of special interest,—the Davis alcove endowed by Isaac Davis, of Worcester, Mass., and the Jennings alcove, the gift of Francis Jennings. The Catholic Society promises to become one of the most important depositories of material for church history in Philadelphia. Other libraries that are theological rather than historical are those of Christ Church, 1695; American Sunday School Union, 1824; Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1838; Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1864; and Philadelphia Divinity School, Protestant Episcopal, 1865. The Young Men's Christian Association has a miscellaneous library, established in 1854. Nearly all the public institutions have libraries, including the United States Mint, 1793; the Philadelphia Almshouse, 1808; the House of refuge, White, 1826; the Eastern Penitentiary, 1829; the Institution for the Blind, and the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, 1833; the Philadelphia County Prison, 1844; and the House of Refuge, Colored, 1850. The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, F. and A. M., established a library as early as 1787, and there is an Odd Fellows' Library Company. All the clubs have libraries, that of the Union League Club being especially large and well chosen. Altogether there are over one hundred libraries in Philadelphia accessible to the public, or of a semi-public character.

EDUCATIONAL AND REFORMATORY.

I.

EARLY SCHOOLS—PUBLIC AND PRIVATE.

ENOCH FLOWER was the first schoolmaster in Philadelphia. It was one of the provisions of the "Great Law" of 1683 that schools should be established for the education of the young, and on the 26th of December of that year an agreement was entered into between the Provincial Council and Flower for the establishment of a school. The charges per quarter were fixed at four shillings for teaching English, six shillings for reading and writing, and eight shillings for reading, writing, and casting accounts. Flower took pupils to board with him for ten pounds a year. Flower was, of course, a Friend, but we have no traditions of his character as a schoolmaster or of the school that he established. The terms of his agreement with the Council show that the history of education in Philadelphia had a very modest beginning. It is probable that the experiment failed or that the school soon proved inadequate, for in 1689 a more ambitious attempt was made to put in practice William Penn's ideas of a public school by the establishment of a grammar school on a more liberal basis.

The second school started in Philadelphia is still in existence and is now known as the William Penn Charter School. It had three charters granted by Penn, in 1701, 1708, and 1711. The first application for a charter was made in 1697 by Edward Shippen, David Lloyd, John Jones, Samuel Carpenter, Anthony Morris, James Fox, William Southby, and others, and a schoolhouse was erected in Fourth street, below Chestnut, where it remained for more than a century. This school is still conducted in connection with Friends' Meeting, and is situated in Twelfth street, near Market, adjoining the meeting-house. It was not started as a public school in the modern sense, but the children of the poor were instructed without charge. The first head-master, appointed in 1689, was George Keith, a Scotch Quaker, who incited the first schism in the Society of Friends in Pennsylvania. Keith was engaged at a salary of £50 a year and given the use of a house. For the first year he was also allowed the profits of the school, but in con-

sequence of the controversy with the Friends in which he embroiled himself he remained in charge of the school for only a short time. His assistant was Thomas Makin, the author of a Latin poem descriptive of Pennsylvania, written in his old age and published after his death, who became Keith's successor. Makin remained principal of the grammar-school for many years, and lived until 1733, when he was accidentally drowned by falling into the Delaware while stooping over the end of a wharf to get a pail of water. Besides being a schoolmaster, he was also clerk of the Assembly, 1706–9. In reporting his death the *Pennsylvania Gazette* said "he was an ancient man, and formerly lived very well in this city, teaching a considerable school, but of late years was reduced to extreme poverty." Although the charter-school was for sixty years the only academy of any pretensions in Philadelphia, it had no head-master of note after Makin's retirement, which took place a number of years before his death, until Robert Proud took charge of the school in 1760. Proud was an English Quaker, who came to Philadelphia when he was 30 years of age and became the first historian of the province. "What is now known as Friends' Academy in Fourth street, below Chestnut," wrote "Lang Syne" of his school days before the Revolution, "was at that time occupied by four different masters—the west room, down stairs, by Robert Proud, Latin master; the one above him by William Waring, teacher of astronomy and mathematics; the east room, up stairs, by Jeremiah Paul; and the one below, last not least in our remembrance, by J. Todd—severe he was." Disappointment in love was said to be the reason for Proud's determination to emigrate to Pennsylvania. In England he was a tutor in the families of Timothy and Sylvanus Bevan, two prominent members of the Society of Friends, and he studied medicine with the celebrated Dr. Fothergill. He was well versed in the Latin and Greek languages, and he attained to considerable proficiency in French and Hebrew. In his business ventures he was always unsuccessful. During the Revolution his sympathies were with the crown. He was described by his biographer, C. W. Thomson, as "in person tall, his nose of the Roman order and overhung with impending brows, his head covered with a curled gray wig and surmounted with a half-cocked patriarchal hat, and in his hand a long ivory-headed cane. He possessed gentleness and kindness of manner in society, and in his school he was mild, commanding, and affectionate." He was fully six feet in height and very slender. In winter he wore a drab cloak that gave him the appearance of one of the figures in West's painting of the so-called Shackamaxon treaty. He relinquished teaching in 1790 and devoted himself to the compilation of his history of Pennsylvania. "Before and after this time," he said in a memorandum relating to that work, "I was frequently in a very infirm state of health, notwithstanding which I revised and published my history of Pennsylvania, although imperfect and deficient, the necessary and authentic materials being very defect-

ive, and my declining health not permitting me to finish it entirely to my mind ; and I had reason to apprehend, if it was not then published, nothing of the kind so complete, even with all its defects, would be likely to be published at all ; and which publication, though the best extant of the kind, as a true and faithful record, was not patronized as I expected, not even by the offspring and lineal successors of the first and early settlers, and for whose sake it was particularly undertaken by me, to my great loss and disappointment." It is not surprising that he bewailed this indifference and neglect and declared himself

> Taught half by reason, half by mere decay
> To welcome death, and calmly pass away.

Robert Proud died in 1813, in the 86th year of his age. He lived a bachelor, and in his latter years described himself as "a decayed gentleman." Of two of Proud's associates in the old Friends' Academy, Waring and Paul, we have no accounts ; but "Lang Syne" left a description of the "master of scholars," John Todd, "dressed after the plainest manner of Friends, but of the richest material, with looped cocked hat." He was at that time a man of about 60 years, square built, well sustained by bone and muscle, and "at all times remarkably nice and clean in his person." There was also connected with the charter-school in William McKoy's schooldays an usher, "a short Irishman," named "Jimmy" McCue. In all the schools in the last century —even in the Friends' school—flogging was considered essential to discipline. It was a common practice to make the boys strip off their jackets so as to get their whippings with only the linen between the flesh and the strap ; the girls, too, were required to take off their stays to receive their floggings. Sometimes the boys were hoisted upon another boy's back preparatory to the whipping, and sometimes "the passion of the master, 'growing by what it fed on,' and wanting elbow room, the chair would be quickly thrust on one side, when, with sudden gripe, he was to be seen dragging his struggling suppliant to the flogging-ground in the centre of the room ; having placed his left foot upon the end of a bench, he then, with a patent jerk peculiar to himself, would have the boy completely horsed across his knee, with his left elbow on the back of his neck to keep him securely on. In the hurry of the moment he would bring his long pen with him, griped between his strong teeth—visible the while—causing the both ends to descend to a parallel with his chin and adding much to the terror of the scene. His face would assume a deep claret color ; his little bob of hair would disengage itself and stand out, each particular hair, as it were, 'up in arms and eager for the fray.' Having his victim thus completely at command, and all useless drapery drawn up to a bunch above the waistband, and the rotundity and the nankeen in the closest affinity possible for them to be, then once more to the 'staring crew'

would be exhibited the dexterity of master and strap. By long practice he had arrived at such perfection in the exercise that, moving on quick time, the fifteen inches of bridle-rein—alias strap—would be seen, after every cut, elevated to a perpendicular above his head, from whence it descended like a flail upon the stretched nankeen, leaving 'on the place beneath' a fiery red streak at every slash." This is a faithful but not a pleasant picture of the Philadelphia schoolboy's unhappy lot in the eighteenth century. "Does it hurt?" the irate master would exclaim. "O! yes, master; O! don't, master," the blubbering urchin would answer. "Then I'll make it hurt the more," would be the unappeased master's next assurance. "I'll make thy flesh creep—thou sha'n't want a warming-pan to-night—intolerable being! Nothing in nature is able to prevail upon thee but my strap." One boy, George Fudge, wore leather breeches. "Does it not hurt?" demanded the panting flogger one day, after vigorously applying his strap. "No!" exclaimed the young reprobate. "Hurrah for leather crackers!" He was thrown sprawling upon the floor, with the exclamation, "Intolerable being! Get out of my school. Nothing in nature is able to prevail upon thee—not even my strap."

Although the William Penn Charter School was the only grammar school in the city during the first half of the eighteenth century and was open to the children of Churchmen and of other Dissenters as well as of Friends, there is no evidence that it obtained a very high character as an institution of learning. Even Thomas Lloyd, the deputy governor, sent his younger daughters to Lewistown, at the southern cape of the Delaware, to be educated while Thomas Makin was conducting the grammar school in Philadelphia, and the Presbyterians established their "log colleges" in the counties of Bucks and Chester with the first influx of Scotch and Irish immigrants. Soon after his settlement at the forks of the Neshaminy, in 1721, the Rev. William Tennent opened a school there for teaching the languages. This was the first "Log College." Many of the early pastors of the Presbyterian Church were educated by Mr. Tennent, but the "Log College" found a powerful rival afterward in the classical school opened by the Rev. Francis Alison at New London, in Chester County, in 1741. Among Mr. Alison's pupils at New London, or at Thunder Hill, in Maryland, before he settled in Pennsylvania, were Charles Thomson, George Read, Thomas McKean, and others who became eminent in the history of the province and State. After the establishment of the Academy, later the College of Philadelphia, and still later the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Alison became connected with that institution, as will be told in the chapter relating its history.

The Mennonites of Germantown and the Skippack were scarcely behind the Quakers of Philadelphia in establishing schools for the education of their children. The record of their early schools has been lost, but it is a singularly interesting account of Christopher

Dock, a noteworthy schoolmaster among these German settlers, that Judge Samuel W. Pennypacker unearthed and published a few years ago. Dock came to Pennsylvania about 1714, and it is probable he opened a school in the old log meeting-house at Germantown about 1718, although the evidence points more clearly to the Skippack as the scene of his first labors as a schoolmaster. It is certain that he taught at least four terms in the summer at Germantown before 1735, but the dates cannot be definitely fixed. In 1738 he opened two schools, one at Salford and one at the Skippack, which he taught alternately three days in the week until advancing age compelled him to desist. Through the efforts of Christopher Sauer, the German printer at Germantown, Dock was induced to put an account of his methods of keeping school in writing, and this work, written in 1750, was finally printed after many delays, by the younger Sauer in 1770. It was the first treatise on school-teaching published in America, and it affords the first glimpses we have of the country school of the colonial period.

The oldest school in Germantown with a history is that known as the Germantown Academy. It originated at a meeting held at the house of Daniel Mackinet, December 6, 1759, and the school-house "in the lane or cross-street leading toward the Schuylkill, commonly called Bensell's lane," was built by subscription in 1760. As originally designed, it was an English and High Dutch or German school, and the name given it was the "Germantown Union School-house." The trustees chosen in 1760 were Christopher Sauer, Thomas Rosse, John Jones, Daniel Mackinet, Jacob Keyser, John Bowman, Thomas Livzey, David Deshler, George Absentz, Joseph Galloway, Charles Bensell, Jacob Naglee, and Benjamin Engle. The first school year began in September, 1761, with Hilarius Becker as the German teacher; David James Dove, the English teacher; and Thomas Pratt as usher. A month after the school opened it had 70 German and 61 English pupils. Greek, Latin, and the mathematics were taught from the outset. In 1764 the lessons in deportment taught in the school gave offense to the Quaker subscribers, and it was resolved by the trustees "that the master shall give express orders to the children of persons of that society that they do not accost him or other persons by uncovering the head at any time." The school was discontinued in consequence of the British occupation in 1777, but it was reopened with the return of peace, and it was chartered in 1784, with the name of "the Public School of Germantown." Thomas Dungan, the master of the English school, joined the American army in 1777, serving successively as paymaster of the Twelfth, Sixth, and Second regiments of the Pennsylvania Line. The school was poor and struggled on for many years after the Revolution, gradually becoming more prosperous. In 1810 the house opposite the Academy was bought by the trustees for $3,200. The old school-house, one of the few ante-Revolutionary relics still standing in Philadelphia, is a stone structure, very quaint and old-fashioned, with an odd

little cupola, and a bell that was brought over on one of the tea-ships that were emptied into Boston harbor. Its situation is at present described as Schcolhouse lane, between Green and Wayne streets, Germantown. When the centennial anniversary of the Germantown Academy was celebrated April 21, 1860, the old bell was rung to mark the beginning of the ceremonies, and there was an ode by John S. Littell and an oration by Sidney George Fisher. A history of the Germantown Academy, by Horace Wemyss Smith, was published in 1883. At the present time the school has nearly 300 pupils.

Among the noteworthy private schools of which traces may be found in the annals of Philadelphia, one of the earliest was the school of the fiery schoolmaster, misnamed Dove, in Videll's alley, which opened into Second street, below Chestnut. Dove had previously taught in the Philadelphia and Germantown academies. Alexander Graydon was one of his pupils, and gives the following account of his methods of punishment:

> It was his practice in school to substitute disgrace for corporal punishment. His birch was rarely used in the canonical method, but was generally stuck into the back part of the collar of the unfortunate culprit, who, with this badge of disgrace towering from his nape like a broom at the mast-head of a vessel for sale, was compelled to take his stand upon the top of the form, for such a period of time as his offense was thought to deserve. He had another contrivance for boys who were late in their morning attendance. This was to dispatch a committee of five or six scholars for them, with a bell and lighted lantern, and in this "odd equipage" in broad daylight, the bell all the while tingling, were they escorted through the streets to school. As Dove affected a strict regard to justice in his dispensations of punishments, and always professed a willingness to have an equal measure of it meted out to himself in case of his trangressing, the boys took him at his word, and one morning, when he had overstayed his time, either through laziness, inattention, or design, he found himself waited on in the usual form. He immediately admitted the justice of the procedure, and putting himself behind the lantern and the bell, marched with great solemnity to school, to the no small gratification of the boys and entertainment of the spectators.

Any connected account of the schools and schoolmasters of Philadelphia in the eighteenth century is impossible. After 1750 the private schools increased rapidly. William Milne opened a night school in 1751. In 1756 the Baptist Association succeeded in raising a fund to support a Latin grammar school that was placed in charge of Isaac Eaton. Soon after 1760 the Moravians opened a school that had a brief existence, and in 1763 a parochial school was established under the auspices of the vestry of Christ Church. Just before the Revolution an attempt was made to found an institution especially designed for the Germans, but it was abandoned in consequence of the struggle for independence. This enterprise was undertaken by the Society for the Promotion of Christianity and all Useful Knowledge among the Germans in America, and was under the direction of the Rev. Henry

Melchior Muhlenberg. In 1770 a Mr. Griscom advertised a private academy, "free from the noises of the city." This school was in a long stone building in Front and Water streets, above Vine street. It was two stories high in Front and three stories in Water street and had a full open view of the river. It was the first private institution in Philadelphia to be called an academy. A free school for blacks was also opened in 1770 by the Society of Friends, and a bequest of the Rev. Thomas Bray, an Episcopal clergyman, for missionary purposes was diverted in 1774 for the education of colored youth. Perhaps the most famous of the early schoolmasters was Anthony Benezet, the Quaker philanthropist. Benezet, who was a Frenchman by birth, kept a school for children of both sexes for a number of years in his own house in Chestnut street, near the bridge. He died in 1784. He had the largest funeral ever seen in Philadelphia up to that time, fully one-third of those that followed him to the grave being blacks. Old Mr. Smith taught for Friends for many years at Pine street meeting. When he became very old he was allowed to keep the school in the third story of his own house in Walnut street, near Front. Other early Philadelphia schoolmasters whose names were preserved, were Lyttle, Trip, Clark, Rankin, Gartly, and Yerkes. Joseph Yerkes was brought before a magistrate in August, 1778, for keeping school without having taken the oath of allegiance to the State. "His school is stopped," Elizabeth Drinker wrote in her Journal, "and our son Billy is at a loss for employment, as well as many others, in consequence of it."

The idea of a separate school for girls originated with a Mr. Horton, but the most famous of the schools of this kind was Poor's Academy for Young Ladies, started about 1787 in Cherry street by John Poor. It was incorporated in 1792. Under the presidency of the Rev. Samuel Magaw it obtained a very high reputation. This institution is entitled to rank as the first finishing school for young ladies in Philadelphia. After this, schools for girls, with the high-sounding names of academies and seminaries for young ladies, were established from time to time, until in more recent years some of them assumed the dignity of colleges for women.

Free education in Philadelphia was retarded for many years by making the institutions intended to afford instruction for the poor without charge, avowed charity schools. This made the best of them from a very early period to be regarded as pauper schools. The charity element entered into many of the best of the schools of the eighteenth century. A charity school was an essential part of the scheme for the establishment of the Philadelphia Academy, 1747–9, and notwithstanding the academy became a college and the college a university, the charity feature was maintained until within a very few years. Indeed, it still exists in the form of a number of free scholarships in the university. From the outset it was recognized that the blacks, if they were to be educated at all, must receive free instruction. A fresh

impulse was given to the charity schools of this class by the establishment of a new school for the education of colored youth by the Pennsylvania Abolition Society in 1790. In 1804 a Society of Free People of Color was formed and established a school in Carter's alley the same year, with John Trumbull as teacher. No religious distinctions were permitted, and the Pennsylvania Abolition Society was given a right of inspection and supervision that apparently had little effect in promoting the success of the school. About the same time a school was established by St. Thomas' African Church. The Aimwell and Adelphi schools for white children were also in the nature of charity schools. The latter has gone out of existence, but the former, which is the oldest of the girls' schools in Philadelphia with a continuous history and next to the William Penn Charter School the oldest of existing Quaker institutes, is still conducted on the plan originated by its founders.

The Aimwell School, which occupies a brick building on the north side of Cherry street, between Ninth and Tenth streets, is supported by the Society for the Free Instruction of Female Children, founded by three young women of the Society of Friends in 1796. For many years the school was kept in one of the rooms of the Friends' Academy in Fourth street. The Adelphi School was opened in 1801 in a room in the rear of the Second Presbyterian Church at Third and Arch streets. It was maintained by the Philadelphia Society for the Establishment and Support of Charity Schools, organized in 1799 and incorporated in 1801. An interesting story is told in connection with the incorporation of this society. When Christopher Ludwick, the baker-general of the Revolution, died he left a handsome legacy to the association that should be first incorporated for teaching poor children without charge in Pniladelphia. The University of Pennsylvania desired to secure this bequest, and made an effort to obtain a special charter by priority. A similar effort was made by the Philadelphia Society above-mentioned, which was then conducting the Adelphi School. Both charters were granted by the Legislature and delivered by Governor McKean to the rivals at the same moment. Priority in consequence turned upon the earlier delivery of the articles of incorporation for record in the rolls office at Lancaster, and there was a hot race from Philadelphia to that town by the bearers of the papers. The messenger for the university went on horseback,—Temple Bennett Eves for the society was drawn in a sulky. Eves distanced his competitor, reaching Lancaster, 66 miles, in seven hours. Thus was established the claim to Ludwick's legacy. With the fund thus secured a lot of ground was bought in Walnut street west of Sixth, a building erected, and the school opened in 1804. This property became very valuable, and in 1859 the building was adapted for office uses, with the name of the Ludwick Building, and a school-house was built in Catherine street, between Sixth and Seventh, on a lot of

ground presented by Paul Beck, Sr. It was then, and it is still, called the Beck School-house. It is a boys' and girls' grammar and secondary school, and has the right to send pupils to the Central High School.

One of the oldest and most noteworthy schools in Philadelphia is the Protestant Episcopal Academy in Locust street, at the corner of Juniper. This institution was founded in 1785 by prominent churchmen, including Bishop White, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Pillmore, and the Rev. Dr. Robert Blackwell. A large building was erected in Chestnut street, west of Sixth, for the use of the academy, but the undertaking proved too expensive for the time and the building was sold, and became Oeller's Hotel. It was destroyed by fire with Ricketts' Circus in 1799. The academy afterward had a number of homes, but for many years it was unable to rise above the rank of an ordinary school. In 1846 Bishop Potter and others took steps to increase its means and enlarge its facilities, and the present building of red sandstone was erected. One of the early teachers was Enos Bronson, who obtained control of the *Gazette of the United States* in 1802. Like the Episcopalians the Roman Catholics founded schools at a very early period. In 1781 subscriptions for "paying for the old schoolhouse and lot purchased for £400" were raised, and the same year £440 15*s.* 6½*d.* was paid for the erection of a new school-house. This was at the rear of the lot now known as No. 324 Walnut street. The Mount Airy Seminary, Roman Catholic, was opened under the Rev. F. X. Brosius in 1807, and at the same time there was an academy at Frankford managed by the Rev. John W. Doake, Presbyterian. The Clermont Seminary, near Frankford, was established in 1806 by John Thomas Carrè and his brother, Charles Carrè. Among the numerous private schools carried on early in the century were those of Joseph Longhead, Mrs. Rivardi, John Jones, Francis Varion, D. Hewitt, Mrs. Tuckett, Ignace Fraizier, Daniel Maganis, James Hamer, David Simon, T. Loomis, Benjamin Tucker, J. Hobson, William P. Smith, Gray and Wylie, I. Stenson, the Rev. William Mann and William J. Bedlock, Ballantyne and Corson and James Ross.

James Ross was a representative schoolmaster of his epoch. He became an instructor in Dickinson College at Carlisle in 1784, established a grammar school in Chambersburg in 1793, founded the Chambersburg Academy in 1797, and was professor of the Latin and Greek languages in Franklin College, Lancaster, 1800–10. Subsequently he conducted a classical school in Fourth street, Philadelphia. While in Chambersburg he published Ross' "Latin Grammar," which reached its ninth edition in 1829, two years after his death. This grammar was used as a text-book in nearly all the Pennsylvania colleges and Latin schools until near the middle of the century. In 1810 he published a Latin and English conversation book, the "Colloquies of Cordery," which reached its fifth edition in 1817. He also published a Greek

Grammar in Latin that was considered so great an improvement of the "Westminster Grammar," that it was adopted by the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania for exclusive use in the Grammar School, and it was used to the exclusion of all others in Princeton College. "I rejoice exceedingly that the University of Pennsylvania has adopted so wise a resolution," wrote Philip Lindsley, professor of the Greek and Latin languages in Princeton College in 1817; "I hope that the example of that venerable institution, and of our own, will have much influence on public sentiment, and that a Greek Grammar in English will soon cease to be inquired for." Ross was among the last of the classical teachers "to support the approved usages and systems of the good old school."

Other Philadelphia schoolmasters worthy of mention here were Andrew Brown, who soon abandoned teaching and founded the *Federal Gazette* in 1788; Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist, who kept a country school in a primitive schoolhouse near Darby; John Sanderson, the author of the first and second volumes of the "Lives of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence," who taught in the Clermont Seminary and married a daughter of John T. Carrè, the principal; Joseph Hutton, the playwright, who kept a school in Lombard street, near Third, in 1816; and Joseph R. Chandler, who continued his school even after he became editor of the *United States Gazette*. Chandler was the author of a "Grammar of the English Language" that passed through several editions.

A curious chapter might be written on the professors of the French language in Philadelphia. King Louis Philippe, it has been said, gave instructions to the daughters of William Bingham and was disposed to marry one of his pupils. Nicholas Gouin Dufief, a Frenchman who came here about 1800, aroused opposition to his method of teaching French in a hostile controversial pamphlet as early as 1806. His system was set forth in a work in two volumes called "Nature Displayed in Her Mode of Teaching Language to Man, or a New and Infallible Method of Acquiring a Language in the Shortest Possible Time," which was so popular that it reached its twenty-first edition in 1826. Dufief also published "A New Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of the French and English Languages," 3 vols, 1810. Peter A. Chazotte published "An Essay on the Best Method of Teaching Foreign Languages as Applied with Extraordinary Success to the French Language" in 1817, and even more curious was "Traitè complet de la Prononciation de la Langue Anglais, by Charles Carle, interpreter to the State of Pennsylvania and professor of English and French in Philadelphia," 1818—a Frenchman's direction to his countrymen for speaking English. Another teacher of languages, who published "First Lessons in French," "Spanish Speller," and other text-books, was Charles Picot, a native of Paris. J. C. Oehlschlager, for many years a teacher of the German language, published a "Pronouncing German Reader" and prepared

the introduction to the American edition of Grieb's "German and English Dictionary." The story of the professors of the ancient and modern tongues in Philadelphia, their books and their schools, would make an interesting chapter in the history of the city if it could be recovered from the oblivion to which it was doomed.

II.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

In spite of the fact that it was long the habit to attribute the origin of the University of Pennsylvania to Benjamin Franklin, the recent disposition to challenge his claims to many things that before were accepted without question has led to a discussion of fresh doubts in regard to its real beginnings and actual founders. In 1749 Franklin printed a pamphlet entitled "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania." He claimed this in his autobiography as the inception of the academy. "This I distributed among the principal inhabitants gratis," he wrote, "and as soon as I could suppose their minds prepared by the perusal of it I set on foot a subscription for opening and supporting an academy, avoiding as much as I could, according to my usual rule, the presenting myself to the public as the author of any scheme for their benefit." Dr. Caspar Wistar, on the other hand, declared in his "Eulogium on William Shippen" that Dr. Phinneas Bond, in conjunction with Thomas Hopkinson, "originated the scheme of the college, now the University of Pennsylvania." The natural inference is that both these claims are too sweeping and that the honor of founding the university is more widely diffused than among these rival claimants. It is not likely that the foundation of the academy had its origin in Franklin's pamphlet, but was the result of a spontaneous and public-spirited movement, of which the pamphlet was only an incident and, perhaps, an afterthought. But apart from this contention, it has been argued that the real origin of the academy was the charity school that was a part of the object for which the money subscribed for the "New Building" in 1740 was obtained. This theory is not well supported. The main purpose for which the "New Building"—part of which, long known as the Academy, is still standing—was erected was to provide a preaching place for the celebrated George Whitefield. There is no doubt that the establishment of a charity school was part of the original scheme, but up to 1747 one had not been established, and there is no evidence that one was started before 1749, when the property was conveyed to the trustees of the academy

on the conditions that the debt in which it was involved should be discharged, that a free-school should be maintained on the premises, and that a place of worship should be set apart for the occasional use of such ministers of the Gospel as the trustees might judge qualified to "teach the word of God." It was especially stipulated that the Rev. George Whitefield should have its free and uninterrupted use "whenever he should happen to be in the city and desire to preach therein."

Whitefield first preached in Philadelphia, in Christ Church, in November, 1739. His preaching attracted the laity, but excited the opposition of the clergy, and it was not long until he was practically excluded from the churches. Recourse was had to open air preaching in consequence, and Whitefield addressed vast crowds from the balcony of the Court House in High street, and from the balcony of Loxley's house on Society Hill, below Dock creek. On these occasions as many as ten thousand people listened to his discourses. Whitefield's popularity led to a determination to erect a special building for his use. The lot selected for the "New Building," as it was called, was on the west side of Fourth street, below Arch. It was 150 feet front and 98 feet deep. The building was speedily erected, and Whitefield preached in it in November, 1740, before it was under roof. The last times that he occupied it were in 1745–6. The title was vested in trustees, but as the lot had been purchased on ground rent, and money borrowed for the completion of the building, the property was in debt to the amount of £775 18*s* 11*d* in 1749. This sum, and the conditions already recited, were the consideration for the conveyance from the surviving trustees of the "New Building" to the trustees of the Academy in that year. Alterations were at once made in the building to fit it for its new uses. The lofty hall was divided into two stories with schoolrooms on each story. These changes required time, and it was not until the beginning of 1751 that the building was occupied by the Academy schools. The opening was marked by the usual solemnities, and a sermon was preached by the Rev. Richard Peters.

Although the Academy schools were begun in a private house in Second street, belonging to Mr. Allen, in 1750, and transferred to the "New Building" in 1751, it was not until July 13, 1753, that the "Trustees of the Academy and Charitable School in the Province of Pennsylvania," obtained their first charter. In the meantime the institution had made satisfactory progress. It does not appear that the Charity School was begun until September 16, 1751. Some difficulty was experienced in securing a suitable master, but in the previous August George Price was appointed to teach twenty boys at a salary of £30 per annum, and his wood in winter. The Academy was divided into three schools—Latin, English, and Mathematics. The Latin master was the principal of the Academy, and was called the rector. The first rector was the Rev. Dr. David Martin. Dr. Martin died before the close of the year, 1751, and was succeeded by the Rev. Francis

Alison, who had previously kept a classical school at New London, in Chester county. The first English master was David James Dove. His views soon clashed with those of the trustees, and he was succeeded by Ebenezer Kinnersley. Kinnersley was the most conspicuous of these early teachers, and if he had received the credit that was his due, he would be distinguished for most of the electrical discoveries that are attributed to Benjamin Franklin. To the skill of Mr. Kinnersley in the use of electrical appliances we have the testimony of the Rev. Ezra Styles, afterward President of Yale College, who visited Philadelphia in 1754. Previous to this Mr. Kinnersley had set up rods and wires to defend the Academy and his own house against lightning, and he was the possessor of at least a part of the curious electrical apparatus that was afterward purchased by the college. Franklin claimed all the discoveries as his own, and declared in his autobiography that he wrote the lectures with which Kinnersley accompanied his experiments in electricity in different parts of the country. These claims, however, are confronted by the declarations of the *American Magazine*, in 1758, that Mr. Kinnersley was "the chief inventor of the electrical apparatus as well as the author of a considerable part of those discoveries in electricity published by Mr. Franklin, to whom he communicated them." It was also charged as a part of these accusations and not denied at the time, that Franklin had not "been careful enough to distinguish between their particular discoveries." In his autobiography Franklin spoke of Kinnersley as only an ingenious neighbor with nothing to do, from whom he received some assistance of a mechanical nature, but Franklin's associate in these experiments was dead many years before the autobiography was published. Kinnersley remained with the academy and college until 1772, teaching oratory as well as English. The first teacher of the mathematics was Theophilus Grew, who calculated the Barbadoes Almanac for 1752, published by Franklin, and wrote "A Description of the Globes," designed for the instruction of the young gentlemen at the Academy in Philadelphia, printed by Sauer. Grew retained his position until his death, in 1759, and was succeeded by Hugh Williamson, a Revolutionary celebrity, whose name has been connected with that of Franklin in the transactions relating to the Hutchinson letters, of which such effective use was made by Samuel Adams in the Massachusetts Assembly. As early as 1754, a Mr. Creamer was the teacher of the French, Italian, and German languages, and of drawing; and William Smith, afterward the celebrated prevost of the college, was the professor of philosophy, mental and moral. The salaries of the Faculty were: Alison, £200; Kinnersley, £150; Grew, £120; and Creamer, £100.

William Smith was a Scotchman by birth, and was educated at the University of Aberdeen with the apparent design of becoming a parochial schoolmaster. Finding little encouragement as an educator in Scotland, he emigrated to New York in 1751, where he became tutor

in the family of Colonel Martin. While thus employed, in 1752, he wrote a pamphlet, "Some Thoughts on Education: with Reasons for Erecting a College in this Province and Fixing the Same at the City of New York," with a view to finding sufficient scope for his own abilities. This was followed the next year, 1753, by another pamphlet, "A General Idea of a College of Mirania." Smith sent this pamphlet to Franklin, who at once invited him to visit Philadelphia. A copy of the pamphlet was also sent to Mr. Peters, who also agreed with Franklin that Smith's scheme was not impracticable. The result of the correspondence was that Smith visited Philadelphia and was warmly welcomed, one of the scholars of the academy reciting some verses on science that he had prefixed to his account of the College of Mirania. He remained only ten days, being determined to return to England to obtain Orders from the Archbishop of Canterbury. During his stay Franklin made him an offer looking to his appointment as rector of the academy as the successor of Alison, and Peters gave him a letter to Thomas Penn. At this time the prospects of the academy were far from encouraging. Either the Latin School under Mr. Alison had not prospered, or Mr. Alison, as rector, was not satisfactory. The English School, under Mr. Dove, had been very prosperous, the number of his scholars being upwards of ninety early in the year. Inspired by his popularity, Dove asked to be allowed to give a part of his time to conducting a girls' school, to which the trustees refused to consent. He then resigned, and under his successor the school soon fell away one-half. The only hope under these circumstances was in assistance from Thomas Penn, and Smith was charged to obtain from him what Franklin called "the finishing hand to our institution." Smith succeeded so well with the Proprietor that Penn agreed to give him £50 a year in addition to what the trustees should settle on him for his salary, and to grant his share in the manor of Perkasie in Bucks county toward the support of the academy. With these assurances, in obtaining which he had the friendly interests of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Smith returned to Philadelphia in May, 1754, and was at once made Professor of Philosophy in the institution of which he was soon to become the head. His energy was soon apparent in the affairs of the academy. Within a month after his arrival he had induced Hallam's company of comedians to give a performance for the benefit of the charity children, that brought £100 to the support of the Charity School. The minutes of the trustees show that Smith was first accepted on trial to teach philosophy and logic, but there must have been some understanding that the academy was to become a college as soon as a charter could be obtained, with the young Professor of Philosophy at its head. This was done, the charter of the "Trustees of the College, Academy and Charitable School of the Province of Pennsylvania," being dated June 16, 1755. William Smith was appointed provost, Francis Alison vice-provost, and Paul

Jackson professor of languages. Kinnersley and Grew were called professors instead of masters, but the name of Creamer disappears.

During the next five years the progress of the college was so marked that Burnaby, in his "Travels in North America in 1760," said this "institution is erected upon an admirable plan, and is by far the best school of learning throughout America." In May, 1756, a curriculum for the college was prepared by the provost, and the first commencement occurred in 1757. Many students who became distinguished in the affairs of the province were graduated in these early years, including Francis Hopkinson and Jacob Duchè, who were great favorites with Provost Smith. In 1758 Jackson was succeeded as professor of the Latin and Greek languages by John Beveridge, a Scotchman, who had previously conducted a private Latin school at Hartford, in Connecticut. Beveridge's acquaintance with the language he taught, according to Graydon, was "justly deemed to be very accurate and profound." He wrote Latin verses, contributed to the *American Magazine*, and was prominent in the literary society that centred in the college, of which Smith was the animating spirit. It was part of the policy of the provost to interest the gifted young graduates in the college. Hugh Williamson, who succeeded Grew as professor of mathematics in 1759, had been graduated in 1757; Duchè, a member of the same class, was induced to accept the chair of oratory in 1762; and still another of the graduates of that year, Dr. John Morgan, founded the medical school in 1765. These connections, however, were only incidents of the founding of a great university. Smith's energy and activity were the most powerful influences in making the college successful. "As might have been expected from one with the acquirements and mental activities of Dr. Smith," Judge Pennypacker wrote, "his voice was heard and his hand was felt in all of the affairs of the province. As a clergyman, he preached fast-day sermons; as an orator, he delivered addresses upon public occasions; he made investigations in astronomy and other sciences, edited a magazine, and, moreover, was a speculator in lands and an active politician. He was regarded as the exponent of the views of the college and the custodian of its interests, and while it was benefited by his exertions, it also suffered from the antagonisms he aroused. A churchman and a friend of the proprietors, he cordially disliked and opposed the Quakers, who elected the Assembly and controlled public affairs, and the German Mennonites, Dunkers, and Moravians, through whose support they were able to do it." Smith's hostility to these sects was expressed in a political pamphlet as early as 1755, and he also became embroiled with William Moore, of Moore Hall, whose daughter he married, in contentions with the Assembly. Moore, who was not only President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Chester County, but a colonel in the militia, wrote a letter to the Assembly in November, 1755, saying he was coming down to Philadelphia with two thousand men to compel them to pass a law providing for military

protection. This was the beginning of a long controversy, that resulted in the condemnation of Moore by the Assembly in 1757 upon charges of "arbitrary, extortionate, and fraudulent practices" in office, and a demand upon the Governor for his removal from all his public employments. Moore made a formal defence in writing before the Governor that the new Assembly declared contained many "injurious charges and slanderous aspersions against the conduct of the late Assembly, and highly derogative of and destructive to the rights of the House." For this "libel" the Assembly sent the sergeant-at-arms to arrest William Moore, as the author of the paper, and William Smith, who was supposed to have assisted in its preparation. Moore and Smith were both imprisoned, the latter hearing his classes while he occupied quarters in the jail. After the adjournment of the Assembly they were released upon a writ of *habeas corpus;* but Smith prosecuted an appeal before the king in council, in defiance of the prohibition of the House, going to England for that purpose in 1758, and he finally succeeded in obtaining a declaration of "His Majesty's high displeasure" with the conduct of the Assembly.

The political contentions in which Smith was engaged with his father-in-law, Moore, and in which they were championed and befriended by the Proprietary party were the occasion of a rupture between the provost and Franklin, to the causes of which the latter sought to give a different coloring in his old age. Smith, while he was in England, in 1759, not only prosecuted his appeal before the king with great vigor, but at the same time he was very active in behalf of the college and of himself. From the universities of Aberdeen and Oxford he received the degrees of D.D. for himself. From Thomas Penn he received a deed for the promised grant of the manor of Perkasie. From the king he obtained a rebuke of the Assembly. At this time Franklin was in England as the Assembly's agent. He remained until August, 1762. Franklin makes no mention of the college, or Smith either, in his autobiography or correspondence during this period ; but Smith, when he returned to England, in 1762, to secure subscriptions for the college, became convinced that Franklin had said many things in depreciation of the institution, while Franklin wrote to Mary Stevenson, in 1763, that he had long known Smith too thoroughly to wonder at his conduct ; that he had made "that man" his enemy by doing him too much kindness ; and that, as it was "convenient to have at least one enemy, who, by his readiness to revile one on all occasions, may make one careful of his conduct," he should keep Smith "an enemy for that purpose." But Dr. Smith's complaints were more to the purpose. It is true he had given Franklin personal cause for disliking him apart from their political differences. In 1758 he had written the article in the *American Magazine* deprecating Franklin's unfair treatment of Kinnersley in the matter of the electrical discoveries, and it was alleged that he even wrote to the authorities at Oxford, protesting against the granting of a

doctor's degree to Franklin. This unfriendliness, however, was no justification of Franklin for speaking in England of the college as a narrow, bigoted institution, put into the hands of the Proprietary party as an engine of government. Franklin was even charged with saying that the Dissenters had no influence in the college, "though God knows," Smith declared, "all the professors but myself are of that persuasion." This was true. Alison was a Presbyterian, Kinnersley a Baptist, and Dr. Williamson, who succeeded Grew as professor of Mathematics, had studied divinity under the Rev. Samuel Finley, an adherent of Whitefield.

Dr. Smith's mission to England, in 1762, was remarkably successful. The plan was to apply for a royal brief granting authority to make collections for the charity, but he experienced some embarrassment at the outset in consequence of a similar application from the College of New York. To remedy this inconvenience it was determined that Dr. Smith should unite with Dr. Jay, the agent of New York, in a joint application. The birth of a Prince of Wales, afterward George IV., afforded a favorable opportunity, and the result was a brief as ample in its powers as they could desire, with the king himself as a contributor. "The list of persons who preferred to give directly to the Agents rather than to the Brief Commissioners," Dr. Stillè wrote, in his Life of Smith, "now lies before me, and it is a curious and interesting document. It embraces more than eight hundred names of people of every rank and condition in life, residing in widely distant portions of the kingdom, from the 'king's most sacred Majesty,' who contributed £200, and the Princess Dowager of Wales, who gave £100, to 'Master Tommy Ellis,' who offered his mite of two shillings and sixpence! In the list are to be found the names of both Archbishops and of all the Bishops, and of very many of the clergy, one of whom, Rev. Dr. Tew, Rector of Bolden, near Newcastle, gave £100. There is also a long array of noblemen, including the Dukes of Devonshire and Newcastle, the Duchess of Argyle, the Earls of Shelburne, Dartmouth, Temple, Chesterfield and Shaftesbury, Lords Bute, Clive, Grosvenor, Spencer, Gage, etc. Each of these historical personages made a liberal donation. Among the contributors was the Right Hon. William Pitt, who gave £50. . . . . The various Colleges of the University of Oxford gave £163, although Dr. Smith complains in his diary, 'that at St. John's and Baliol Dr. Franklin's friends were very averse.' At the University of Cambridge he collected £166. Liverpool gave £211, Halifax £52, Birmingham £127, Bristol £112, Gloucester and the neighboring towns, £85. These amounts are made up of small sums, far the larger portion of them not exceeding a guinea each, contributed by several hundred different persons, and the labor attending such a collection can only be estimated by those who have had experience in such undertakings. In this way were gathered for the two colleges about £2400." Other means were resorted to, including a benefit oratorio at Drury Lane, at which Mr.

Beard, of Covent Garden, assisted. "Mr. Garrick has been exceedingly kind in the matter," Dr. Smith wrote. "The principal performers, vocal and instrumental, serve *gratis*, and we are favored with the boys from the Chapel Royal, and every mark of distinction. Mr. Tyer even put off the opening of Vauxhall, which was fixed for Wednesday night, in order to favour us." The collections were completed before the close of 1763, and the share that fell to the Philadelphia College amounted to more than £6,000 sterling.

With the money obtained in England the college entered upon a new era of prosperity. A new building to be used as a dormitory was erected adjacent to the academy, but nearer to Arch street, in 1762. The faculty was increased from time to time by the employment of tutors, one of whom was Charles Thomson, afterward secretary of the Congress. James Davidson, who had previously kept a school at Newark, succeeded Beveridge as professor of the Latin and Greek languages in 1767. In 1771–2 Dr. Smith visited Charleston, and succeeded in raising another subscription, from which £1,000 was ultimately realized, and Dr. Morgan, the founder of the Medical School, obtained a like sum in the West Indies in 1773. But with the outbreak and progress of the Revolution the resources of the college were greatly impaired, both on account of the diminution in the number of pupils and the depreciation of the currency. Political rancor also helped to bring the institution into disrepute. Dr. Smith at first had espoused the cause of the colonies with much zeal, but later he was suspected of inclining to the support of the king's authority. In the Board of Trustees there was a number of persons who were stigmatized as Tories at the time. It was also alleged that by its charter the college was closely allied to the government of Britain. Early in 1779 the Assembly appointed a committee "to inquire into the present state of the college and academy," and in July, Joseph Reed, the President of the State, suggested to the trustees that as some of them were under legal disqualifications, it would not be wise for them to hold a public commencement. The committee of the Assembly reported against the college, and a bill was passed November 27, 1779, setting forth that the trustees had narrowed the foundations of the institution, and declaring void the charters of 1753 and 1755. The Act further provided that the estate, real and personal, should be vested in a board of trustees, consisting of the president and vice-president of the Supreme Executive Council, the speaker of the Assembly, the chief-justice of the Supreme Court, the judge of the Admiralty and the attorney-general; the senior ministers of the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, Lutheran, German Calvinist, and Roman churches in Philadelphia; and Benjamin Franklin, William Shippen, Frederick A. Muhlenberg, James Searle, William A. Atlee, John Evans, Timothy Matlack, David Rittenhouse, Jonathan Bayard Smith, Samuel Morris, George Bryan, Thomas Bond, and James Hutchinson, by the name of the "Trustees of

the University of the State of Pennsylvania." An oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth was substituted for that to the crown, and means were provided to compel a transfer of the property by the trustees of the college to the trustees of the university appointed by the act.

Immediate steps were taken to organize the university under this act of spoliation, as the friends of the college called it. Dr. John Ewing was elected provost in place of Dr. Smith, and David Rittenhouse vice-provost, the place in the college from which Dr. Alison had retired in 1777. James Davidson was made rector of the academy, and the Rev. Robert Davidson was chosen professor of languages; James Cannon, professor of Mathematics; the Rev. Robert Pattison, professor of English; and the Rev. John Christopher Kunze, professor of German. "Here were the learned faculty of the college," wrote Dr. Benjamin Rush, of the French Minister's ball, in 1782, to celebrate the birth of the Dauphin; "and among them many who did not know whether Cicero pleaded in Latin or Greek; or whether Horace was a Roman or a Scotchman." Dr. Rush was hotly opposed to the change in the government of the college, which, perhaps, accounts for his doubtfully constructed sentence, that seems to carry with a compliment to the professors of the old college an imputation upon those of the new university without its actual expression. Apparently the concealed sarcasm had some justification. Dr. Ewing, although a very worthy man and a scholar of respectable attainments, was no match for Dr. Smith either in ability or learning. Ewing was the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, and by his station as the senior Presbyterian minister in Philadelphia, he was a member of the newly constituted board of trustees. He was a Maryland farmer's son, and had been both pupil and assistant of Dr. Alison in the latter's private school. He was graduated at Princeton, where he also served as a tutor while he was an under-graduate. He studied theology under Dr. Alison in Philadelphia, and in the absence of Dr. Smith in England taught philosophy in the college, although at the time he was only twenty-six years old. David Rittenhouse was a man of eminent scientific attainments and a man of affairs, but he was scarcely fitted for the office to which he was elected, and he soon resigned the vice-provostship, the Rev. Samuel Magaw being chosen in his place in 1782. Magaw was a brother of Col. Robert Magaw of Revolutionary celebrity, and a member of the first class that was graduated from the college. The Rev. Robert Davidson held the professorship of languages for only a short time, and was succeeded by James Davidson, who had filled the position in the college for fourteen years. Mr. Cannon, the professor of mathematics, had been previously employed in the college in a subordinate capacity. He was soon displaced by Mr. Patterson. The Rev. Mr. Kunze, the professor of German, was pastor of the Lutheran congregation. With the exception of the changes indicated, the Faculty remained undisturbed until 1792.

Dr. Smith was not a man to submit quietly to the invasion of his own rights and those of the college of which he is entitled to be considered the founder. His efforts and those of the displaced trustees were finally successful, and in 1789 an act was passed repealing so much of the act of 1779 as took away the estates and franchises of the college, on the ground that it was "repugnant to justice, a violation of the Constitution of the Commonwealth, and dangerous in its precedent to all incorporated bodies." It is probable that politics entered into the repeal of 1789, as well as in the sweeping legislation of 1779. Dr. Ewing, the Provost of the University, opposed the Constitution of 1787, and when a member of the graduating class of 1788 ventured in his thesis to express the hope that that instrument would be ratified he exclaimed, "Ha! ha! ha! This is some of Dr. Rush's froth, nonsense, and stuff," and at the same time declared that it was "a very bad form of government." The thesis was warmly applauded, but the author was compelled to take it to Dr. Magaw, by whom it was altered. After the repeal of 1789 immediate steps were taken to secure possession of the college buildings, Dr. Smith resumed his place as provost, James Davidson was induced again to accept the professorship of languages, the Rev. William Rogers was chosen professor of English and belles-lettres, and the Rev. Dr. John Andrews was made professor of moral philosophy. Mr. Rogers was a native of Newport, a graduate of Rhode Island College, now Brown University, and a Baptist preacher. Dr. Andrews was a graduate of the College and Academy in the class of 1765. He had been a tutor in the German school before the Revolution, and after being ordained by the Bishop of London he served as a missionary in Maryland and conducted a school at Yorktown, in Virginia. In 1785 he returned to Philadelphia as head-master of the Episcopal Academy. The university, thus rendered homeless, divested of much of its income, and deprived of its professor of languages, was brought to the verge of ruin; but the college, although fully re-established, had lost its prestige and was unable to recover its prosperity. The two schools were continued for two years without a promising outlook for either, when they were finally united under an enabling act passed September 30, 1791, the estates being vested in the "Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania."

When the charters of the college were annulled in 1779 the act directed that confiscated estates of the yearly value of not over £1,500 should be reserved for the maintenance of the provost and his assistants and "to uphold the charitable school of the said University." The income from this source in 1785 was £1,381 5*s.* 7½*d.* Additional assistance was given by means of a loan of £2,000 from the State, but still the university languished. State support has been given at intervals ever since. The Commonwealth maintained its connection with the university when the two institutions were consolidated by directing that the Governor should be a member of the board of trustees and that

an annual statement of the funds should be laid before the Legislature. In 1807 the sum of $3,000, "out of money they owe the State," was granted to the trustees to enable them "to establish a garden for the improvement of the science of botany and for instituting a series of experiments to ascertain the cheapest and best food for plants and their medicinal properties and virtues." In 1832 the real estate of the university in Philadelphia was exempted from county, poor, and corporation taxes for fifteen years. The university shared in the exemptions of the general act of 1838, which was held to extend to the medical hall occupied by the faculty, whose compensation was derived from the proceeds of their respective chairs. From 1838 to 1843 it also received one thousand dollars per annum under another provision adopted in 1838. In 1872 the State gave the university $100,000 for a general hospital, on condition that it should raise an additional sum of $250,000 for the same purpose, and in 1873 another sum of $100,000 on condition that the university should raise a like amount. In 1889 an appropriation of $12,500 was made for the erection of a veterinary hospital on condition that the university should give free instruction to not fewer than twelve young men in each year "in the art and science of veterinary medicine and surgery." Appropriations for the university now seems to be the settled policy of the State.

The plan for the reorganization of the university embraced three departments—those of the arts, of law, and of medicine. Five separate schools, to be under the charge of six professors, were instituted in the department of arts—the philosophical school, with two professors; the grammar school, the mathematical school, the English school, and the German school. Dr. Ewing was appointed to the chair of natural philosophy, Dr. Andrews to that of moral philosophy, Mr. Davidson to that of Greek and Latin, Mr. Patterson to that of the mathematics, Mr. Rogers to that of English and the belles-lettres, and Dr. Henry Helmuth to that of German and the Oriental languages. Dr. Ewing was elected provost and Dr. Andrews vice-provost. As Dr. Kunze had relinquished the German professorship some years before, there were only two displacements—those of Dr. Smith, the provost of the college, and Dr. Magaw, the vice-provost of the university. Dr. Magaw declined a nomination in the interest of his friend, Dr. Andrews. The contest between Dr. Smith and Dr. Ewing was a spirited one, but the venerable provost of the college was beaten by a small majority. He was allowed to retain the house in which he had lived as provost of the college for one year, free of rent; his claims upon the institution to the amount of £900 were admitted and adjusted; and an annuity of £100, formerly granted in consideration of his services in England, was secured to him for life. Dr. Smith died in 1803.

Dr. Ewing's administration as provost of the University of Pennsylvania lasted ten years, 1792–1802. His connection with the university only ceased with his death. Dr. Ewing was notable for his fond-

ness for biblical research, and as a mathematician he was said to have had no superior in the Union. After his death the provostship was vacant for four years. His successors in the office have been John McDowell, D.D., LL.D., 1806–10; John Andrews, D.D., 1810–13; Frederick Beasley, D.D., 1813–28; William Heathcote Delancey, D.D., 1828–34; John Ludlow, D.D., 1834–53; Henry Vethake, LL.D., 1854–8; Daniel R. Goodwin, D.D., 1860–68; Charles Janeway Stillè, LL.D., 1868–81; William Pepper, M. D., LL.D., 1881–94; and Charles C. Harrison, 1894. Dr. McDowell was born in the Cumberland Valley, near Loudon, before the Indian forays drove the white settlers on the frontier to the Susquehanna. He was graduated at the College of Philadelphia in 1771, and was a tutor, 1769–82, but afterward studied law and was admitted to the Franklin County bar in 1784. The practice of the law not proving congenial, he accepted the principalship of St. John's College, Annapolis, in 1790, which he held until 1806, when he was chosen professor of natural philosophy in the university, and soon afterward elected provost. He resigned because of ill-health, but again performed the duties of the office for his successor, Dr. Andrews, in 1812–13. Dr. McDowell died in 1820, bequeathing his Latin, Greek, mathematical, and philosophical books to the university. Dr. Beasley, not so widely known as his predecessors, was a learned man, a graduate of Princeton, and highly esteemed. Dr. Delancey was assistant minister of Christ Church when he was elected provost of the university. He resigned in 1833 to become assistant minister of St. Peter's, of which he was made rector in 1836. Dr. Delancey was afterward Bishop of Western New York. The subsequent provosts have all been men of respectable talents, Dr. Stillè being the most distinguished scholar and Dr. Pepper the most energetic administrator. The vice-provosts since Dr. Andrews have been Robert Patterson, LL.D., 1810–13; Robert M. Patterson, A.M., M.D., 1813–28; Robert Adrian, LL.D., 1828–34; Samuel B. Wylie, D.D., 1834–45; Henry Vethake, LL.D., 1845–54; John Fries Frazer, LL.D., 1855–68; Charles Porterfield Krauth, D.D., 1872–83; E. Otis Kendall, LL.D., 1883.

In 1791 a large sum of money was appropriated by the Legislature for the erection of a building that is closely associated with the history of the university. It was intended as a residence for the President of the United States, and was built at the corner of Ninth and Chestnut streets, where the post-office now stands. This building, which cost about one hundred thousand dollars, was completed in 1797, and was offered to President Adams, but he declined to accept it. In 1800 an act was passed directing the sale of the property, and it was purchased by the university for $41,650, payable in instalments. The purchase-money was obtained by the disposal of stock and the sale of a part of the old academy property in Fourth street. Some changes in the building were required, and the schools were not transferred to it until 1802. An extensive edifice was added for the use of the medical

department. These accommodations served the university until 1829, when the buildings were taken down and new structures, better adapted to their intended uses, were erected. The new college hall was first occupied in 1830. The new buildings—one for the collegiate and one for the medical department—were plain but symmetrical. They stood apart on the extensive grounds belonging to the university, with a broad middle space between them.

A part of the old academy was sold to a society of Methodists, and, as the Union Methodist Episcopal Church, served them as a place of worship for many years. This was the southern part of the building. It was afterward replaced by a new church. The northern half of the building stood for many years after the other half was demolished, and the charity schools were continued until within a recent period. The Rev. Dr. Samuel W. Crawford, the father of Major-Gen. Samuel W. Crawford, became principal of the classical school in connection with the university in 1830, and raised it to the position of a high-grade academy. Among the masters who are remembered as having had charge of the charity schools were Dr. Joseph Bullock and John McKinley.

The university, after the union of the two schools, languished for more than a quarter of a century, although financially it was a prosperous institution. It sunk to so low an ebb under Dr. Ewing that in 1797 there were only twelve students in the two highest classes, and often it was considered impolitic to hold public commencements. Among the causes that led to this condition of things Dr. Wood puts the system of paying fixed salaries to the professors. These varied from £250 to £350 per annum. The result was that the interest in their classes was only perfunctory. This was remedied by the trustees in 1800 by according them a share in the tuition money. But the system on which the university was conducted was fundamentally wrong. Each of the professors managed his classes at his own discretion, and there was a want of classification among the pupils. Except in the two philosophical classes students of every grade were mingled together, not only in the same room but under the same instructor. Besides, all the classes were required to attend several hours every day, both in the morning and afternoon, to pursue their studies under the eye of their teachers. This degraded the university from the creditable rank of a college to that of a mere school for boys who could not be trusted to pursue their studies without direct supervision. It was not until 1810 that a reformation was begun,—that the boundaries that divided the college from the academy were distinctly marked. A three years' course in well-defined classes was established, and fourteen years was prescribed as the minimum age for admittance to the collegiate department. The Academy became a separate institution—a preparatory school for boys. The classification of 1810 continued until 1827, when a four years' course was adopted. The latter classification is still continued in the school of arts, but the other departments are now

conducted upon the principle of a great university, and not of a mere college. This change was begun only a quarter of a century ago, but since the foundation of the Towne Scientific School, in 1872, the progress of the university, as a university, has been so great that the institution is fully abreast of any of its four rivals—Harvard, Yale, Columbia and Princeton.

The preliminary movement resulting in the revolution of the next ten years had its inception in 1870, when it was resolved to transfer the university to West Philadelphia, and a grant of ten and a half acres of land belonging to the city was made for the university buildings. In 1872 another grant was made of five and a half acres, on which to erect a hospital. Ten years later, in 1882, a third grant of thirteen acres was made by Councils in consideration of the payment of ten thousand dollars and the maintenance of fifty free scholarships of the annual value of $7,500 for the use of graduates of the public schools. More recent acquisitions have been the land occupied by the Foulk & Long Institute, the Wistar Institute, the laboratories, that known as Franklin Field, and that acquired for the use of the Museum, Botanical Garden and Park. The building occupied by the department of science and arts is in Locust street, between Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth streets. There is a central building of grand proportions, and wings with pavilions. It is four stories in height, including the basement. The architecture is of the collegiate Gothic ; on the eastern and western fronts large towers rise to a conspicuous height. With its gables, buttresses, pinnacles, and bay and oriel windows the building presents a very attractive appearance. The corner-stone of the edifice was laid June 15, 1871, and it was opened for use October 11, 1872. The cost of the structure was $235,910.46. As originally planned, there was provision in the building for the chapel, library, museum, laboratories, assembly-rooms and class-rooms. Altogether the university occupies twenty-five buildings, apart from the College Hall, the most prominent among these being the Medical Hall, with the incidental laboratories and departments of dentistry and veterinary surgery, the School of Biology, the Chemical Laboratory, the Mechanical and Electrical buildings, the University Library, the Wistar Institute and the museums. An important part of the scheme of the university is the Marine Biological Laboratory at Sea Isle City, N. J. The increase in the number of the students has been in keeping with the expansion of the university. The number in 1876 was only a little over two hundred, with thirty-two instructors. In ten years the number of students increased from 240 to 388, and at the time of Dr. Pepper's retirement it was 689, with 96 instructors. These comprise only those connected with the departments of science and arts. In 1893 the number of students in the Department of Medicine was 847 ; in the Department of Dentistry, 153 ; and in the Department of Law, 236. The aggregate, including the special courses, is annually in excess of 2,000.

The Medical Department of the university had its inception in the lectures of Dr. William Shippen in 1762, and its foundation in the strenuous efforts of Dr. John Morgan in 1764–5. Its establishment is properly dated May 3, 1765, when Dr. Morgan was appointed professor of the theory and practice of physic by the trustees of the college. In the following September Dr. Shippen was chosen professor of anatomy and surgery. Subsequent appointments were those of Dr. Adam Kuhn as professor of botany and materia medica, and Dr. Benjamin Rush as professor of chemistry. The first class was graduated in 1768. The first classes were taught in a building adjoining the back of Dr. Shippen's house in Fourth street, above Market. About the time of the Revolution a building, called Surgeon's Hall, was erected on the east side of Fifth street, above Walnut, which was occupied by the medical school until 1807, when the new hall in Ninth street was completed. The present structure is at Thirty-fourth and Locust streets. The style of architecture is in harmony with that of the college hall to the east of it and the university hospital to the south, although there are essential differences in all of them. The Laboratory Building, Maternity Pavilions, Wistar Institute of Anatomy, and Laboratory of Hygiene are all in close proximity. To the original faculty, Doctors Shippen, Morgan, Kuhn, Rush, and Bond, has been added a long list of others not less famous, including Physick, Wistar, Rogers, Horner, Wood, Jackson, Gibson, Hodge, Leidy, and Agnew. The whole number of graduates in medicine scarcely falls short of 12,000. An exhaustive history of the Medical Department of the University, written by Dr. Joseph Carson, was published in 1872.

The Law Department of the University had its inception in 1790, but it has not had a continuous history. The first law school was opened with great ceremony December 20, 1790, President Washington and his cabinet, the members of both Houses of Congress, and many State and city officials being in attendance. The opening address was delivered by James Wilson, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence and a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Judge Wilson was chosen professor of the Law Department, but the school does not appear to have succeeded. In 1817 a course of lectures was delivered by Charles W. Hare, and commanded a respectable attendance of students, but the course was not repeated. It was not until 1849, when the school was reorganized by Judge George Sharswood, that it became prosperous. In 1894 it had six professors and conferred the degree of Bachelor of Laws upon fifty-three graduates. The Law Department of the University occupies the sixth floor of the Girard Building, at Broad and Chestnut streets. In connection with the Law Department is the George Biddle and A. Sidney Biddle Memorial Library, founded by the gift of 5,077 volumes by the family of George Biddle. Since 1887–8 twelve per cent. of the tuition fees have been set apart for the maintenance and increase of the library.

As at present organized the university comprises thirteen departments. 1. The College Department, including the courses in arts; in science (the Towne Scientific School); in architecture; in natural history (the School of Biology); in finance and economy (the Wharton School); and in music. 2. The Medical Department. 3. The Department of Law. 4. The Auxiliary Department of Medicine, founded by Dr. George B. Wood in 1865. 5. The Department of Dentistry. 6. The Department of Philosophy, providing for post-graduate courses. 7. The Department of Veterinary Medicine. 8. The Department of Physical Education. 9. The Laboratory of Hygiene. 10. The Graduate Department for Women. 11. The Museum of Archæology and Palæontology. 12. The University Hospital. 13. The Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology. This arrangement is so recent in foundation and classification that it does not as yet belong to the past sufficiently to be treated as history. The hospital and the library are worthy of further attention in chapters devoted to the special subjects to which they belong.

III.

GIRARD COLLEGE AND OTHER INSTITUTES.

Girard College was established and is conducted in accordance with the will of Stephen Girard. The bequest for the foundation of the college was two millions of dollars. The property is held as a trust of the city of Philadelphia, and the college is managed by a board of directors chosen by Councils. Mr. Girard died December 26, 1831, and the first Board of Directors was elected February 11, 1833. It was organized on the 18th of the same month by the election of Nicholas Biddle, as chairman. A sub-committee of the Board, consisting of eight members, and four from each of the Councils, was appointed on the 21st of March as a "Building Commitee," and, together with the architect, was instructed to prepare a plan for the college building. It was the original intention of Mr. Girard that the college building should occupy the square of ground between Market and Chestnut and Eleventh and Twelfth streets, but as he afterward purchased the estate in the Ridge road, known as Peal Hall, he subsequently directed that the orphan establishment contemplated by his will, should be erected there instead of in the heart of the city. Councils offered a premium for the best plan for the college edifice, and the premium was arwarded to a young architect, Thomas U. Walter, who was elected architect. According to Mr. Biddle the danger then was that the plan might be adopted. It was "for a large, showy building, wanting simplicity and purity, but not ill adapted to please others, as

it had already pleased the Councils." Biddle was a man of fine artistic perceptions, and he undertook to wean Mr. Walter from his plan and "to excite his ambition to achieve something beyond his plan, or the plan of anybody else; in short, to take advantage of this rare opportunity of immortalizing himself by a perfect, chaste specimen of Grecian architecture." Mr. Biddle succeeded in winning Mr. Walter to his views, but much opposition was encountered in Councils, in the Board of Directors, and in the Building Committee. By dint of perseverance and persuasion Mr. Biddle finally succeeded in having his way, and the splendid edifice as it now stands was approved. The corner-stone was laid July 4, 1833, with appropriate ceremonies, Mr. Biddle delivering the address.

During the progress of the building, an effort was made by the next of kin to Mr. Girard to obtain not only the specific sum for the endowment of the college, but the residuary part of the estate, which included a reserved fund to be employed, if necessary, for the same purpose. It was contended that the trusts for the Orphan College were void,—1st, because as to the real estate the city had no capacity to take by devise; 2d, that if it had such capacity generally, it could not take in trust for other persons; and 3d, that it could not take either real or personal property upon the trusts that were declared for poor orphan children, etc., because the objects of the charity were altogether indefinite, vague, and uncertain; and therefore the trusts were incapable of execution, or of being cognizable at law or equity, or of vesting at law in any existing or possible *cestui que trust*. One of the provisions of Mr. Girard's will enjoined that "no Ecclesiastic, Missionary, or minister of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station of duty in said college; nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the uses of the said college." This exclusion excited the ill will of a large part of the religious community, who inferred from it that the college was to become a mere seminary of infidelity and immorality. It was contended, in consequence, that the foundation of the college upon the principles and exclusions of the will was derogatory and hostile to the Christian religion, and was void as being against the common law and public policy. The legal proceedings were in the form of a bill in equity in the United States Circuit Court, and afterward an appeal to the Supreme Court. The case was argued before the Supreme Court at the January Term, 1843, by Mr. Stump and Mr. Jones, of Washington, for the Girard heirs, and by Mr. Sergeant for the city; a re-argument before a fuller bench was subsequently ordered and took place at the January Term, 1844, when Mr. Jones and Mr. Webster appeared for the complainants, and Mr. Binney and Mr. Sergeant for the city and the executors. The Court held, in an unanimous opinion delivered by Mr. Justice Story, that the trust and charity were valid and legal, and that there was nothing in the devise creating the college, or in the

regulations and restrictions, inconsistent with the Christian religion or opposed to any known policy of the State.

The Commissioners of the Girard Estate set apart, April 20, 1833, the following stocks and loans to constitute the College Fund, viz. :—

6,331 Shares of stock in the Bank of the United States....	$664,715.00
8 Certificates of loan—Pennsylvania.....	1,221,785.00
1 Certificate of City Corporation.....	113,500.00
Total.....	$2,000,000.00

If no depreciation had taken place in the stocks and loans thus set apart, a large surplus would have remained to support the institution, but during the years 1841–4 the stocks depreciated immensely, and it finally became necessary, in order to complete the buildings to draw on the residuary fund, thus causing delay in the progress of the work. In consequence the buildings were not fully completed and formally transferred to the Directors until November 13, 1847. The following statement exhibits the amounts appropriated and expended in the construction of the College:

College Fund.....	$2,000,000.00
Interest accrued from time to time..... ...	854,536.21
Cash received from sale of refused material.....	1,587.20
Amount taken from residuary Fund....	31,525.11
	$2,887,648.52
Amount expended for building College.....	$1,933,821.78
Loss on sale of stocks at Executor's valuation.....	900,813.30
Amount expended unconnected with building.....	51,835.22
Unexpended balance.....	1,178.22
	$2,887,648.52

The general design of the main building is that of a Greek temple. It is surrounded by columns, thirty-four in all. The columns are 6 feet in diameter and 55 feet in height, those at the corners having one and one-half inches more diameter than the intermediate ones. The bases are 9 feet 3 inches in diameter, and 3 feet 2 inches high ; and the capitals are 8 feet 6 inches high and 9 feet 4 inches wide on the face of the abacus. A minute description of the shafts, the capitals, the achitraves, and the cornices would be very elaborate. The exterior of the cella or body of the building is 111 feet wide, 169 feet long, and 59 feet 8 inches high. The building is three stories in height, the first and second stories being twenty-five feet from the floor, and the third story thirty feet in the clear to the eye of the dome. Each story is divided into four rooms, each fifty feet square in the clear. All the outside foundation walls of the cella, and the walls separating the cellars under the rooms from those under the vestibules, are six feet four inches thick,

and the rest of the interior foundation walls are three feet four inches thick. The thickness of the wall for supporting the columns is nine feet nine inches, and the intercolumniations, as well as all other openings, are counter-arched with bricks. The outside walls of the superstructure and the interior vestibule walls are four feet in thickness, and the rest of the interior walls three feet. All the rooms and vestibules in the building are vaulted with bricks, those of the basement and the first and second stories with groin-arches, and those of the third story with pendentive domes springing from the floors. The superstructure rests on a stylobate or basement, consisting of eleven steps, which extend around the entire edifice, thus imparting a pyramidal appearance to the substructure, which conveys an idea of great solidity, and at the same time affords an approach to the peristyle from all sides. The roof is composed of marble tiles, and the ceiling of the peristyle is entirely of cast iron. The flooring of the interior of the building amounts in the aggregate to thirty-eight thousand one hundred and thirty superficial feet, all of which is done with marble tiles. The area on which the building stands, exclusive of the steps, measures thirty-four thousand three hundred and forty-four superficial feet, of which twelve thousand eight hundred and sixty-two feet are occupied by the walls.

Mr. Girard in his will directed that not fewer than four outbuildings, detached from the main edifice and from each other, should be erected. The group of college buildings now comprises fourteen principal structures. Four of them were built at a very early period, two simultaneously with the main building and two soon after its completion. Each of these is 52 feet wide by 125 feet long. They are three stories in height, with a basement. They serve as dormitories for the boys and residences for the instructors employed in the college. Of the new buildings the most important is Mechanic Hall, in which manual training has reached a high degree of excellence. The college area, which is enclosed with a heavy stone wall, embraces forty acres. The cost of the land and buildings has been more than $3,250,000.

While the college was building the board of directors obtained authority from Councils to select a presiding officer for the institution in advance of its organization. Alexander Dallas Bache was chosen the first president of the college, July 19, 1836, with instructions to prepare a system of discipline and to devise the necessary courses of study. President Bache was directed to visit similar institutions in Europe and to procure such books and apparatus as should be needed. Upon his return, in 1838, it was proposed to establish schools in anticipation of the completion of the buildings; but as it was determined that this would be in violation of the will, the necessary authority was not granted. Subsequently difficulties arose between Councils and the directors that ultimately resulted in the repeal of the ordinance creating the board and of that authorizing the election of a president.

The completion of the buildings was left in charge of the Building Committee, and it was not until June, 1847, that a new board of directors was appointed to organize and manage the college. The buildings and grounds were formally transferred to this board November 13, 1847, and on the 15th of December Joel Jones, then President Judge of the District Court of the City and County of Philadelphia, was elected president. The college was opened with a class of one hundred orphans January 1, 1848. President Jones resigned June 1, 1849, and William H. Allen was chosen his successor on the 23d of November following. President Allen retained control of the college until September, 1862, when he resigned, and was succeeded by Richard Somers Smith, January 1, 1863. President Smith resigned in 1867, when Dr. Allen was again chosen for the presidency, retaining it until his death, August 29, 1882. His successor was Adam H. Fetterolf, LL.D., the present incumbent, who took charge of the college January 1, 1883. Dr. Allen was graduated at Bowdoin College and was professor of natural philosophy and English literature in Dickinson College, Carlisle, at the time of his first election as president of the Girard College. Dr. Fetterolf was educated at Freeland Seminary, now Ursinus College, at Collegeville. He first became connected with the Girard College in 1880 as vice president.

Beginning with only one hundred orphans in 1848, the number was augmented from year to year as rapidly as accommodations could be provided. The second hundred boys were introduced October 1, 1848, and another hundred on the 1st of April following. In 1884 the total had reached 1,104, and in 1892 as many as 1,559. The number of graduates is estimated at 15,000 for the first half century of its existence. The qualifications for admission are that the applicants shall be white male orphans between the ages of six and ten years. In many cases orphans are admitted during the lifetime of the mothers, but in every case the previous death of the father must be established. If there are more applicants than vacancies, preference is given under the will, first, to orphans born in the city of Philadelphia ; secondly, to those born in other parts of Pennsylvania ; thirdly, to those born in the city of New York; and, lastly, to those born in the city of New Orleans. The pupils are instructed in the common-school branches of education and the manual arts.

Next in importance to the Girard College is the Drexel Institute, founded by Anthony J. Drexel and opened December 17, 1891. The chief object of the institute is the extension of industrial education among young men and women, but the plan embraces, besides, evening classes, lectures, a library and a museum. The building is situated in Chestnut street, at the corner of Thirty-second. It is a light buff brick, with terra-cotta ornamentation. It is four stories in height and on the ground plan 200 by 200 feet. The principal entrance, in Chestnut street, is by a richly decorated portal, 26 feet wide and 35 feet high.

There is a grand central court 65 feet square and the entire height of the building. Over the court is a skylight of stained glass. On the first floor are the library, reading-room, museum, lecture-hall, and auditorium. The lecture-hall has chairs for 300 students and the auditorium is capable of seating 1,500 persons. The workshops are in the basement. The class-rooms, laboratories, and studios are on the upper floors. The great marble stairway leading to these and the basement is at the farther end of the court. Around this court are broad galleries that give access to the various rooms. The school year comprises two terms, beginning on the 15th of September and the 1st of February, and the evening classes last from October until the end of March. Instruction is given in drawing, designing, modeling in clay, wood-carving, mathematics, physics, chemistry, applied electricity, wood and iron working, cookery, millinery, dressmaking, stenography and typewriting, bookkeeping, physical culture, and choral music. The first president of the institute is James MacAlister, LL.D.

Akin to the Drexel Institute is the Williamson Free School of Mechanical Trades. Although situated near Media, in Delaware county, it is essentially a city institution, being the gift of Isaac N. Williamson, a Philadelphia merchant. The school is controlled and its funds administered by a board of managers. The property includes 197 acres and the improvements comprise a group of new buildings devoted to the purposes of the school. The first class was graduated in 1894. John M. Shrigley is the president, and Robert Crawford the superintendent.

Another institution worthy of mention in this connection is the Wagner Free Institute of Science. It was founded by Professor William Wagner in 1847, but the erection of the present institute building at Seventeenth street and Montgomery avenue was not begun until 1859. For many years the courses consisted of free lectures on geology, mineralogy, chemistry, physics, and engineering. After Professor Wagner's death, in 1885, the scope of the studies and lectures was increased. The institute has a library of 7,500 volumes, and its Natural History Museum is considered one of the best in the country.

An institution that properly belongs in the same category with those already mentioned in this chapter, is the Spring Garden Institute, at Broad and Spring Garden streets. It was organized through the offorts of the Young Men's Institute in 1850, and chartered in 1851. The building was dedicated November 12, 1852. It occupies a lot 100 feet front in Broad street and 57 feet in Spring Garden. The corner lot was presented to the institute by Richard Wistar, and the adjoining property was purchased with money raised for the purpose. The building is a plain but substantial structure. It was partly remodeled in 1878, and extensions were afterward built in the yard area. All of the room is utilized for the purposes of the institute. The library is on the first floor and drawing and class-rooms on the other floors.

There is a clay modeling-room in the loft, the workshops are in the basement, and kilns have been erected for firing china and stained glass. The primary aim of the institute is to cultivate the industrial side of art education. It is a school for the future engraver, lithographer, designer, metal worker, electric light fitter, and wood and stone carvers. The course is carried through a period of three years. Instruction is given individually, supplemented by lectures on geometry, perspective, historic ornament, botanical analysis, and design and color harmony. The night-schools in drawing are carried on independently of the day classes. John M. Ogden was president of the institute from its organization until his death, in 1882, when he was succeeded by John Baird, who had been acting president since 1878.

The Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, incorporated in 1876, is situated at Broad and Pine streets. The institution owes its origin to the increased interest in Art and Art Education awakened by the Centennial exhibition. Both day and night classes are maintained.

The oldest and most complete school of applied art in the United States is the Philadelphia School of Design for Women, of which Miss Emily Sartain is principal. It was founded in 1844, incorporated in 1853, and first housed on its own premises, at Broad and Filbert streets, in 1863. When the Pennsylvania Railroad absorbed the site, for what is now the Broad street station, the directors of the school purchased the extensive premises at Broad and Master streets, that had been the home of Edwin Forrest, to which, with its frontage of 100 feet in Broad street, was added a three-storied range of studios, running westward 200 feet in Master street, with a wing of 90 feet in Carlisle street in the rear. This building affords ample accommodations for the institution. Wood engraving, etching, pen-drawing for photo-engraving, and china decoration are taught, besides designing for carpets, curtains, wall paper, oil cloths, prints, etc. The Normal Art Course gives opportunity for thorough training in drawing, modeling, painting, and theoric design in the industrial arts. Forty free scholarships are competed for in the public schools of Philadelphia.

Among the recent educational institutions of a special character is the Temple College, with an Evening Department for the instruction of working men and women, and Day and Afternoon Departments for all grades of scholars. The college takes its name from Grace Baptist Temple, of which the Rev. Russell H. Conwell, the president, is pastor. A charter was obtained for the college in 1889. While the new college building, in Broad street, below Berks, adjoining the Temple, was erecting, the classes were accommodated in two large buildings in Park avenue. The Temple College was dedicated May 3, 1894. The courses of instruction include the kindergarten, intermediate, elementary English, business, college preparatory, professional and theological, art, music, nurse training, calisthenics, and the cooking classes.

The "Temple College idea" originated in an effort to instruct a few young men for the Christian ministry, that was first made in 1887. The faculty consists of forty members, and the number of students often reaches three thousand.

Besides the educational institutions under the management of religious societies, there are not fewer than thirty-five important private schools in Philadelphia. These include the Ogontz Seminary for Young Ladies, the Broad Street Academy, Courtland Saunders' College in West Philadelphia, the Rugby Academy for Boys, the Rittenhouse Academy, the Lauderbach Academy, the Chegaray Institute, Few Smith's Classical and Mathematical School, Bryant & Stratton's Business College, Crittenden's Commercial College, Pierce's College of Business, and the National School of Elocution and Oratory.

The Ogontz Seminary was founded in 1850 by Mary L. Bonney and Harrietta Dillaye as the Chestnut Street Seminary of Philadelphia. After the failure of Jay Cooke, in the panic of 1873, the seminary was removed to Mr. Cooke's splendid mansion at Chelton Hills, which he built during the period of his great prosperity and first occupied in December, 1865. The place was named Ogontz, after an Indian chief, who was a friend of Mr. Cooke in his childhood and youth at Sandusky, Ohio. The building, which is of the most ample dimensions, having nearly one hundred rooms of comfortable size, is a five-story mica granite, of the Norman Gothic order of architecture. Ogontz stands on a knoll commanding a view of forty acres of landscape gardening. Mr. Cooke recovered control of the Chelton Hills estate in 1881, and in 1883 he leased the mansion for a term of years to the ladies named for a young ladies' school. The seminary has been very successful.

Edward Roth was for many years the principal of the Broad Street Academy. The National School of Elocution and Oratory was founded by Professor John W. Shoemaker and conducted by him until his death. No detailed account of the other private schools is necessary in this place.

An institution known as the Polytechnic College of the State of Pennsylvania was founded in 1853 for the purpose of affording instruction in technical science, mechanics, engineering, mining, architecture, and metallurgy, geology, mineralogy, chemistry, and mathematics, bookkeeping, commercial accounts, and industrial jurisprudence. The school was conducted for many years at Merrick and Market streets and afterward in Market, between Seventeenth and Eighteenth streets.

IV.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

It was not until the beginning of the century that the idea that public education was not a charity, began to be asserted. About 1790, three schools were established on Sunday, the object being not as now to impart religious instruction, but to afford young persons, unable to attend the schools on week days, opportunities to learn to read, write, and cipher. In January, 1792, the society that supported these three Sunday-schools, asked the Legislature to make effective that part of the Constitution of 1790 that authorized schools throughout the State in which the poor might have free instruction. Nothing that was practical came of the matter for three years, when Governor Mifflin took occasion to impress upon the two Houses the necessity of action. It had been proposed to set up a free school in each county that had three representatives, but finally, in 1796, the Assembly passed a bill to provide gratuitous tuition for the poor, one-fifth of the expense to be borne by the State and the remaining four-fifths to be met by county taxes. This measure met with much opposition, the Friends and the Lutherans especially claiming that as they supported schools of their own a general school tax would be unjust. In consequence of these remonstrances the bill failed in the Senate, and it was not until 1802 that the first germ of our public-school system was planted in the legislation of the State. This first act, however, applied only to the city and county of Philadelphia. It provided that the children of persons too poor to pay for their education should be distributed among the private schools at the expense of the county. The plan failed of the success that was expected from it, partly because of the opposition of taxpayers, who paid for the education of their own children, and partly because of the imputation of pauperism that it embodied.

An impetus in the direction of popular education was given in succeeding years by the introduction of the Pestallozian and Lancasterian systems of instruction. William Maclure, a Philadelphian, was so much impressed with the practical workings of the system of Pestallozi that he witnessed in Europe, that he engaged Joseph Neef, a German, to introduce it into Pennsylvania. Neef came to Philadelphia in 1807, and soon afterward published a book entitled "Sketch of a Plan and a Method of Education Founded on an Analysis of the Human Faculties and Natural Reason: Suitable for the Offspring of a Free People and for all Rational Beings." This work received the approbation of Col. William Duane, who reviewed it with much enthusiasm in the *Aurora*, and assisted Neef in opening a school on the Smith property at the Falls of Schuylkill. The school at first met with a consid-

erable measure of success and excited a wide public interest, but after some years Neef abandoned it and emigrated to the Western country. Ten years after the advent of Joseph Neef attempts were made to introduce the system of teaching formulated by Joseph Lancaster. These attempts had less effect in demonstrating the value of the Lancasterian system than in exciting public interest in the movement to open schools at the expense of the taxpayers. It is a fact, however, that the Lancasterian methods were so popular in 1817–18 that their popularity enabled the advocates of public schools to appease much of the opposition by a promise on their part that the system would be adopted in the schools authorized by a public-school law. In 1818, when the second act was passed providing public-school facilities for Philadelphia, its provisions, as in the act of 1802, were restricted to the city and county.

The First School District of Pennsylvania was established under an act of the Legislature, passed March 16, 1818. The district was divided into four sections, each with a sectional board appointed by Councils and the district commissioners. A Board of Control was elected by the directors comprising the sectional boards. This Board of Control was organized April 6, 1818, with Roberts Vaux as its first president. One of its first acts was the election of Joseph Lancaster as superintendent of the schools. During the year 1818 no schools were provided for the First Section, the city proper, but the Second Section had two schools, the Adelphi and Kensington; the Third Section, two, the Moyamensing and Southwark; and the Fourth Section, one, the Spring Garden. A Model school in Chester street was established under Superintendent Lancaster, its design being to train young teachers for service in the interior of the State. In some instances the school buildings previously occupied by the charity schools were used, as the Adelphi, in Pegg street, and the Paul Beck school, in Moyamensing. The total expenditure for the year 1815 was $23,049, of which $15,000 went for the erection of the Model school, $3,808 for furniture, and only $5,082 for teachers salaries, rent, and incidentals. Ten teachers were employed, including the superintendent. Under the new system the average cost for each pupil for the first year was only $3.57, whereas under the system it had supplanted, each child had been made to cost $11.00 per annum. The aggregate payments by the county to the teachers of private schools from 1810 to June, 1818, amounted to $114,114.97. The number of children returned by the assessors as thus provided for for the years 1815–17, averaged 2,600. In 1819 the number of pupils on the rolls of the district schools was 3,268, but so slow was the progress of the new system that fourteen years afterward, in 1833, the number was not much above five thousand. In 1831 Roberts Vaux was succeeded by Thomas Dunlap as president of the Board of Control. Mr. Dunlap was a man of energy and ideas, and his influence was soon felt in the abolition of the Lancasterian system, the experiment of an infant

school in the Model schoolhouse, and the erection of new school-houses, and such was the success attending his efforts that when the perfected act of 1836 went info effect there were more than fifty schools in the First District, eleven new school-houses had been built, and the number of pupils reached twelve thousand. The infant school experiment had been so successful that as many as thirty primary schools were opened in that year. In the place of the Model school, which was one of Lancaster's favorite ideas, preparations were made for the establishment of a Central High School, and the public school system was put upon a broad, permanent, and progressive basis.

In 1837 the Board of Control purchased a building site for the High School in Juniper street, facing Penn Square, below Market street, and on the 19th of September the corner-stone was laid. The building, which was opened for use October 21, 1838, was a brick structure with a marble front. It was shaped like the letter "T," the main structure running east and west, with a cross extending north and south. The side walls were painted white. The height of the building was three stories, each floor being at first divided into three rooms. These were afterward subdivided, as additional apartments were required. The rear of the main building was surmounted by an observatory which was equipped with superior astronomical apparatus that was famous in its day. The playground was in the angle formed by the wing on the south side. The High School building was planned for the accommodation of 350 pupils, which was then thought the limit of the demand for academic education for many years to come, but a decade had not passed when the facilities were found inadequate. In 1847 the number of pupils in attendance was 506. Various restrictive devices were adopted. The standard of admission was advanced, the range of preparatory studies was increased, the examination papers were made more difficult, and finally the age limit was restricted to thirteen years. By means of these restrictions a reduction was made, but in July, 1851, the number of pupils was 476, and the pressure was increasing. It had become apparent that the only way out of the difficulty was the erection of a larger school-building.

In the quarter of a century that the first Central High School was occupied many changes in the conditions that surrounded it had ocurred. In 1850 the playground was reclaimed by its owner and sold to the Pennsylvania Railroad, which built a warehouse on the site. Chestnut street, below Broad, had ceased to be a fashionable residential quarter of the town, and the noise and bustle of business activity surged around the school building. The situation was no longer central for the majority of the pupils of the High School. Because of all this the property was sold to the Pennsylvania Railroad, in 1853, for $45,000, and the site for a new edifice at Broad and Green streets was purchased for $17,000. The lot extended 150 feet along Broad street and 95 feet in Green and Brandywine streets. The work of erecting the

new building was at once begun, the corner-stone being laid May 31, 1853. Like its predecessor the new structure was built chiefly of brick, with little ornamentation. As before, the chief feature of the building was the observatory, which Prof. Elias Loomis said, "formed an epoch in the history of American astronomy." The erection of the new building required little more than one year, and it was formally dedicated June 28, 1854. The Rev. Dr. Henry A. Boardman and Morton McMichael delivered the addresses. For a short time, while awaiting the completion of the building, the High School was compelled to occupy the old Model school in Chester street. When the school was re-opened, in the autum of 1854, it contained six hundred pupils, the entering class numbering 148, the highest in its history up to that time.

The Central High School began its first year October 25, 1838, with eighty-nine boys. No formal exercises characterized the opening, but fifty years later, on Monday evening, October 29, 1888, there was a semi-centennial celebration in the Academy of Music, that was marked by a number of brilliant addresses and much enthusiasm. The original faculty comprised only four members—Enoch Wines, A.M., teacher of languages; John Frost, LL.D., history; E. Otis Kendall, A.M., the higher mathematics and astronomy; and William Vodges, LL.D., mathematics. There was no principal, but in 1839 Alexander Dallas Bache, the president-elect of the Girard College, was made Advisory Superintendent of Schools, with special instructions to organize the High School. The plan proposed by Professor Bache, and adopted by the Board of Control in 1840, contemplated a four years' course with semi-annual examinations in January and July. The principal course was very full, omitting the classics, but including modern languages, French and Spanish. There was also a classical course which omitted the modern languages, and an English course of two years which included the advanced English studies of the third and fourth years. Principal Bache retired in September, 1842, and was succeeded by John S. Hart, LL.D., Adjunct Professor of Languages in Princeton College. Changes had been made in the faculty in the preceding three years, and the course of instruction was now divided into ten departments, with as many instructors, besides the principal. Professor Frost in the Department of Belles-Lettres, had two of the professors as assistants. In 1849 the Legislature passed an act authorizing the Board of Control to confer degrees in the arts upon graduates of the High School. The study of the German language was introduced in 1852, but the Classical course was abandoned in 1854, and this was followed by the abandonment of the German Department in 1856. This professorship was afterward restored. Principal Hart resigned in 1858. His successors have been Nicholas H. Maguire, A.M., 1859–66; George Inman Riché, A.M., 1866–86; Franklin Taylor, A.M., M.D., 1886–8; Henry C. Johnson, A.M., LL.B., 1888–95; and Robert Ellis Thompson, 1895.

In 1866, under the vigorous administration of Edward Shippen, as President of the Board of Control, a reorganization of the High School was effected that was, in fact, a revolution. The discipline had deteriorated under Principal Maguire, and in consequence of the complaints to which his methods gave rise, a committee was appointed to investigate the condition of the school. This committee recommended a reorganization of the faculty, and all its members were dismissed. Ten of the professors were re-elected, and of the thirteen chosen seven were graduates of the school. The new principal was also an alumnus. Among these teachers there was not a name that was on Principal Hart's first list. This was the only time in the history of the school that drastic measures affecting its management were adopted. The change was not accomplished without difficulty, and was the cause of many resentments. A part of the faculty was adverse to a president as young as Principal Riché, especially as he had had no experience as a teacher. There was a large party in the Board of Education that was hostile to the school, and this hostility was shared by a considerable part of the public. In spite of the difficulties the new principal soon succeeded in winning the confidence of the faculty, and the support of the Board and the public was secured by an admirable adjustment of the curriculum. The studies of the school were divided into three parts,—those that were disciplinary, those that were practical, and those that were cultural. This readjustment was not radical, but it resulted in increased efficiency. The scientific apparatus and methods of instruction were greatly improved, a chemical laboratory was established, and the Departments of Physics and Chemistry became very attractive features of the institution, but the most important advance made during Professor Riché's long administration of nearly twenty years, was in the introduction and development of the Department of English Literature. After Professor Riché's retirement the school, under the control of Principal Taylor, was threatened with disintegration. Taylor's active administration lasted only ten months, Prof. Zeheniah Hopper, who entered the faculty in 1854, being elected acting principal, and serving as such until the election of Principal Johnson. Plans for a new high school building were prepared in 1895. The future of the institution seems assured.

One of the most important results of the establishment of the High School was the influence it exerted upon the public-school system as a whole. Before it was created the grammar schools failed to meet with general acceptance, the largest number of pupils in the public schools before 1837 being about 7,000. Before the end of 1843 the number had risen to nearly 35,000; in 1850 it had reached 48,056; in 1860, 63,530; in 1870, 82,891; in 1880, 103,567; in 1890, 116,389; and in 1895, 132,052. From $22,058 for school purposes in 1820 the appropriations had risen to $125,750 in 1840 and $366,361 in 1850. Since 1860, when the appropriations reached $512,014, the increase for every decade has

been about half a million of dollars. It will thus be seen that the increase in attendance and expenditure has more than kept pace with the growth in population. These results were due in a great measure to the early and continuous influence of the High School upon the grammar schools. Admission to the high school being based upon merit, teachers and pupils in the grammar schools were alike moved to put forth their best efforts. The achievements of the public-school system must be regarded as all the greater because of the obstacles, based on popular prejudice, that had to be overcome. The primary and grammar schools were at first looked upon as charity schools. The High School, on the other hand, from its situation in an aristocratic and wealthy quarter, was regarded for awhile as designed for a favored class. The illusion was dispelled with great difficulty, Principal Hart, in some of his semi-annual reports giving statistics showing the occupations and stations in life of the parents of the pupils in the High School. In combatting this prejudice Professor Hart one year made a statement of the occupations the members of the graduating class intended to follow, the statement showing respectively one brick-layer, cadet, dentist, physician, saddler, turner, tinman, watch-maker, and wheelright; two architects, curriers, manufacturers, and painters respectively; three blacksmiths, bookbinders, engineers, and mariners each; four druggists and engravers, five shipwrights, six conveyancers and cordwainers, seven printers, eight farmers, nine teachers, fourteen machinists, sixteen carpenters, twenty clerks, and thirty-eight stores. Notwithstanding the fulness with which trade and the trades were represented in this statement, the High School, within a few years, graduated many lawyers, lawmakers, and law interpreters, clergymen, journalists, and educators. For sixty years the High School has graduated annually an average of nearly two hundred pupils, and the public schools have given instruction to as many children as would equal the entire population of the city.

For ten years after the High School was opened the idea of a high school for girls in the grammar schools was talked over by the controllers before any definite action was taken. Finally a normal school was opened, February 1, 1848, in the Model School building, in Chester street, with Dr. A. T. W. Wright as principal. The Normal School started with 106 girls, and was not long in becoming popular. In 1853 a new building, specially adapted to the growing importance of the school, was erected in Sergeant street, between Ninth and Tenth streets. This proving inadequate in a few years, the present Girls' Normal School building, at Seventeenth and Spring Garden streets, was built in 1876, at a cost of about $200,000, including the ground and furniture. The edifice is large and imposing, and accommodates upward of eleven hundred pupils. The course of study embraces four years, with a post-graduate course of an additional year for girls who wish to become teachers. Practice schools for teaching are features of the post-grad-

uate course, and it is not until the young women demonstrate their ability to train and control children that they receive certificates to teach in the public schools. The Girls' Normal School aggregates over one thousand pupils from year to year, and the practice schools afford instruction to more than three hundred girls. Dr. Wright was succeeded as principal of the Normal School by Philip A. Cregar in 1857. Professor Cregar remained at the head of the institution until the close of 1863, and was succeeded by George W. Fetter in January, 1864. The present principal is George Howard Cliff.

Membership in the Board of Education has always been sought by some of the most eminent and worthy citizens of Philadelphia. Among the members of the board before 1850 were Joel B. Sutherland, Benjamin W. Richards, Isaac W. Norris, Andrew M. Prevost, Morton McMichael, James Campbell, Richard Vaux, William Biddle, and Theodore Cuyler; between 1850 and 1860 the list included T. K. Collins, William F. Small, Spencer Roberts, and Charles J. Wister; in more recent years among those prominent in business and affairs have been Thomas Fitzgerald, James S. Chambers, James McManes, Lewis C. Cassidy, Louis Wagner, Simon Gratz, John M. Campbell, Samuel W. Pennypacker, James Pollock, and John L. Kinsey. The first woman to become a member was Anna Hallowell. The presidents since the organization of the board have been Roberts Vaux, 1818–31; Thomas Dunlap, 1831–9; George M. Wharton, 1840–44, 1847–50, and 1853–4; John Miller, 1843–7; Daniel S. Beideman, 1850–53; Thomas G. Hollingsworth, 1854–7; William J. Reed, 1857–9; Henry Bumm, 1859–61; Benjamin M. Dusenberry, 1861–2; Leonard R. Fletcher, 1862–4; Edward Shippen, 1864–9; Daniel Steinmetz, 1869–70; M. H. Stanton, 1870–76; James Long, 1876–9; Edward T. Steel, 1879–89; Isaac A. Sheppard, 1889–97; and Samuel B. Huey, 1897.

In President Beideman's time began the era of building schoolhouses, which has continued, with occasional checks, ever since. The greatest progress, however, was made in all directions under the administration of Edward Shippen. Some of the finest of the brown-stone school buildings that adorn all parts of the city were built in his time. He instituted many reforms and improvements. The revolution in the management of the High School was only the beginning of his work. He besieged Councils for more liberal appropriations. He restrained the "cramming" processes that had gradually crept into the public school system. In 1867, in co-operation with Mayor McMichael, he caused a census to be made by the police of the school children in the city, from which it appeared there were twenty thousand idle boys and girls between the ages of six and eighteen years that did not attend school. The discovery led to the agitation for compulsory education. Previously the sectional school boards had chosen the members of the general board, but this year the Legislature was induced to pass an act vesting the power of appointment in the judges of the Court of Com-

mon Pleas. It was during Mr. Shippen's administration that the demand for a superintendent of the schools began to be urged upon the Board, but it was not until 1882 that this important office was created. The first superintendent was James McAlister, who at the time held a similar place at Milwaukee. Superintendent McAlister entered upon his duties in the spring of 1883, but resigned in 1890, to accept the presidency of the Drexel Institute, and was succeeded by Edward Brooks. In 1875 fifty free scholarships in the University of Pennsylvania were secured for pupils of the public schools. Other free scholarships are, ten in the Philadelphia School of Design for Women, and five in the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Art. In November, 1879, the Night School for Artizans was opened by Professor Richê, in the High School building. A Manual Training School was opened in September, 1885, in Hollingworth school-house, Locust street, above Broad, with 150 pupils. This school was so successful that a second manual training school was opened in 1891, and others will follow. It is not the purpose of these schools to teach boys trades, but to use the tools employed by the workers at many trades. Three cooking classes were established five years ago, and are in successful operation.

V.

REFORMATORY INSTITUTIONS.

The want of a place of confinement for criminals was one that made itself felt at a very early period in the history of the city. Although the settlers, as a class, were men of religious convictions and unquestioned probity, it is unreasonable to suppose that there should be no black sheep among them, and that law and order should in no instance be violated. In 1683, by order of Council, a cage was constructed for the detention of law breakers. It was seven feet long by five in width, and was only intended to serve as a temporary measure, the grand jury having already made a presentment specifying the necessity of establishing a prison. A log house was erected in Second street for this purpose, but on completion it was deemed unsatisfactory, and the high sheriff hired another structure which, when he had equipped it with fetters and chains, he declared in court was "a sufficient gaol, and if any escapes occurred he would not blame the county for want of a gaol, nor for the insufficiency of the said house." A new prison was decided upon, however, and was probably completed about 1686. It was located at Second and Market streets, and in 1702 was referred to by the grand jury as "a common nuisance." The sexes were allowed to mingle, and

criminals, vagrants, and runaway apprentices were all thrown together. It was used until 1722, when it was torn down, another prison having been put up at Third and Market streets. A pair of stocks, a whipping post, and a pillory had meanwhile been ordered in 1706. The year before this the old cage was converted into a watch-house, and about 1721 a house of correction and work-house was established for the punishment of petty offenders by hard labor. The new prison was divided into two sections, one for criminals, and the other for civil prisoners, such as debtors. The accommodations in both instances were bad, and the civil inmates fared even worse as a rule than the others, as they were expected to provide most of their own necessities. They lacked food when well and medicine when ill, and in 1770 one actually died of starvation. This aroused popular indignation, and a legislative investigation followed. Many of the men were found to be naked, and their usual covering at night was one blanket to two persons. But for outside charity, it appeared, even the blankets would have been lacking. One of the prisoners had been in confinement for four years because of inability to pay the prison fees. Another had been jailed three years because he had no one to go surety for his good behavior. The Assembly promptly increased the allowance to prisoners from two to threepence a day and made some new regulations, none of which prevented three more persons dying of starvation in the Market street jail in 1772. The public protested. Benevolent citizens undertook to provide food for the sufferers, and in 1776 a Society for the Relief of Distressed Prisoners was formed. Closed wheelbarrows were procured and inscribed with the legend, "Victuals for Prisoners." These were pushed from door to door and edibles thus collected. In 1787 the association was succeeded in its work, which had been suspended when the British took possession of the city, by the Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisoners, an institution that still exists under the style of the Pennsylvania Prison Society.

The overcrowded condition of the prison at Third and Market streets was such in 1773, that a bill was passed by the Assembly authorizing the county commissioners to borrow as much money as they considered necessary for the purchase of ground and the erection of "a commodious, strong, and sufficient gaol, work-house, and house of correction, with a good yard to each of them, inclosed by a wall of proper height and strength." This led to the construction of what was known as the Walnut Street Prison, which was completed in 1774, but the prisoners were not immediately removed there from the old jail, and, during the Revolution, it was utilized as a military guard-house and for the incarceration of political and military prisoners. During the old jail's fifty-odd years of use, the gallows had been active, fifty-two of its inmates having been executed within that period. Of these, three were women, two being implicated in burglaries and one an accessory to a murder. The former were both white and the latter was

a mulatto. Of the fifty men, five were negroes. Their crimes ranged from housebreaking and burglary to murder and rape. Of the others, eleven were convicted of murder, one being an Indian with four lives charged against him. There were twenty-three cases of burglary, three of highway robbery, four of counterfeiting, two of sodomy, and two of desertion from the British army, the latter being shot instead of hanged. When the British marched into the city in 1777, the Walnut street jail became their provost prison, and many were the cruelties practiced there upon American prisoners of war.

When the Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons began its work after the Revolution, it found much to reform in the Walnut Street jail. It was filthy in its condition, and corrupt in its management and practices. The keeper had so conducted it as to grow rich, and he bitterly opposed all attempts to interfere with what he regarded as his perquisites. The Society, however, persisted in its work, and in 1790 secured an act of Assembly creating a board of prison inspectors, the outcome of which was the separation of the sexes, the banishment of liquors, and the institution of many other needed reforms, including better clothes and food, a regular system of religious instruction, the payment of compensation for labor done, and the removal of untried prisoners from among those already convicted. In the meantime an experiment had been tried in the interest of economy. Criminals condemned to hard labor had been placed at work, cleaning the streets. Some of them made use of this opportunity to plan mischief, and the trial and conviction of five of them for murder in 1789 put an end to the practice. In 1798 yellow fever broke out, although the prison had escaped the previous epidemics that prevailed in the city in 1793 and 1797. Including the debtors, the untried, and the convicts, there were three hundred inmates in the prison at the time, and the deaths were numerous. The women and persons charged with minor offenses were removed to an unfinished building, belonging to Robert Morris, in Chestnut street. The others, frightened and desperate, made an effort to escape by force, and two were killed in the attempt. Later on some of them succeeded in securing freedom by undermining the walls. With each succeeding year the management of the prison improved, and the old-time horrors were gradually swept away. About 1819 the treadmill was introduced into the prison system of Philadelphia. It was used but a short time in the almshouse. Although a fine large prison was erected at Broad and Arch streets in 1807, there were difficulties in the way of its use, owing to a question arising between the county and State as to the class of inmates to be confined there, and when the Walnut street prison became too densely crowded later on, there was no relief to be had in spite of the fact that the Arch street prison had been originally intended to relieve the pressure upon the other. It was finally appropriated to the confinement of untried prisoners and debtors, and was torn down, together

with the Walnut street prison, after the completion of the Philadelphia County, or Moyamensing Prison, in 1835. In 1832 the Arch street prison suffered severely from an outbreak of cholera, there being two hundred and thirty-one inmates in the institution at the time. Of these, according to the record of the Board of Health, eighty-six were stricken, and forty-six died between July 11th and September 13th. Other authorities place the mortality even higher, and it is claimed by some that as many as eighty deaths actually occurred as the direct result of the outbreak. At the same time there was but one fatal case at the Walnut street prison, and none at all in the Eastern Penitentiary.

The latter institution was opened for the reception of prisoners in 1829. It is located upon what was then called Coates street, near the Schuylkill River, and which is still called "Cherry Hill." It is a State penitentiary, employed for the confinement of prisoners convicted of the higher grades of crime in Philadelphia and the eastern portion of the State. It is conducted according to what is known as the solitary industrial system, each convict having a cell to himself. It is the most prominent example of this method to be found anywhere, and so successful has it been in benefitting both the convicts and society at large, that its system has been adopted abroad in several instances, while others are accepting by more gradual degrees the effectual principles by which its inmates are treated. The prisoners are taught various handicrafts, work at which they soon find to be a privilege rather than a punishment. They are allowed to correspond with friends, under inspection of the officers, and have the use of an extensive library. They are compensated for all work performed after the completion of a fixed and moderate task. This money can be used in supporting their families or, in place of that, is given to the prisoners upon discharge, together with a small State allowance. The sanitary conditions of the institution are all that could be wished for, and the cost of the buildings from 1830, with the additions till 1892, was $988,183.69. It received nine prisoners at its opening. From that time until the close of 1892, just 16,629 convicts were received, of which number 474 were convicted and sent there in the latter year. No machinery is used in the institution, and each convict works in his own room. The rules are flexibly applied, according to the individuality of the prisoner to be treated.

The Philadelphia County or Moyamensing Prison, already referred to as completed in 1835, is located on Passyunk road, near Tenth street. It is a place of confinement for purely local offenders. Originally it had three departments—one for male criminals, one for persons untried, and one for those held under civil process. The latter has since been converted into a separate prison for women. Of late years the institution has been found inadequate to the requirements of modern methods, and an improved building, complete in all its details and planned

in accordance with what experience has shown to be most necessary, is to be established at Holmesburg, and will eventually take its place as the county prison. The House of Refuge, for "the employment of the idle, instruction of the ignorant, and reformation of the depraved," was made a possibility in 1826, through the efforts of the Society for the Alleviation of the Miseries of Public Prisons. The sum of $10,000 was raised by private subscription, the State appropriated a like amount, with $5,000 additional each year for five years, and by 1828 the necessary buildings had been erected and opened. It was situated at the intersection of Coates street, now Fairmount avenue and Ridge road. Conducted on the associate plan, it has always been a place of detention rather than a prison, and it has been of unquestioned benefit in the work of reforming incorrigible youths and juvenile delinquents. It is claimed that after its establishment the expenses of almshouse and penitentiary grew materially less, and that vagrants, thieves, and beggars of a tender age became less prevalent upon the streets. The prejudice of the white children against the admission of colored children led to the opening, in 1850, of a new building for the latter class, at Twenty-fourth and Parrish streets. Some years afterward, owing to the crowded state of the old house, the white boys' department was removed to the same locality, a commodious structure for that purpose having been erected in Twenty-third street. Still later a special building for girls was built at Twenty-second and Poplar streets, and the former refuge abandoned altogether. The institution at the present time is situated at Glen Mills, in Delaware County, where its group of buildings is equipped and surrounded with every desired need. The inmates are instructed in the skilled industries and in mental branches of study with the best results, and nothing is lacking by which the end sought for can be attained.

In 1874 a House of Correction, or House of Detention, as it is now called, was opened near Holmesburg, for the confinement and employment of petty offenders, the inmates being placed at stone quarrying and agricultural labor. The institution was largely in the nature of an experiment at first, and as such has fully met the hopes and expectations of those who planned it. Shops are attached for the production of apparel for the inmates, and the female prisoners work at sewing and washing, the latter frequently involving the cleansing of over seven thousand pieces a week. The institution has had as many as two thousand inmates at a time. It has a hospital of its own, a schoolroom for boys, and a chapel that will hold 2,500 persons. It will thus be seen that in the matter of its reformatory institutions, as in everything else, Philadelphia has made remarkable and unexampled progress.

MEN OF MARK IN PHILADELPHIA.

McMICHAEL, MORTON, was born in Burlington County, N. J., October 2, 1807, where his early education was received in the schools of his native village. His parents removing to Philadelphia when he was quite young, he completed his studies at the University of Pennsylvania. He afterward read law with David Paul Brown, and was admitted to the bar in 1827. His active practice of the legal profession was, however, dominated by his strong taste for literary pursuits which, prior to his admission to the bar, had enlisted him in a journalistic career. In 1826 he succeeded T. Cottrell Clarke as editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, established in 1821 and an outgrowth of Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*, originally published in 1728. In 1831 he became editor-in-chief of the *Saturday Courier*, and in 1836, conjointly with Louis A. Godey and Joseph C. Neal, he began the publication of the *Saturday News*. All these journals were weeklies and have ceased to exist.

For over fifty years the powerful aid of Mr. McMichael's advocacy and support was given in active journalism to every movement for the public good and for the honor and the welfare of the city. He was especially potent in forwarding the great measures of instituting the public school and park systems and of city consolidation. Of his journalistic career Colonel John W. Forney thus speaks, in an address delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania April 17, 1879: "His newspaper was characteristically clean, pure, elevated, and unpersonal. He never wrote or talked of himself, never spoke of an adversary by name, unless he had a cause to praise him, and never stained his pages by printing scandal." Referring to the change which had been brought in the then modern journalism, he added: "For this unspeakable change in journalism, so productive of sweeter manners and purer laws, we are more indebted to Morton McMichael than to any other contemporary character. But because he was a gentleman, proud of his great profession, he was not therefore a carpet knight. No one could strike deeper, quicker, or surer. A conservative by blood and breeding, he kindled instantly at wrong or injustice. All his impulses were chivalric."

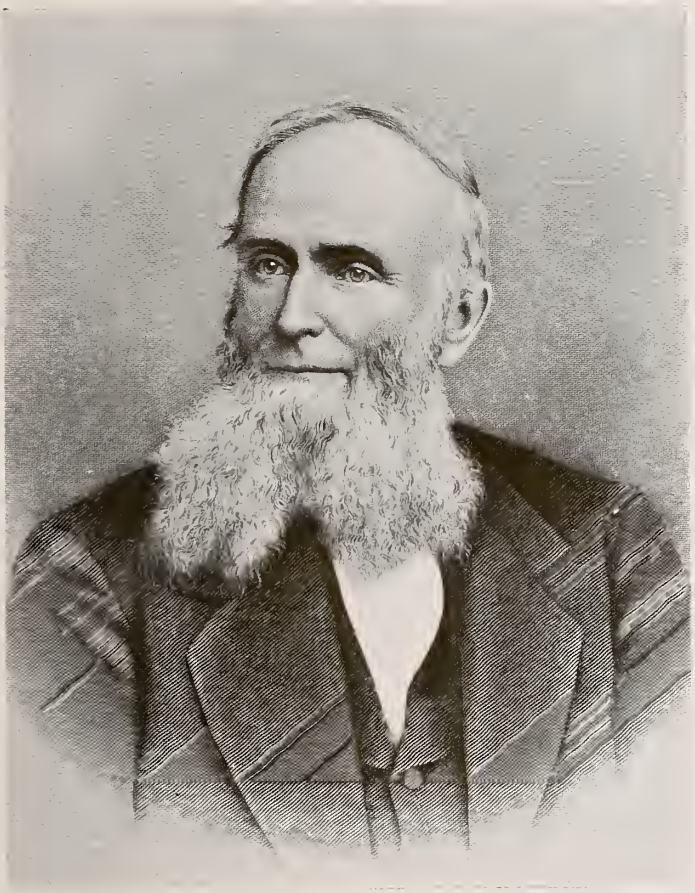
Not as a journalist only, but as a politician of the purest and highest type, Mr. McMichael impressed himself upon the city, State, and in the larger area of national affairs. While a young man he served as

alderman of the city; from 1843 to 1846 he was high sheriff of the county and displayed signal ability in suppressing the anti-Catholic riots of 1844; from 1866 to 1869 he was Mayor of the city, being in 1867 President of the New Park Commission, a position that he held up to the time of his death. In 1873 he was delegate-at-large to the fourth Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania, filling the vacancy caused by the death of William M. Meridith. His influence was felt throughout the length and breadth of the State, and his rare purity and strength of character were universally recognized by his fellow-citizens of all parties. In national matters his counsel was sought by the Whig and the Republican parties. Webster, Clay, Crittenden, Seward, Chase, and Blaine were his friends and correspondents, valuing his advice and views upon the great questions of the period.

Distinguished as an orator, his speeches upon all subjects were characteristically chaste, fresh, fascinating, and delightful, and often as impassioned as they were scholarly. He was always original, classic, and magnetic. Of his memorable speeches, his appeal delivered at the Chinese Museum during the Irish famine, carried the great audience by storm by its fervid and forceful eloquence. His defiance of the mob that attempted to set fire to the Shelter for Colored Orphans, in charge of the Society of Friends, in 1838, was equally memorable. His oratory in an agricultural address at Boston, in October, 1855, so impressed Robert C. Winthrop and Edward Everett, who were present, that they spoke of him in terms of amazement and delight. Before and during the Civil War his inspiring voice was heard urging courage and faith in defeat, but clemency in final triumph. Among his most polished, thoughtful, and classic speeches were those upon the formal transfer, as President of the Park Commission, of grounds to the United States Centennial Commission, July 4, 1873, and his oration on the presentation of the John Welsh endowment to the University of Pennsylvania. He was frequently called upon to preside at public gatherings, which he did with unerring tact.

In addition to the wider scope of his final influence he was a recognized leader in the social life of the city, and his pride in and affection for Philadelphia were proverbial. He died January 7, 1879, and upon his monument erected by his fellow citizens, in Fairmount Park, their estimate of him was epitomized in the inscription: "An honored and beloved citizen of Philadelphia."

CRAMP, WILLIAM (born in Kensington, a suburb of Philadelphia, September, 1806), was the son of a father of German, and a mother of English descent, and both native Americans and of excellent social standing. Young William Cramp, destined to conspicuous achievement, had the advantage of fairly favorable early environments. He had the usual school ad-



Wm Leramp

vantages of his day keenly improved. Religious in temperament, he first studied for the ministry, but health failing, reluctantly abandoned the choice, taking up shipbuilding as a vocation best calculated, because of its outdoor life, to restore and preserve his bodily vigor. His preliminary apprenticeship was served under Samuel Grice, a noted shipbuilder of his day and a thorough master of the craft. In 1830, at twenty-three years of age, Mr. Cramp started in business for himself at the foot of Otis street (now Susquehanna avenue), and laid the foundation of the vast industrial establishment, known as the "William Cramp & Sons Ship and Engine Building Company."

The career of Mr. Cramp thereafter became inseparably identified with the history of the development of this colossal industry. At first he built barques and brigs for the merchants of Philadelphia principally, but increased patronage compelled greater accommodations, and soon led to an establishment on Petty's Island, and later to two distinct yards. In 1857 he took into partnership his two sons, Charles H. and William M. Cramp, who had been thoroughly trained in the business, and in 1862 his other sons, Samuel H., Jacob C., and Theodore Cramp. On their admission the firm took the name of William Cramp & Sons. Each performed some distinctive part in the vast and still rapidly developing business, and together formed one of the most vigorous and progressive commercial companies in the country. During the history of the "old yard," small in extent and limited in equipment in comparison with its successor, the Cramps turned out many important ships, both sail and steam, for domestic and foreign merchant account, and warships for the United States and Venezuela, but its steamships were powered by contract with independent engine builders. The rapid development of steam shipping immediately after the Civil War, rendered a combination of the two industries indispensable, with a corresponding enlargement of the plant—requirements which were promptly and elaborately met. Up to 1860 they had confined their attention chiefly to the building of wooden vessels, the finest crafts of their kind afloat, and their fame as builders had become world-wide, but at the breaking out of the Civil War they were called upon to build ships that could withstand the shock of conflict, and to build them with an expeditiousness hitherto unknown. The transition in method and means and material was complete, making a demand upon originality, adaptation, and resource that was essentially creative. The manner in which this new demand, its responsibility, and the exigency of a nation, was met, is admirably illustrated in the building of the New Ironsides, renowned in the Rebellion. When the contract was signed the timber of which she was to be built stood in the forest. It was cut, the vessel built complete and plated in seven months, and in eleven months she was in action in Charleston harbor; others rapidly followed. The Chat-

tanooga, the steamship Union, the light draught monitor Yazoo; the transports Stanton, Foote, Welles, and Porter; the double-ender Nyalusing, and other vessels costing in the aggregate $5,000,000, were built for the Government, and many more rebuilt, refitted, or equipped. During this period of immense activity, in addition to Government work, they put afloat as many as fifty vessels for private owners. The Delaware became the "Clyde of America," a distinction retained with increasing worthiness ever since. During this period they built the first propeller tugboat ever constructed in the United States—the Sampson—afterward captured and used as a gunboat by the Confederates. The plant at this time—thirty years ago—consisted of two shipyards, among the largest then in the United States, equipped with all the implements and facilities necessary for building both iron and wooden vessels, but still far from realizing the colossal proportions now attained. The Bridgewater, of 1,525 tons, the largest merchant vessel ever constructed at the Philadelphia port up to that time, was built and launched full rigged from the Penn street yard, a feat unprecedented with a vessel of equal tonnage. The stately clipper ships, with their splendid hulls and enormous spread of canvas, the immediate precursor of the "Ocean Greyhound," often outstripping the steamers, were in their glory. The Morning Light, a clipper of extraordinary speed and beauty, which became famous in the California trade, was one of the smallest built by William Cramp. After the war the Cramps entered upon another era of shipbuilding, and practically revolutionized, by their undertakings and innovations, the entire system of construction in America. This new maritime enterprise, begun in 1870, took form in the construction for the American Steamship Company of four first-class iron steamships to ply between Philadelphia and Liverpool. Seven hundred feet river front was added to their plant, and the necessary additional shiphouses, docks, and piers constructed. Of the four great vessels, begun at the same time, the first, the Pennsylvania, was launched in August, 1872, the Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois quickly following. Six iron steam colliers about this time were built for the Reading Railroad Company, and in 1874 the iron steamer Columbus for the American coastwise trade, with other valuable contracts rapidly following. In March, 1872, the firm had been incorporated as the "William Cramp & Sons Ship and Engine Building Company," disclosing the fact in the title that another branch, that of the construction of marine engines for the equipment of the steam crafts built at the company's yards, had been added. This new department inaugurated the building of compound marine engines. Professor Thurston, of Cornell, dates the development of modern marine engineering in the United States from the time when the Cramps began the building of the engines of the George W. Clyde,—built for trade between New York and San Domingo in 1871.

Chas. H. Cramp

In 1877, William Cramp, the founder of this great industry, who had given forty-seven years of unremitting energy to its development, began failing in health, and two years later, July 6, 1879, died at Atlantic City, where he was temporarily sojourning. Giving the initial impulse to a colossal industry, year by year advancing it in magnitude until it was the greatest organized activity on the Delaware and world-famous, he yet did not live to see the full development of his ambitions. But he laid wisely the foundations upon which his successors have built so well. He was a sincere Christian, a man of most upright habits in business as in private life, just in all relations, and a modest, thorough, resolute, and useful citizen. He was one of the founders of the Union League of Philadelphia, and gave largely of his means and influence for the support of the Nation in its time of peril.

RAMP, CHARLES H. (born in Philadelphia, May 9, 1828), is the son of William Cramp, founder of the famous Cramp shipbuilding industry. He received a thorough early educational training under noted instructors of the day at the Philadelphia High School, and, upon completion of an academic course, at once engaged with his father in the profession of shipbuilding. The eldest son and child of a family of eleven children, succession to the head of the colossal business naturally awaited him. As subsequent events proved, this successorship came, not less by natural right than by eminent qualification and hereditary endowment. Although leaving school and entering ardently upon the engrossing preliminary work of his chosen profession, he did not cease to be a student, but seized every opportunity found in the midst of his business career to widen his scholarly attainments. He familarized himself with the modern languages and pursued the higher mathematics, not only in their application to naval architecture, but in their broader and general range. As he progressed in the technical knowledge of shipbuilding, he was correspondingly assiduous in supplying by private study, every defect of a liberal education. At the start, in his life work, the opportunity was royal and the field of accomplishment unlimited. The Cramp shipyard had been founded at the very beginning of the revival of shipbuilding in 1830, when a new epoch in the industry succeeded to the depression that had followed the war of 1812. The marvelous transitions in ship construction from wood to iron, from iron to steel—in propulsion, from sail to steam—and in the equally radical changes in machinery and interior fittings, were all to occur within the active experience of the then young shipbuilder, and to receive the impress and stamp of his own personality. For many years before his succession as head of the house, his service

and originality had radically molded and guided the enterprise. When his father died, in 1879, he was already the naval architect of the concern and thoroughly qualified, not simply in the work of evolving designs for others, but equipped in every department and detail of ship construction, from draughting-room and model-loft practice and modeling to superintending the shipyard work in every branch.

The life of Charles H. Cramp, as was that of his father, is the history during his active career of the Cramp shipyards. A glance at the rise and progress of this great industry has elsewhere been given in a brief sketch of William Cramp. In addition to the part borne by Charles H. Cramp in the phenomenal successes of the house in its earlier career, his place in the history of shipbuilding rests upon his share in the reconstruction of the American navy and the revival of the merchant marine. Early in the history of the new navy the Secretary of the Navy availed himself of Mr. Cramp's experience and skill.

In addition to the new Ironsides, Chattanooga, and other vessels for the United States Navy, Mr. Cramp built and equipped four cruisers for the Russian Navy. These vessels had no superiors of their class in any navy of the world, and the experience gained in their construction especially equipped Mr. Cramp, by study and observation of current work and progress in naval architecture and marine engineering abroad, to a degree exceptional among American shipbuilders. At the beginning of 1887, a fleet of eleven vessels of war, ranging in type from the torpedo cruiser to first-class battleships, embracing 80,000 tons of displacement and 147,000 indicated horse-power, was in rapid succession constructed by the Cramps. These vessels, in their order of construction, were the Yorktown, gunboat, of 17,000 tons, hull designed bythe Navy Department, with triple expansion engines, design by Cramp; the Vesuvius, dynamite torpedo vessel, 890 tons, hull and machinery designed by Cramp; the Baltimore, protected cruiser, 4,400 tons, on designs purchased by the Navy Department; the Philadelphia, protected cruiser, 4,400 tons, hull and machinery by Cramp; the Newark, protected cruiser, 4,083 tons, hull by Navy Department, engines by Cramp; the New York, armored cruiser, 8,150 tons, Navy Department design of hull and machinery, modified by Cramp; the Columbia, protected cruiser (commerce destroyer), 8,011 tons; Minneapolis, sister ship to the Columbia; the Indiana, battleship, 10,400 tons; the Massachusetts, sister ship to the Indiana; the Brooklyn, armored cruiser, 9,150 tons, an enlargement on the New York type, and the Iowa, sea-going battleship, of 11,300 tons.

This reconstruction of the navy, beginning in 1887, called for an enlargement of the plant of the Cramps to meet the requirements. At that time the shipyard, including the basin, drydocks and marine railway, comprised 13.7 acres. Seven years later the plant covered 31 acres of ground, employed some 6,000 men, and was capitalized at five millions of dollars; its facilities had been extended to the general

Isaac A. Sheppard

manufacture of machinery and ordnance, and it has passed from the status of a simple shipyard to that of the greatest and most complete naval arsenal in the Western hemisphere. At the same time Mr. Cramp was foremost, by tongue and pen, in urging upon Congress the policy of regaining our rank as a commercial nation on the high seas. His work was rewarded by the final construction of the American transatlantic steamships, a work that fell largely to his hands. At the death of the elder Cramp 207 vessels had been built at his yards. Since then the total has reached nearly 300, but the vessels of late years have been large, and constructed upon a scale so magnificent, that number does not express the magnitude and quality of the work.

Mr. Cramp has devoted his entire life to the upbuilding of the company of which he is the recognized head, and in him the founder lives again in ability, taste, character, and habits of thought and life. Although absorbed in the conduct, with his associates, of an immense business, he yet is intensely a citizen, with an interest in everything vital to the welfare of his city, State, or country. He is an honored member of the Union League of Philadelphia, and other associations of the foremost rank. In person he is compact, well-knit, erect in carriage, and quick and decisive in movement. In social life he is an exceptional raconteur, his excellent memory, keen observation, and exhaustive travel giving him an unlimited fund of incident and anecdote.

Another has said of him: "At work Mr. Cramp is an ideal executive. His judgment in the selection of men is unerring. He has the faculty of making the members of his staff do things as well as he could himself. . . . He has the faculty still rarer of inspiring the most perfect loyalty to himself and his fortunes."

SHEPPARD, ISAAC A., re-elected in January, 1896, for the eighth time, President of the Board of Public Education of Philadelphia, was a typical American, who, by his own ability and industry, rose to distinction. He came of a vigorous native stock, his ancestors on the maternal side having settled on Rhode Island in 1636, and on the paternal side, in Southern New Jersey in 1685. Four great-grandfathers and a great-great-grandfather participated with credit in the Revolutionary struggle. His parents, Ephraim and Mary Sheppard (*nee* Westcott) resided in Cumberland county, New Jersey, where he was born July 11, 1827. Here, at a time when the district school was held but three months in each year, his education began, at five years of age. When he was but little more than eleven years old, financial reverses compelled his parents to remove to Philadelphia, where he entered a grammar school. He could remain in school but a single term, as his father's

serious illness compelled his withdrawal in order that his earnings might contribute to the support of the family. His mother's death, followed not long afterward by that of his father, broke up the family and rendered him entirely dependent upon his own efforts for support. After obtaining employment in several different occupations, he apprenticed himself, at the age of sixteen, to learn the iron founding business, with the firm of Charles Warnick & Co., in whose foundry he began, in January, 1844, to learn the molding of stoves and hollow ware. After the completion of his apprenticeship, he remained in the employ of the firm for thirteen years; when an opportunity offered for consummating his long-cherished plan of engaging in business on his own account.

In the years 1859, 1860, and 1861 successively, Mr. Sheppard was elected to the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania. During the session of 1861, he served as Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, and during nearly one-half of the term as Speaker, to which position he was unanimously chosen. His term of service covered an important period in the history of the State and Nation, that of the outbreak of the Civil War. In May, 1861, he was a member of the committee that prepared and reported the "Act to create a Loan and Provide for Arming the State." Under this law, the organization of the famous "Division of Pennsylvania Reserves" was effected, which so greatly contributed to the success of the Union arms. He was also Chairman of the Committee on the "Attack on Citizens passing through Baltimore en route to Washington." Throughout the continuation of the war, Mr. Sheppard exerted his energies in behalf of his country, and contributed freely in money and in personal services and influence in aiding the National Government, and was an active member of the Union League during the palmy days of that useful organization.

While giving much of his time to public affairs, Mr. Sheppard was actively prosecuting the manufacturing enterprise, in which he had engaged in 1860, in partnership with five others, under the firm name of Isaac A. Sheppard & Co., the business being commonly known as the "Excelsior Stove Works of Philadelphia." The excellence of the goods here manufactured soon established for the firm a wide reputation and extensive business connections. Shortly after the war, the growing demand for goods in the Southern States, led Mr. Sheppard to establish, in 1866, the "Excelsior Stove Works of Baltimore," which occupy a large block of ground, and are at the present time one of the large industries of that city.

Various changes by death and withdrawal of partners occurred from time to time, the partners at his death being Isaac A. Sheppard and his two sons, Franklin L. and Howard R. Sheppard, the former having been admitted in 1879, the latter in 1887. The firm is now among the largest in its line of manufacture in the United States.

Mr. Sheppard filled many positions of trust. In 1867 he was elected by Councils to represent the city's interests in the Northern Liberties Gas Company. After 1870 he was a Director, and after 1885 the President of the National Security Bank of Philadelphia. In 1881 he was elected a Director of the Northern Savings Fund, Safe Deposit and Trust Company, in which capacity he served continuously until his death.

Mr. Sheppard also held positions of honor and responsibility in the benevolent associations in which his interest was aroused. For many years he was Grand Treasurer of the Sovereign Grand Lodge of Odd Fellows, and he was a Trustee of the Widows' and Orphans' Asylum Fund of that Order. He was also active as a member of the Masonic Order and of the Order of American Mechanics; and he was President of the Sixteenth Ward Association of the Philadelphia Society of Organized Charity. Perhaps the most conspicuous services rendered to the community by Mr. Sheppard were performed during his connection with the Board of Public Education of the First School District of Pennsylvania. He was appointed to membership in the Board by the Judges of the Common Pleas Court in 1879, and was regularly reappointed thereafter as his term from time to time expired. As a member of the Committees on Property, Boys' High School, Manual Training Schools, Industrial Art Education, and Night Schools, his labors were untiring and faithful. In 1889 the Board elected him to the office of President, and each succeeding year witnessed his unanimous re-election until 1897, when, owing to failing health, he retired from the board. Under his administration the working of the Board was harmonious and highly effective, and the growth and development of the Public Schools of Philadelphia were a source of gratification and pride to all its citizens.

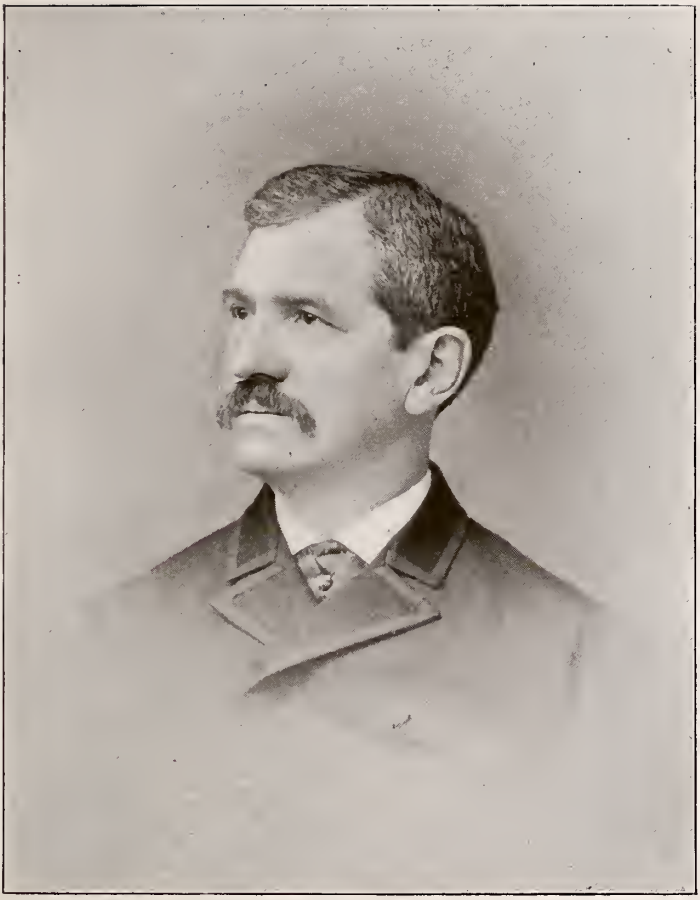
In 1850, Mr. Sheppard was married to Miss Caroline M. Holmes, whose parents came to this city from Devonshire, England, a few years prior to her birth. He always lived in the house built by him before his marriage, in Sixth street below Girard avenue. Of five children, the two sons who were associated with him in business alone survive. That every man should own his own home, was Mr. Sheppard's firm conviction; and the establishment in Philadelphia of the Building and Savings Associations, which have done so much to make it the "City of Homes," was largely due to his intelligent and effective advocacy, during his legislative service, in the enactment of laws in their interest.

Mr. Sheppard was a communicant of the Protestant Episcopal Church since early manhood. He was for more than thirty-two years a Sunday-school superintendent; and he repeatedly served as a delegate to the Diocesan Convention of Pennsylvania. Alike in social, business, and public life, his influence and effort were untiring in behalf of all that tends to the good of the community and the establishment of a high standard of good citizenship. He died March 6, 1898.

SMITH, CHARLES EMORY, the Editor-in-chief of *The Press*, like many another man who has helped to advance the best interests of the City of Brotherly Love, was born east of the Hudson River, and comes from a good old New England stock. The Middle States have received, time and again, brainy men, men who became invaluable, from the Eastern States. Going back more than a hundred years, the mental life of the quiet city on the Delaware was quickened and strengthened by the immigration of the boy Franklin, and ever since, at occasional intervals, New England people have come to Philadelphia to aid in its development and help on its prosperity. Mr. Smith was not one of the least of these, and his work here has not been the least important contributed by them.

Charles Emory Smith was born in Mansfield, Conn., February 18, 1842. His parents, in 1849, removed to Albany, N. Y. Here the future journalist spent the happy days of his youth and young manhood, and here, in the public schools and in a famous academy, he acquired a sound and thorough elementary education. He was graduated from the Albany Academy at the age of sixteen years. The next six months he devoted to the work of a newspaper writer, having connected himself with the Albany *Evening Transcript*. In 1859, he passed the biennial examination, and entered Union College as a junior student, passing over the ground of the first two years. In the year following, the nation, North and South, East and West, passed through the most exciting political campaign known in its history. Though a junior, Smith was selected as the Captain of the Wide Awake Club of the students of Union College. The young man took an active part in the canvass. Though but eighteen years of age he raised his voice and marshalled college chums in favor of Abraham Lincoln for President of the United States. He was chosen, about this time, as one of the editors of the University *Review*, published in New Haven under the auspices of students of several learned institutions. He was graduated from Union College at the early age of nineteen years.

He returned to the capital of New York at a most critical period in the history of his country. The War of the Rebellion was on, and Albany was the center and the headquarters for the State's military preparations for the field. Like every other State capital, North and South, East and West, Albany was the point where State troops were being organized and turned over to the National Government. Brigadier-General John F. Rathbone had been intrusted with a large proportion of this work. He accepted the offer of the services of the young college graduate, and offered him a very important position, that of his military Secretary, and later that of Judge-Advocate-General, with the rank of Major. He remained with the General for a period of eighteen months. Then he entered the services of the Adjutant-General of the State. When Horatio Seymour became Governor of New York, Major Smith resigned. He became an instructor in



Chas Emory Smith

the Academy from which he had been graduated four years previously. At the same time he wrote editorials for the Albany *Express*, contributing two columns daily to it. In 1865 he decided to devote all of his time to editorial work. He afterward became one of the owners of the paper. From this time on Charles Emory Smith became an important man in the Republican party in New York State politics. In the closing part of Governor Fenton's term he acted for a time as his Private Secretary, without giving up his editorial work.

From 1867 to 1870, four successive annual elections in the State returned each year a Democratic majority. No Republican nominations and no party management were able to retrieve defeat or make headway against the alliance which William M. Tweed had successfully established between the corrupt wings of both parties. The alliance and its influences were not absent from the Albany *Journal*, and in 1870 its owners made a radical change in its management by calling first to its associate and later to its chief editorship Mr. Charles Emory Smith. His determination to take the position with the office untrammeled by any connection with the influence then dominant on both floors and in every chamber of the State capitol, delayed his acceptance of the offer for one year, when he resigned from the *Express* and accepted a place on the *Journal*. In 1876 Mr. Smith became the sole conductor of the paper. From this time on Mr. Smith took an active personal part in State and National politics. From 1873 he was annually chosen a delegate to the Republican State Conventions. In 1874 it became an unwritten law that the editor of the *Journal* should become the head of the Committee on Resolutions. In 1876 he was elected a delegate to the Republican National Convention in Cincinnati. There also he was selected as a member of the Committee on Resolutions. A large part of the platform came from his pen. In 1880 he severed his connection with New York politics.

March 7, 1880, Mr. Smith became Editor-in-chief of the Philadelphia *Press*. The paper was stranded in the shallows of a diminishing circulation, and was without much advertising patronage. Though it had been founded twenty-five years before by John W. Forney, and at one time had a most brilliant career, it was now at a very low ebb of life. In six months' time Mr. Smith had changed all this. *The Press* four years later was a power in the land. It stood foremost in its party in both City and State politics. It stood foremost in the movement which culminated in the nomination of James G. Blaine as a candidate for President of the United States in 1884. The price per copy of the paper had been reduced from three cents to two. In every way the paper was now a power in favor of the best interests of the city, State, and nation. During this time a Sunday edition had been added to the daily issues, and this, to-day, equals any in circulation, make-up, and general prosperity in the country. Personally, Charles Emory Smith has become one of Philadelphia's most prominent citizens. No great

movement for good takes place without his being one of its most active counselors.

In 1890, President Harrison appointed Mr. Smith as the Nation's Minister to Russia. This was done because of his eminent services as a Republican journalist, as well as a compliment to the City of Philadelphia, the most intensely Republican city in the Union. Mr. Smith remained in St. Petersburg for a period of two years, when he resigned. During this time there was an unusually large number of important diplomatic questions to receive attention, and this was done in the most creditable manner, and was satisfactory to both nations. During the period of the great Russian famine, Philadelphia's citizens were in constant touch with the American Minister relative to the best method of helping the starving peasantry of the great empire. As a result, Philadelphia sent the first ship to Russia with food for the suffering peasants. Another was sent later. Of the five ships that took food to Russia during the famine, two came from the city in which is Mr. Smith's permanent home. America only, sent ships of succor. All the aid that was sent to Russia in the interests of the starving population, including the food and $200,000 in money, was distributed by Mr. Smith.

When Mr. Smith was named as Minister to Russia the citizens of Philadelphia, without reference to political feelings and sympathies, expressed their pleasure at the appointment. Many public dinners were tendered him, at which most prominent fellow-citizens of city and State expressed in eloquent language their satisfaction of the President's action. Upon his return home there was a general desire to honor him, and he was tendered a banquet, at which most complimentary things were said. Since his return Mr. Smith has delivered many public addresses, notably for the Chamber of Commerce, New York; Board of Trade, Boston, and the Rochester Chamber of Commerce, and on the financial question before the Pennsylvania Legislature. In the Presidential campaign of 1896 Mr. Smith was one of the most effective speakers in the canvass in behalf of the Republican ticket and platform. These services were rewarded by his appointment as Postmaster-General by President McKinley, when Mr. Gary resigned from the Cabinet in April, 1898.

WANAMAKER, JOHN (born in Philadelphia, July 11, 1837), is the son of John Nelson Wanamaker and Elizabeth D. Kockersperger, and is a descendant on his father's side of the Palatines, who left Germany during the religious persecutions of 1730 to 1740. On his mother's side he is a descendant of a French Huguenot who came to America before 1750. His grandfather, John Wanamaker, was a farmer of Hunterdon County, New

John Wanamaker

Jersey, who removed to Dayton, Ohio, about 1815, and shortly after to Kosciusko County, Indiana, where he died. Three sons, including the father of John Wanamaker, returned east and settled in Philadelphia.

John Wanamaker was the eldest of seven children. He attended the public schools of Philadelphia until he was fourteen years of age, when he entered a retail store in Market street as an errand boy. At twenty years of age he had served successively from errand boy, as stock boy, entry clerk, and salesman in the largest clothing house in the city. At this period, 1857, he was chosen as the first paid secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association. He resigned this office in 1861 to go into the clothing business with his brother-in-law, Mr. Nathan Brown, on a joint capital of $3,500. His first day's sale was $24.67; that of the first year $24,125. When his partner died in 1868 the firm of Wanamaker & Brown was widely known. In 1869 he established the house of John Wanamaker & Co., in Chestnut street, placing his brother in charge. In 1871 he was compelled to enlarge his main Market street clothing house. In 1876 he remodeled the Pennsylvania freight depot building, which he had previously fitted up as a tabernacle for Dwight L. Moody, where from ten to twenty thousand persons listened to the evangelist, and opened it as a bazaar for the sale of men's and boys' clothing, hats, shoes, etc. In 1877 the establishment was reopened as a drygoods mart, to which there has since been added other departments, rendering it now one of the largest general stores in the world. In 1896 the magnificent retail drygoods establishment and business founded by A. T. Stewart, New York City, occupying an entire block, bounded by Broadway, Fourth avenue, Ninth and Tenth streets, was purchased by Mr. Wanamaker, and a duplicate of his Philadelphia store is now carried on in that city. In 1867 he adopted the system of co-operation, and the first year paid to employees over $100,000 in excess of salaries. He also organized a savings bank for employees, a building association, and a library.

In 1886 and 1887 he was prominent in the movement to supply pure water for Philadelphia, and, in 1888, when an attempt was made to dispose of the City Gas Works he came forward with an offer to purchase the entire plant. His offer, though declined, saved the works to the city. In 1882 he declined the Republican nomination as Congressman-at-large for the State of Pennsylvania, and in 1886 the nomination as an independent candidate for Mayor of Philadelphia. In 1888 he took an active part in the presidential campaign, serving as an elector from his State and giving a large amount of time and work as a member of the Republican National Committee. Upon his election President Harrison, at the request of the Manufacturers' Club of Philadelphia, and of leading Republicans of the State, and the Republican National Committee, invited Mr. Wana-

maker to enter his cabinet. He became Postmaster-General. He infused his own business methods into the conduct of the office; provided quicker transmission of the mails by pushing the railway companies to new achievements in rapid transportation; established seaport offices, enabling foreign mail to be distributed and made up aboard ship; and improved the immediate delivery system. In 1897 he was a candidate for United States Senator, and in 1898 made a spirited canvass of the State for the Republican nomination for Governor as the candidate of the element in the Republican party opposed to "bossism."

In 1858 he organized the Sabbath school in South street with twenty-seven members, which has become the famous "Bethany," with some 3,000 scholars, and a corresponding corps of teachers, and out of which has grown the Bethany Presbyterian Church. He was, from 1870 to 1883, President of the Young Men's Christian Association of Philadelphia, and greatly assisted in the erection of the Association Building at Fifteenth and Chestnut streets. He took a lively interest in the founding of the Penny Savings Bank of Philadelphia, which, within a few years from its organization, did a business of $100,000 annually.

PAUL, JAMES W. (born in Philadelphia, November 4, 1816), is the son of James Paul and Elizabeth Rodman, both of whom were descendants of prominent Colonial ancestors. His father, a leading merchant of Philadelphia, engaged in the East India trade, was a great-grandson of Joseph Paul, who emigrated from Yorkshire, England, in 1682, and settled at Abington, near Philadelphia, where he became a large land owner. He also held large possessions near Frankford, under a grant from William Penn. His mother was the great-granddaughter of the John Rodman who, arriving from Barbadoes with his parents at Newport in the Plantation of Rhode Island in 1682, and removing first to Long Island in 1712, then to Burlington, Province of New Jersey, in 1726, became a member of the Assembly of the Province of New Jersey, and soon after a member of his Majesty's Council, a position he held for eight years, until his death.

Mr. Paul, after the usual course of preparatory study in Philadelphia and at Lawrenceville, New Jersey, at thirteen years of age entered the Freshman Class of the University of Pennsylvania, and passing the usual course of four years, was graduated with high honors in 1834, in a class which included in its membership, among other names who subsequently became noted, Henry J. Biddle, J. I. Clark Hare, and Horace B. Wallace. Shortly after his graduation Mr. Paul commenced the study of the law in the office of the late James S.

James W. Paul

Smith, a leading practitioner of that period, continuing there until he was admitted to the bar in 1837, at the age of twenty-one years. At once entering into active practice, he soon took a prominent position at the bar, which he has continued to hold for a period of over sixty years. Of late years, he has devoted himself more exclusively to office and chamber practice, including Orphans' Court practice, and the settlement of estates, filling also the position of advisory counsel and solicitor for several of the National banks, railroads, and corporations of a similar character.

In the early stages of Secession and State Rights advocacy Mr. Paul took a firm stand in favor of the Union and equal rights to all under the Constitution, and when the actual outbreak of hostilities inaugurated civil war, he was one of the earliest to contribute his time and his means toward strengthening and upholding the hands of the Government. He encouraged his eldest son (the only child then of sufficient age) to volunteer with the first troops organized, and aided his next son, when old enough, to obtain an appointment in the navy. In the dark hours that early followed, sympathy with secession and the Southern cause became aggressively outspoken in some of Philadelphia's circles. Mr. Paul, together with the late Benjamin Gerhard, George H. Boker, and a few other equally patriotic citizens, met in consultation first at Mr. Gerhard's office, and then at Mr. Paul's house, where an organization was entered into with the pledge of loyalty to the Government and its support as the only qualification necessary for membership. The intention was, by frequent meetings at the houses of the members, to form a rallying point around which all citizens inspired by patriotic feelings could gather, and by their acts and outspoken sympathy aid and strengthen the cause of the Union. From its inception the organization increased rapidly, and growing beyond the most sanguine expectations of its originators, in a short time became, first, "The Union Club," with a large membership, and later, "The Union League of Philadelphia." The prominent position of this organization in its loval support of the Government both during its hours of tribulation and since, has become part of the history of the nation.

In 1841, Mr. Paul was united in marriage to Miss Hannah C. Bunker, one of the four daughters of Nathan Bunker, a respected member of the Society of Friends, and prominently known as a merchant of his time, the other three daughters becoming respectively the wives of Amos Taylor, of Philadelphia; the Hon. S. Abbott Lawrence, of Boston, and Captain, afterward Rear-Admiral John A. Dahlgren of the United States Navy. From this marriage six children were born, three of whom are now living: Frank W. Paul, formerly Captain in the United States Army, and now associated with his father in practice; James W. Paul, Jr., a member of the firm of Drexel & Co., and

a son-in-law of the late A. J. Drexel; Lawrence T. Paul, an engineer well known in electrical circles. The three deceased children were Lilly Paul, who married Thomas G. Gaylord, of Cincinnati; Mary W. Paul, who married the Hon. William Waldorf Astor, and Allan G. Paul, who was a lieutenant in the United States Navy, and died several years ago, on board of the flagship Philadelphia, en route from Hayti to New York, being at the time of his death Flag Lieutenant to Admiral Gherardi, then commanding the North Atlantic squadron.

SELLERS, WILLIAM (born in Upper Darby, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, September 29, 1824), is the son of John Sellers, Jr., and Elizabeth Poole, and is of English ancestry, his progenitor in this county, Samuel Sellers, coming from Belpre, in Derbyshire, England, in 1682, and taking up a tract of land in Upper Darby under a patent from William Penn. His marriage to Anna Gibbons in June, 1684, is the first recorded in the minutes of Darby Meeting of Friends. The original holdings of this ancestor remained in the possession of his descendants up to the present generation, and that portion of it on which the parents of William Sellers resided and on which is the house in which he was born is now owned by William Sellers.

Educated at a private school built and maintained by his parents and relations for the education of their children, young Sellers, in his thirteenth year, entered the machine shop of his uncle, J. Morton Poole, where he served an apprenticeship until he became of age. After two years in charge of the shops of Bancroft, Nightingale & Co., manufacturers of steam engines and mill gearing, in Providence, R. I., he returned to Pennsylvania and commenced the same department of manufacturing on his own account, locating in West Philadelphia. During the same year, in 1848, Mr. Bancroft, of the Providence firm, also came to Philadelphia, and the two joining forces, organized the firm of Bancroft & Sellers, for the manufacture of machine tools, and mill gearing. This firm continued until the death of Mr. Bancroft in 1855, when the title, including John Sellers, Jr., who had been previously admitted, was changed to William Sellers & Co. In 1886, the business was incorporated under the name of William Sellers & Co., Incorporated, with William Sellers as President and Engineer.

Mr. Sellers' business career was subsequently widely broadened. In 1868 he established the Edge Moor Iron Company for the manufacture of iron and steel structures, and has continuously since been its president. This company made all the iron work for the Centennial Exhibition in 1876, for the Brooklyn Bridge between New York and Brooklyn, and for other notable structures, and has now the largest

Wm. Sellers

plant in the world for building iron bridges and other structures in iron and steel. In 1873 he was elected President of the Midvale Steel Company, Nicetown, Philadelphia, which he subsequently reorganized, and which, under his management, became the first successful producer of the material required by the Government for its ordnance and small arms. Some of the chief honors for himself and his firm were won at the Paris Exposition of 1867, the World's Fair of 1873, the Centennial Exhibition of 1876, and the Paris Exposition of 1889.

At Vienna, five distinct gold medals, besides the Grand Diploma of Honor, were awarded to the firm. The diploma reads:

World's Fair, 1873, in Vienna.
The International Jury have decreed
To the Firm of
William Sellers & Co.,
In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,
United States of North America,
For Machine Tools,
The Highest Distinction,
The Diploma of Honor.

The recommendation for this award was to "SELLERS—for pre-eminent achievements in the invention and construction of machine tools, many of which have been adopted as patterns by the constructors of tools in all countries."

At the Centennial Exhibition of 1876, the firm, in accordance with the report of the United States Commission, received commendations and awards for numerous exhibits. Mr. Anderson, who had reported upon the exhibit of 1867, at Paris, was employed by the British Government in the same official capacity at Philadelphia, and in his communication to his Government he said: "The greatest display of machine tools, however, and that which dwarfs all others in the tool specialty, was made by Wm. Sellers & Co., of Philadelphia. This collection of machine tools was without a parallel in the history of exhibitions, either for extent or money value, or for originality and mechanical perfection." At the Paris Exposition of 1889, the highest award, the Grand Prix, was given to Wm. Sellers & Co., Incorporated, together with several medals. At the close of this Exposition, the names of three collaborateurs were requested, to whom, as individuals, diplomas were sent, and to William Sellers in addition the honor was conferred of Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur.

Mr. Sellers' influence and personality has also been impressed in other directions. In 1860 he was elected a Director of the Philadelphia & Reading R. R. Co., remaining as such while Asa Whitney was President. In 1864 he was elected President of the Franklin Institute, rescuing it from a critical financial condition and placing it upon a sound basis, since maintained. During the same year he read before the Institute his paper on screw threads, in which he proposed the first

formula ever offered for a system of screw threads and nuts—a formula that has now become the standard for the United States. In 1866 he was elected a Director in the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore R. R., and has been continuously re-elected since. In 1868, he was chosen Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, and still holds the position. In 1873 he was elected a member of the National Academy of Sciences, and in the following year was elected a member of the Société d'Encouragement pour l'Industrie Nationale. He was one of the members of the Union Club out of which grew the Union League, of which he was one of the corporators, and of which he was for several years a vice-president. He was also one of the first Park Commissioners of Philadelphia, holding the position during the whole time that the Fairmount Park property was being acquired. Untiring in his exertions to create the Centennial Exhibition of 1876, he was prominent in carrying the project to assured success, and was chosen Vice-President of the Centennial Board of Finance at its organization, but from press of business resigned the position.

ENROSE, BOIES (born in Philadelphia in 1860), comes from a long line of illustrious ancestors, and is descended from some of the best stock of New England. His great-grandfather, J. S. Boies, of Boston, Mass., when a mere lad assisted in erecting the breastworks on Bunker Hill the night before the famous battle. His great-grandfather on the paternal side, Clement Biddle Penrose, was one of the commissioners appointed by President Thomas Jefferson for the territory ceded by France to the United States. His grandfather, Charles Bingham Penrose, was elected as a Whig to the State Senate from Cumberland County, and was speaker of that body at the time of the Buckshot War. He was Solicitor of the United States Treasury under President Harrison, and in 1856 was elected as a Reform candidate from Philadelphia to the State Senate. The father of Boies Penrose is Dr. R. A. F. Penrose, LL.D., who was for thirty years Professor of Obstetrics and the Diseases of Women and Children in the University of Pennsylvania. Clement Biddle Penrose, one of the Judges of the Orphans' Court of Philadelphia County, is an uncle.

Senator Penrose was educated in the schools of Philadelphia and by private tutors, and at the early age of sixteen years entered Harvard College. He was graduated in 1881 with honors, and was selected as one of the orators at Commencement, the subject of his oration being "Martin Van Buren as a Politician." After leaving college he studied law in the office of Wayne McVeagh and George Tucker Bispham, and was admitted to the Bar of Philadelphia in 1883. He was elected in

Boies Penrose

Geo. Russell Gray

1884 to represent the Eighth Ward of Philadelphia in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, as a Republican, succeeding William C. Bullitt, a Democrat. In the session of 1885 he was active in securing the passage of the Act providing a new government for Philadelphia, commonly known as the Bullitt Bill. In 1886 Mr. Penrose was elected to represent the Sixth District in the State Senate, and re-elected in 1890, and again in 1894—his term expiring in 1898. He was elected President *pro tem.* at the session of 1889, and re-elected in 1891. Among the many subjects of legislation that Mr. Penrose took an active part in were those relating to the questions of railroad discrimination, revenue, and taxation. He was prominent in all the debates on these subjects, as well as in the discussions on the legislation required to carry out the provisions of an Act establishing a new form of local government for Philadelphia. In the State Senate he was a recognized leader, a skillful debater, and a fluent speaker. In the session of 1893 he introduced a bill to abolish the Public Buildings Commission of Philadelphia, and, notwithstanding the active hostility of a powerful lobby, he succeeded in safely piloting the measure through both Houses and placing it in the hands of the Governor for his signature. He has ever been consistent, and never has been appealed to in vain by the people when their interests were in jeopardy. He was a candidate for the mayoralty of Philadelphia in 1895, but was defeated at the last moment by the "Combine," on account of his anti-corporation record. In 1897 he was elected a Senator in Congress from Pennsylvania. His superior judgment in sizing up public affairs, his steadfastness of purpose, and his conceded ability to battle in the line of his convictions are recognized by all. Mr. Penrose by training and inheritance is devoted to his profession, the law, and is engaged in active practice in Philadelphia, in partnership with S. Davis Page and Edward P. Allinson, the firm being Page, Allinson & Penrose. He is a member of the Union League, Union Republican Club, the Junior Order United American Mechanics, the Masonic Fraternity, and a number of political clubs and associations.

OUNG, JOHN RUSSELL (born near Downingtown, Chester County, Pennsylvania, November 20, 1841), received his elementary education at the Harrison Grammar School, Philadelphia, his father having removed to Kensington while he was still a child. Subsequently he became the ward of his uncle, James R. Young, in New Orleans, and attended the High School in that city. Returning to Philadelphia he began as a copyholder in the proofroom of the *Press* at the age of 15. His aptitude was such that he was soon made a reporter, and was afterward advanced so rapidly that he was an editorial writer on the paper at the age of 18.

In 1861, Mr. Young went to Washington as the Private Secretary of Col. John W. Forney, Secretary of the Senate. He continued to write for the *Press* from Washington, and as a war correspondent distinguished himself by his account of the battle of Bull Run. Early in the Peninsular campaign in 1862 he was stricken with typhoid fever, and compelled to return to Philadelphia. After his recovery in May he was made Managing Editor of the *Press*. In 1864 Mr. Young participated in the Red River campaign as a member of the military family of General Banks. In 1865 he went to New York at the instance of Jay Cooke to assist in placing the National loan, and at the same time began writing leading articles for the New York *Tribune*. The attention of Horace Greeley was attracted to his fervid and vigorous style, and early in 1866 he was appointed Managing Editor of that paper. Mr. Young, who was then only in his twenty-fifth year, desired the post of Washington correspondent instead, but Mr. Greeley insisted upon placing him in the more responsible position. It was a time of great political excitement, and the young managing editor exerted a powerful influence in restoring the *Tribune* to its former place as the organ of the Republican party, the New York *Times*, through Henry J. Raymond, the editor, having become the champion of President Johnson's administration. Mr. Young completely reorganized the editorial staff of the *Tribune* between 1866 and 1868, making it the most powerful aggregation of journalistic ability ever brought together upon an American newspaper. Nearly all of the men that he introduced into journalism at that time became distinguished in newspaper work and literature. In 1870 he established a morning daily newspaper of his own in New York, the *Standard*, but the same year he was induced to go abroad in connection with the National finances by George S. Boutwell, Secretary of the Treasury. He was in Paris at the time of the fall of the Commune, and wrote a description of that event that was a brilliant example of journalistic work. In 1872 he joined the editorial staff of the *Herald*, and served that journal abroad for two years. In 1877 he accompanied General Grant in his famous tour around the world, writing many brilliant descriptions of scenes and incidents of the journey for the *Herald*, which he subsequently recast and published in two large volumes entitled "Around the World with General Grant."

Mr. Young continued in the service of the *Herald* until 1882, when President Arthur appointed him Minister to China. This position he accepted with great reluctance, and only consented to abandon journalism for diplomacy, because General Grant was extremely anxious that the Government should have the benefit of his knowledge of the Chinese, acquired during their stay in China. After his return he again took up his residence in Philadelphia, but continued to write occasionally for the New York *Herald*, and for the Philadelphia *Even-*

Francis M. Bond

ing Star, in which he has a proprietary interest. In 1892 he became Fourth Vice-President of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, but resigned when the company went into the hands of receivers.

Mr. Young was one of the founders of the Union League of Philadelphia, although at the time he had not yet reached his majority. His membership with the club was maintained continuously, notwithstanding his absence from Philadelphia for many years, and in 1893, in recognition of his share in its establishment, he was elected President of the League, and re-elected in 1894. He continued his literary labors in Philadelphia until 1897, when President McKinley appointed him Librarian of Congress. In this position he has already shown the executive ability that distinguished him on the *Tribune*, and his reorganization of the great library is making it serve the purposes for which it was founded. Under his administration it promises to become one of the great public libraries of the world.

BROOKE, FRANCIS MARK, was born in the old Welsh township of Radnor, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, July 4, 1836, and is the fourth child of Hugh Jones Brooke and Jemimia Elizabeth Longmire, his wife. His mother came of purely English stock, being the daughter of Nathaniel Longmire, a lace manufacturer of Nottingham, England. On his father's side he comes of a long line of American ancestors of English and Welsh descent. Many of his forefathers served in positions of trust and honor, and as soldiers in every war, except with Mexico, in which our country has been engaged. Among them his great-grandfather, Benjamin Brooke, of Gulph Mills, was commissioned captain of a company of foot in the 6th Pennsylvania battalion in 1776, and served through the whole Revolutionary War. Hugh Jones, another great-grandfather, of "Brookfield," near the present Bryn Mawr, was also a captain, and James Hunter, another, in the French and Indian wars, was son of that John Hunter, who, under William of Orange, distinguished himself at the Boyne Water. His father, Hugh Jones Brooke, was a man of strong character and great executive ability, whose influence was widely known and strongly felt, and whose advice was frequently sought in National and State, as well as in local and personal, affairs.

Mr. Brooke's youth was spent in Radnor, where he attended the schools of the neighborhood, and at the age of sixteen years entered Haverford College. His studies there, however, were unfortunately terminated by a severe illness, which necessitated such rest and recuperation as his home, then at Media, afforded. In 1857, having recovered his health, he commenced the study of law in the office of Edward Hopper, a leading member of the Philadelphia bar, attend-

ing at the same time the lectures of the Law Department of the University of Pennsylvania. In 1859 he was admitted to the bar, and began the practice of his profession at Media, where his ability and industry soon won for him a lucrative practice.

Upon the breaking out of the Rebellion his father, summoned by the Secretary of War, to assist in conducting the Commissary Department of the Army, necessarily left him in charge of his varied interests, but when Pennsylvania was invaded he enlisted and served as a private in Company I, 29th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteer Militia.

In 1863 he was elected District Attorney of Delaware County, and brought to the office the same untiring energy and devotion to his work which has ever marked his life. This zeal, with the increased duties, again impaired his health, and he was forced to resign his position and to relinquish the practice of law.

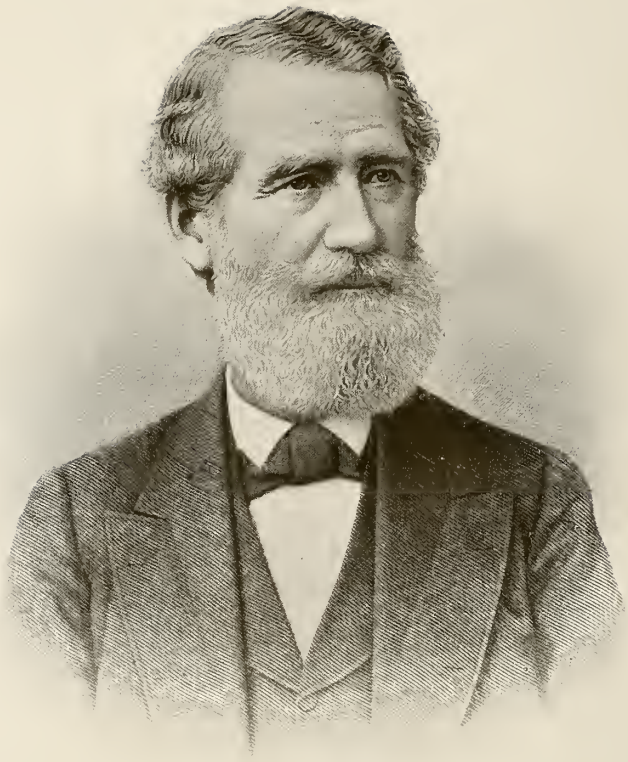
Active business life holding a prospect of less confinement and consequently of better health, he embarked, in 1864, with his brother, Hunter Brooke, in the grain trade, establishing the house of F. M. & H. Brooke, which continually grew until it became, and still continues, one of the leading firms in that branch of the city's commerce. In 1865 he removed to Philadelphia, where he has since resided.

From his start in business life Mr. Brooke has taken a prominent part in the various associations formed for the purpose of developing the city that he selected as his home. He was one of the first to urge the consolidation of all the business interests of our city into *one great trade organization*, saying: "That with all these interests joined in one exchange, with suitable accommodations, rules and regulations for each, and a general administration for all, each interest would have the benefit of the organized co-operation of every other interest, and the general welfare of all would be thereby enhanced." —Commercial Exchange Report, 1879.

As a member of the Commercial Exchange, the leading trade organization of the city, his ability and energy were promptly recognized, and for a long time he continuously served his fellow members on its committees or in its active administration. Especially has he been useful in matters affecting the welfare of the trade and commerce of Philadelphia, where representatives were needed to confer with the City Councils, the State Legislature, and the National Congress.

In 1878, after serving the Exchange as director and vice-president, he was chosen president, and in the celebrations of the National Centennial in 1876, the City's Bicentennial of 1882, and the National Constitutional Centennial in 1887, he actively participated as a representative of the Exchange.

He was the first to call attention to the fact that the camp ground at Valley Forge, where the private soldiers of Washington's army endured untold sufferings during the long dark winter of 1777-8,



James W. Queen

should be preserved as sacred ground. He originated, had drafted, and by persistent effort and personal influence, secured the passage, by the Pennsylvania Legislature, of the Act of May 20, 1893, entitled an Act "To acquire, maintain, and preserve forever the Revolutionary Camp-ground at Valley Forge, for the free enjoyment of the people." In recognition of his interest in the work he was appointed one of the Commissioners by the Governor, and the Commission has continuously elected him its President.

In various financial, industrial, charitable, and other organizations Mr. Brooke takes more than an active interest. He is president or director of a number of such corporations, and connected with many more. He is also a member of a large number of scientific, historical, patriotic, hereditary, social, and other organizations of the city and the State. In politics Mr. Brooke is a Republican, but, with the exception of the District Attorneyship, above referred to, has always declined the use of his name for political office, whether elective or appointive.

On July 21, 1862, he married Adelaide Hunter, daughter of William Hayman Vogdes and Hannah Pennell Davis, his wife, of Philadelphia. Mrs. Brooke, who died November 28, 1888, was a descendant of the Maris, Hayman, Wayne, and other old families of Pennsylvania. She was a woman whose earnest character, kindly disposition, and social graces throughly fitted her for every relation of her life. To her (and to his parental training) he gives all credit for whatever success he has accomplished. Their children were: Estelle Hunter, wife of Isaac Marselis Loughead, Hugh Jones, Wayne Vodges (who died April, 1882), Florence, and Francis Mark, Jr.

QUEEN, JAMES W., a well-known citizen of Philadelphia, rising from the condition of a poor boy to a standing among the stanchest business men of his generation, and attaining a world-wide fame in his special vocation, is a signal illustration of the triumph of force, industry, and skill over outward circumstances. He was born in Philadelphia, just before the war of 1812, a period attended at its close with unusual business depression, the severity of which brought about the complete business failure of his father, and indirectly severed him from his family. His father, seeking other employment through the necessity caused by his business failure, visited New Orleans, and is supposed to have there fallen victim to yellow fever then prevailing with great malignancy, no tidings of him after landing in the plague-stricken city ever reaching his family. Half-orphaned in early childhood, his father's fortune swept away and the family impoverished, the boy, as soon as his services could command a wage, when only seven years of age, sought

employment in the store of Mrs. Fryer, in Second street, then in the business part of the city. After a brief service here he entered the employ of John McAllister, a celebrated optician, and the only one in Philadelphia. The keen intelligence, alacrity, and withal the bright and cheerful ways of the lad soon made him a prime favorite with both patrons and proprietor. Speedily mastering the business and being promoted successively until there was no higher position remaining save that of partnership, he was taken into that relation—at the time lacking nearly two years of his majority. The rapidity with which he acquired the knowledge necessary to so peculiar and delicate a business as that of an optician, and the signal ability with which he discharged the responsibilities of the man while yet a boy in years, foreshadowed, at the start, the successful career that awaited him. His personal exertions, his popularity, and his sagacious management secured to his house, although well established, an access of prosperity from the moment of his advent as a partner, and he remained a potent factor of its good fortune during his continuance with it.

In 1845, now a prosperous business man, Mr. Queen was married to Miss Abby S. Dickey, the daughter of John Dickey, Esq., a native of the north of Ireland, of Scotch and Huguenot descent, who, on coming to America, had settled in the State of Delaware, near Wilmington. A few years after his marriage Mr. Queen, realizing the greater responsibility that rested upon him, determined to start independently in business. Following the uptown tendency of business, he secured a store at 924 Chestnut street, the center of business at that time. Unremitting attention to business up to this time had fairly earned him a respite, and he determined to add a feature of pleasure and recreation to a business trip to Europe, and arranged accordingly for an extended and leisurely journey. His wife accompanied him, the visits extending to the Orient, the Holy Land, and up the Nile. Returning, early in 1851, Mr. Queen opened his Philadelphia store, which soon outstripped its local fame through his zealous devotion to the scientific, as well as the commercial side, of the enterprise. From a commercial standpoint the prosperity that followed was not only deserved, but was the logical sequence of untiring energy and business sagacity.

Mr. Queen, coincident with his business career, developed an exceptionally conspicuous taste for literary and scientific pursuits. His eagerness and avidity for knowledge, known best to his immediate but large circle of personal friends, more than made up, in middle life, for the lack of educational advantages in his early youth. He became a student and master of many branches of knowledge, assiduously perfecting himself in history, general literature, art, and many of the sciences, keeping abreast with the progress of the world, and even pursuing his educational researches in several different lan-

guages, of which he became master. In all this his European travel splendidly supplemented his use of books. In those travels his devoted wife was his constant companion, and together they enjoyed the historic scenes, the beauties of nature, and the treasures of art in Europe and the East. Thus thoroughly equipped with learning, travel, and ample fortune, his prosperity was shared by others—by friends, by public and private institutions through unostentatious acts of beneficence, and especially by the young, who found a congenial host and hostess in the elegant but quiet home he provided in Spruce street near Twelfth. In spreading about him the fruits of his own good fortune, he never posed as a benefactor, but ever sought the extreme of retirement and self-abnegation. His quiet and conservative way was well illustrated in his friendship for the blacks, whom he taught for a considerable length of time, seeking to lift them to a higher level by practical, unobtrusive work, based upon the broad ground of humane feeling, rather than through the fanaticism of the radical. In his religious life he was a Presbyterian, a member for many years of the Old Pine Street Church, and later of Calvary Church in Locust, near Fifteenth street. Of the latter, he was for a long time a trustee, and in both a zealous worker. He was prominently known as a Sunday-school teacher, and was universally recognized as a man of fine and exalted conscientiousness in every-day life, and as one who kept the precepts of religion in practical and constant exercise.

Mr. Queen remained in active business until the latter part of 1872, when he retired, and he and his wife went abroad for the fourth time, planning an extensive tour. Returning to this country in 1875, his health soon began to fail, and for the last ten years of his subsequent life—some fifteen years—he was an invalid, though seldom an acute sufferer. As his illness increased, his devoted wife was, as ever, his faithful and constant attendant, and for years her willing hands supported his every movement and guided his every footstep. He died July 12, 1890.

At Thirty-third and Wharton streets, close to the chapel founded by Calvary Church, with which Mr. Queen was identified, stands a substantial and tasteful structure containing a free library—a beautiful and appropriate memorial provided by his widow. This library is under the protection of the pastor and the trustees of the chapel, and is for the use of its members and attendants. To the books, especially purchased for the purpose, will be added those of Mrs. Queen's brother, the late Samuel J. Dickey, together with the prized volumes from her own and her husband's library. This beautiful structure, with the treasures of usefulness it contains, memorializing the late James W. Queen, is not only a fitting tribute to his known work, but in the benefits it confers will perpetuate to future generations the spirit and ministry of a noble life.

MORRIS, EFFINGHAM BUCKLEY (born in Philadelphia, August 23, 1856), is the son of Israel Wistar Morris and Annie Buckley, and comes of a stock identified with the City of Philadelphia from its foundation. His direct progenitor, Anthony Morris, was a Justice of the Supreme Court under William Penn in 1692, and the second Mayor of the city. His great-grandfather, Samuel Morris, was Captain of the First City Troop during the Revolution, and the descendants since have been men of standing in the community in their day. His father, Israel W. Morris, is a mining engineer of high standing, and is President of the Locust Mountain Coal Company, and other coal mining corporations connected with the Lehigh Valley Railroad.

Mr. Morris received his preparatory education in the private school of Dr. John W. Faires, and was graduated by the University of Pennsylvania in 1875, with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Continuing in the Law Department of the University, he received, in 1878, the degree of Bachelor of Laws, and also the honorary degree of Master of Arts. Upon graduation he was unanimously elected to receive the "Wooden Spoon," as the most popular man in his class, and during his college course he held high rank outside the lecture-rooms in all that pertained to athletics and social college life. He was the first President of the present Athletic Association, now such a lusty adjunct of the University, and the first Treasurer of the Boat Club, both of these institutions having been created by his class.

After leaving the Law Department of the University, Mr. Morris entered upon the practice of law, associating himself with P. Pemberton Morris, LL.D., to whose practice he succeeded upon the latter's death. His position as a lawyer and his influence in municipal affairs were rapidly established. In 1880 and 1881 he represented the Eighth Ward in Councils as the candidate of the "Committee of 100." He was Trustee for holders of bonds of the city secured on the gas works from 1883 to 1887, when the trust passed under the new charter of the city. His course in the trust, at that time the most powerful political combination in Philadelphia, was marked by thorough independence, but through his tact he was able to accomplish practical changes in the methods of that body, and at the same time to retain the personal friendship of those who were opposed to him politically. The voucher system of payment of bills and contracts was devised and introduced by him into this branch of the city's business and is still in use. For some years prior to 1887 he was General Attorney for the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, and Solicitor for the Girard Trust Company, the oldest trust company, with one exception, in Pennsylvania. In 1887, he was elected to the Presidency of the latter, since which time the company has rapidly enlarged its business, the deposits having increased from $1,000,000 to $12,000,000, while the estates in its charge now aggregate some $30,000,000 of active trusts,

Effingham B. Morris

John Bromley

according to a recent report of the Banking Examiner, not including many additional millions of corporation mortgages under which the company is trustee.

When the Pennsylvania Steel Company, employing over 8,000 hands, became embarrassed in 1893, the Girard Trust Company was appointed its Receiver, with Major L. S. Bent, and Mr. Morris was Chairman of the Reorganization Committee, which successfully restored the company to solvency, and he became its President in 1896, for the first year of the existence of the new company as part of the plan. He still remains upon its Board. Upon December 31, 1896, he was elected a Director of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, continuing the family name in the Board of that corporation as a successor to his uncle, the late Wistar Morris, who was a Director for thirty-five years and for the greater portion of that time Chairman of the Finance Committee; he is also a Manager of the Pennsylvania Hospital, a Manager of the Philadelphia Saving Fund Society, Director of the Fourth Street National Bank, Director of the Pennsylvania Fire Insurance Company, and of the Mutual Assurance Corporation. He is a member of the Philadelphia, Rittenhouse, Union League, University, and other clubs.

In 1879, Mr. Morris was married to Ellen Douglas Burroughs, daughter of H. N. Burroughs, of Philadelphia, and a direct descendant on the maternal side of Dr. Samuel Fuller, of the Mayflower.

BROMLEY, JOHN (born April 25, 1800, near Dewsbury, Yorkshire, England, died in Philadelphia, April 3, 1883), was the son of John Bromley, a woolen manufacturer, whose family for many generations had engaged in the same calling. He received the ordinary school education of the day, and also availed himself of the instructions of his brother, who was possessed of attainments of a high order, and was a very successful teacher. He was educated to the business so long followed by the family, who, as manufacturers, were all noted for the excellence of their productions. He remained with his father until he was twenty-eight years of age, when he began business on his own account in his native village. He had for some time operated his works by hand, but a new factory being established to be propelled by steam power, he became a partner and placed what capital he had in the establishment, his father, John Bromley, being one of the managers. The wool was carded and pulled by steam power and then taken home, the remainder of the work being done by hand power. In the course of time the business languished, and the financial panic of 1837 brought matters to a close.

In 1841 Mr. Bromley, with his wife and family, embarked from England to America, and at the end of a stormy voyage arrived at Philadelphia. Having heard of Little Falls, N. J., as a favorable point for yarn spinning, he went there, where he was engaged for two years, spinning yarns for carpets. In 1843 he returned to Philadelphia and commenced the manufacture of carpets at Fifth street and Germantown road. In 1860 (having taken his son, James, into partnership in 1856), the business was removed to York and Jasper streets, when his son Thomas also was admitted, and the firm name changed to John Bromley & Sons. In 1864 his son, George D., was admitted, and in 1865 his son John H., the firm name remaining unchanged, four sons thus being partners of their father.

In 1868 Mr. Bromley dissolved business relations with his sons, who, with the exception of John H. Bromley, continued independently in the manufacturing business. The last named remained with his father in the original business, to which Joseph H., Charles, and Edward Bromley were each admitted as partners as they became of age.

Mr. Bromley was married twice. His first wife was Susanna, daughter of Joseph Day, to whom he was married in England, and who died in New Jersey. His second wife was Lucinda J., daughter of Jacob Smalley, of Little Falls, N. J. George D., James, Mary, Ellen, Thomas, and Elizabeth were children by the first marriage, and John H., Annie, Joseph H., Charles, Phoebe, and Edward of the second marriage.

Mr. Bromley in business was watchful of the changes in trade and manufactures, and encouraged his sons in his old age to spare neither time nor money in keeping their business abreast with the times. When his sons determined to go into the manufacture of other classes of goods, they found in their father a willing coadjutor, ready with his counsel and his capital for the departure, however radical the change from his former business. Three of the largest and most extensive manufacturers of Philadelphia—John Bromley & Sons, James & George D. Bromley, and Bromley Bros. Carpet Company—trace their origin to the weaving room of John Bromley, at Fifth street and Germantown road.

MATHEWS, EDWARD JAMES (born in Philadelphia, May 26, 1836), is the son of James Mathews and Anna Maria Peterman, daughter of George Peterman, a merchant of Philadelphia. His father was a native of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and came of old Quaker stock. Mr. Mathews was educated in Friends' School, Philadelphia, and at the West Philadelphia Institute, from which he was graduated. He early showed a decided

E. J. Mathews

taste for drawing, and had a strong desire to become an artist, but, under the persuasion of his father, this talent was turned into more practical channels. At eighteen he was placed with Mr. James Allen, at the time the foremost ornamental designer in plaster. He remained with Mr. Allen until he reached his majority, and in June of that year, 1857, seeking a favorable point, removed to Iowa City, Iowa. Finding little to do in the ornamental branch of building, he engaged in merchandising.

In 1859, falling in with the Pike's Peak gold excitement, and accepting a favorable opportunity to dispose of his business, he formed a partnership with three others, bought an outfit of oxen and wagons, loaded the wagons with goods, and started across the Plains to establish a trading post at the new El Dorado. Reaching Fremont, the last settlement west of the Missouri River, the party was confronted by a returning tide of footsore and weary emigrants. Many besides were encamped on the Plains, not knowing whether to return or go on. Here they remained three weeks, awaiting the report of a company of trusted men sent out on horseback to visit the mines and report upon the exact situation. This report was unfavorable and disheartening. Notwithstanding a new company of young and adventurous spirits was formed by Mr. Mathews's party, to go through to California, by way of Salt Lake. Here the company sold their cattle, wagons, and goods to the Mormons at remunerative prices, and dissolved partnership. Mr. Mathews took passage with California traders for California. Arriving at Carson Valley, while camping, Mr. Mathews made the acquaintance of Mr. Curry, of the famous gold mine of Gould and Curry. The latter, a Californian, had taken contracts to erect several buildings in Carson City, then just projected, and also the erection of three buildings at Opher (now Virginia City), the new mining camp, where great bonanzas were subsequently developed, yielding over $400,000,000. Mr. Mathews was engaged by Mr. Curry to superintend the erection of the three buildings at Opher, the first houses built there, and was the forty-seventh man on the ground. The enormous production of the mines and the consequent excitement rapidly brought in emigrants, and the point at once became a busy center. After completing the buildings, Mr. Mathews became interested in merchandising and mining. He was the first Postmaster of the place, and the first Agent of Wells Fargo & Co., at Opher. The merchandise that was received was brought on pack animals from California.

In 1862, Mr. Mathews went to San Francisco, became a member of the first Board of Brokers, and organized the firm of Mathews & Fall. In 1865, having, in the interim, owing to the sickness of his father, made several visits by way of Panama, to Philadelphia, he concluded to retire from business in San Francisco and return permanently to his native city. The return trip overland by stage took twenty-two

days and nights to the Missouri River. Upon his return to Philadelphia, Mr. Mathews entered upon a vigorous business course, as builder, manufacturer, and founder of passenger railway companies. With two others he furnished capital to construct and build, under Gregg patents, machinery for the manufacture of brick. This was the first successful brick-making machinery in the United States, it requiring much capital and corresponding energy and time. From this the Excelsior Press Brick Manufacturing Company was organized, many prominent men being interested, with Mr. Mathews as President. From that time until the present it has paid large sums in dividends. For many years this company was the largest manufacturer of brick in the world. Mr. Mathews retired from the brick industry in 1880. Since that time he has been interested in developing passenger railway companies in this and other cities, being also interested in real estate. He has also improved and built a large number of houses, and was earnest in the work of improving Broad street, which has done so much for the City of Philadelphia. He has interests in the Postal Telegraph Cable Company, and is now President of the American District Telegraph Company of Philadelphia.

Mr. Mathews is a Director in various railway and other corporations, was a member of City Councils for two years from the Twenty-fifth Ward, is one of the early members of the Union League Club, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and a number of social clubs.

In 1867, Mr. Mathews married Amanda Knox, only daughter of the Rev. J. Knox, of Pittsburg, and cousin of the late Bishop Simpson. He has three sons and one daughter—F. B. Mathews, studying art and resident in Paris; W. K. Mathews, of the firm of Mathews, Bean & Co.; E. R. Mathews, at Harvard College, and Miss Sidney Mathews, being educated at Farmington, Conn.

DORNAN, ROBERT (born in County Antrim, Ireland, March 3, 1844), is the son of Robert Dornan, linen manufacturer, and Elizabeth Pickens. On his mother's side he is a descendant of the Pickens family illustrious in the Revolutionary history of the South and of later date. Coming with his parents to America in 1848, he was educated in the public schools of Philadelphia, leaving the Central High School in 1859, before graduation, to engage in mercantile pursuits. In 1866 he became connected with the carpet manufacturing firm of Dornan Bros., of which he is now the senior member. Mr. Dornan's business career has been prosperous and steadily progressive, and his influence, as a successful manufacturer, and thorough business man, broadly identified with the industrial interests of the city. He was one of the organizers of the United

Robert Lorman

Security Life and Trust Company of Philadelphia; of the American Security Trust Company of Washington, D. C.; of the National Security Bank, Philadelphia; the Manufacturers' Club, Philadelphia, of which he was President during 1894-5, and of the Philadelphia Bourse. He is a member of the Union League, Manufacturers', and Columbia clubs, of Philadelphia, and of the Wool Club of New York. He has been a trustee of the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company, Philadelphia, since 1885. For sixteen years he has been director of Kensington National Bank, Philadelphia, and for two years its President, which position he resigned to devote his time more fully to his manufacturing business. He is an ardent Republican, and his extensive travels in Europe have given him wide comparative views both of sound business management and wholesome municipal progress.

In 1869 Mr. Dornan was married to Sarah J. Stinson, daughter of the late Thomas Stinson, formerly of the manufacturing firm of Stinson & Irwin, of Philadelphia.

He is a member of the Presbyterian Church.

SMITH, CHARLES E., is one of the best-known pioneers in the handling of great railroad enterprises. He began his connection with these agencies of civilization when the railroads of the country were few and far between, and he has been active in this direction almost continuously ever since. He was born in Philadelphia, November 1, 1820, the son of Charles E. and Mary (Ogden) Smith. His parents were of the strictest sect of the Society of Friends, and Mr. Smith was carefully brought up in the principles and faith of this peculiar but admirable people. He owes much of the sterling qualities of his own character to the firm, sound character of his parents. He was a student for three years at the Westtown Boarding School, but at the age of eighteen began the practical work of his life.

His first efforts were along the lines of his greatest future usefulness. He was attached to an engineer corps which had in hand the survey for and construction of a railroad from Blossburg, Tioga County, Pennsylvania, to Corning, New York. This is the present Tioga Railroad. It had its origin in the desire to connect the coal mines at Blossburg with the Chemung Canal at Corning, and thus reach the outside market. The character of the services which young Smith rendered in the construction of the road, and the impression upon others which his faithfulness and signal abilities made, are shown by the fact that upon its completion he was appointed superintendent of the new line. Later on this supervision was extended

over the Blossburg coal mines as well. The scheme of the railroad did not immediately meet the anticipations which had inspired its construction. It was hoped that the Blossburg coal would supply the needs of the Salt Works at Syracuse, as also of the manufacturing interests at Albany and Troy. But keen competition destroyed the expected profits. A huge swamp, near Rome, N. Y., covered with timber, enabled its owners to supply Syracuse with wood at prices ruinous to the coal trade; while at Albany and Troy, in spite of the new railroad, imported English coal had the best of the competition. All this was changed by the passage of the Tariff Law of 1842, with its duty on imported coal.

Superintendent Smith returned to Philadelphia, however, in 1844, and very soon thereafter entered into business on his own account. He built the Fairmount rolling-mill in 1846, but the repeal of the tariff that same year made it unprofitable. He sold out his interest to his partners, and soon thereafter became Manager of the extensive Rensselaer Iron Works, at Troy, N. Y. These works were the first in the Empire State to engage in the manufacture of railroad iron.

Mr. Smith soon afterward became the chief organizer of the most famous coalition ever created in the iron industries. In December, 1849, a convention of the iron manufacturers of Pennsylvania was held in Philadelphia. The object was to co-operate in an effort to secure a re-enactment of the tariff of 1842, which had protected their interests and was necessary for their future prosperity. But it was found at the convention that they were all strangers to one another. It was impracticable to proceed under this state of affairs. Some preliminary acquaintance must be secured. In this dilemma, Mr. Smith volunteered to canvass the entire State of Pennsylvania. There were no railroad facilities in the greater part of the State, and the various points were covered by means of stages, horseback riding, in farm wagons, or even on foot. This occurred in the winter of 1849-50. Necessary expenses were met by contributions solicited from the manufacturers visited. Despite these hardships, Mr. Smith successfully completed his mission, returning in the spring, after meeting all his expenses, with about three hundred dollars in his pocket. The report drawn up by Mr. Smith was presented to Congress, and printed by that body, and this was the origin of the American Iron Association. It continued under that name until 1864, when the present designation, the American Iron and Steel Association, was adopted.

In 1861, Mr. Smith was elected President of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company. He held this position throughout the Civil War, and until his resignation in 1869. Since that time he has been interested in various important enterprises. Mr. Smith has always held a high position socially. In 1877, and again in 1878, he

Charles E. Smith

was elected President of the Union League of Philadelphia. Other similar honors have been conferred upon him.

GAZZAM, JOSEPH MURPHY (born in Pittsburg, Allegheny County, Pa., Dec. 2, 1842), is the second son and third child of Dr. Edward Despard Gazzam and Elizabeth Antoinette de Beelen. His ancestry is conspicuous on either side. His grandfather, William Gazzam (born in Cambridge, England, died in Pittsburg, Pa., Nov. 16, 1811), was an English journalist of the Liberal School, who espoused the cause of the American Colonies. Incurring the resentment of George III., he was compelled to flee from England. Coming to America, at Philadelphia he engaged in mercantile trade. He affirmed allegiance to the United States in 1793, and was active in the old Philadelphia Society for the abolition of slavery and the amelioration of the condition of the colored people. He removed to Pittsburg in 1802; was appointed by President Jefferson first Collector of the Port of Pittsburg in 1808, and was also appointed Magistrate by Governor Snyder, an office, at the time, of dignity and importance.

His father, Edward Despard Gazzam (born in Pittsburg, Pa., May 4, 1803, died in Philadelphia, Feb. 9, 1878), was a prominent lawyer and physician. For many years he was a leading factor in Pennsylvania politics, and was one of the founders of the Republican party, being the first Republican Senator from Allegheny County. His mother, Elizabeth Antoinette de Beelen, was the daughter of Constantine Antoine de Beelen, and the granddaughter of Baron Frederic Eugene Francois de Beelen Berthoff, who was sent to this country in 1783 by Emperor Joseph II. as the Austrian minister.

Mr. Gazzam, being of delicate constitution, received the rudimentary elements of his education under the careful tuition of his father. At the age of fourteen he entered the Western University of Pennsylvania. At the end of three and a half years, ill-health compelled the suspension of study, but, after an extended tour through the Western States, he returned to Pittsburg, and, in 1861, entered the law office of David Reed, Esq. In 1864 he was admitted to the Allegheny County bar; in 1867 to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania; in 1869 to the Circuit and District Court of the United States, and, in March, 1870, upon motion of the late Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, to the Supreme Court of the United States.

In 1869, Mr. Gazzam was elected a member of the Pittsburg Council, representing the First Ward, and served his constituents with such distinction that his name was subsequently put forward in connection with the Mayoralty of the city. In 1876 he became the Republican candidate for the Forty-third Senatorial District, and was elect-

ed by a large majority. His devotion as Senator to the interests of the people won for him prominent mention throughout the State as candidate for the Lieutenant-Governorship.

Mr. Gazzam's professional life has been an extensive one. In 1871 he was elected a director for Pennsylvania in the United States Law Association. In 1872 he entered into a law partnership at Pittsburg with the Hon. Alexander G. Cochran, M.C., a partnership that was dissolved in 1879, owing to the removal of Mr. Cochran to St. Louis. At this time Mr. Gazzam was solicitor for a number of leading corporations of Pittsburg, including the City Bank, the Security Trust Company, the Iron City Fire Insurance Company, and others, besides being President of the United States Building and Loan Association. At the same time he took a leading part in numerous social organizations, being President of the Pittsburg Gymnastic Association, President of the Hygeia Base Ball Club, as well as officer, or officer and director, in many other similar organizations.

He moved from his native city to Philadelphia in 1879, opening a law office at 714 Walnut street. Upon the completion of the Girard Building, at Broad and Chestnut streets, he removed his office there. The past few years Mr. Gazzam has not actively practiced at the Bar, owing to the pressing duties of the numerous offices filled by him in various corporations.[1]

Mr. Gazzam is a life member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and of the Fairmount Park Art Association. He was for three years President of the Pennsylvania Club. He is a life member of the Union League Club and the Lawyers' Club of Philadelphia; a member of the Citizens' Municipal Association, the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, University Archæological Association, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and of the Pennsylvania Fish Protective Association, of the last of which he filled the office of President recently.

Mr. Gazzam has been twice married; first, in October, 1878, to Anna, daughter of the late John G. Reading, a successful business man of Philadelphia, and great-grandson of John Reading, Colonial Governor of New Jersey, and by this marriage had two children—Sada (deceased) and Antoinette; second, in September, 1893, to Nellie May, daughter of Benjamin and Olivia A. Andrews, of New Orleans. By this marriage he has two children, Joseph Murphy, Jr., and Olivia de Beelen.

Mr. Gazzam had one brother, Audley William Gazzam (deceased).

[1]Mr. Gazzam was one of the projectors, in 1882, of the Beech Creek, Clearfield & Southwestern Railroad (later known as the Beech Creek), a railroad which, beginning at Jersey Shore, Pa., had its terminus in the thriving borough of Gazzam, named after him. He is now President of the Kenilworth Inn Company, and Kenilworth Land Company (Asheville, N. C.); of the Etowah Iron Company (Georgia), and the Rees-Welsh Digest and Publishing Company; Vice-president of the Quaker City National Bank (Philadelphia); of the Ames-Bonner Brush Company (Toledo, O.); Auer Light Company (South America); Central Coal & Coke Company, Bloomington Coal & Coke Company, and Dent's Run Coal Company (Pennsylvania). He is concerned, either as an officer or director, in twenty-nine corporations.

J. M. Gazzam

a lawyer of ability, author of several important legal works, and who served with distinction throughout the civil war; and one sister, Emma Louise (deceased), married to John F. Mackenzie (deceased), a member of the Allegheny County Bar.

FOUSE, LEVI GARNER (born in Blair County, Pennsylvania, October 21, 1850), is the son of Adam Fouse and Susanna Garner. He is of German ancestry, his grandfather, Nicholas Fouse, having emigrated from Germany to America in 1784, at the age of thirty-seven. Adam Fouse, the father of the subject of our sketch, was a pioneer of Blair County, chopping down trees and clearing up land, in order to establish one of the primitive farms of that county. Later, he built a raft, and transported all kinds of marketable produce down the Juniata to the Susquehanna, and down this broader water to Baltimore, where he disposed of his goods, and returned on foot with exchange of gold or silver, making the return trip in two and a half days. His business grew to such large proportions that he became the leading factor in handling the output of the entire surrounding region, and his energy and success were so pronounced that he acquired the ownership of ten farms before his death, at the ripe old age of eighty-two years. The mother of Mr. Fouse, Susanna Garner, belonged to a large and influential family, and at a reunion of the Garner family in Huntington County, in 1886, over 600 members were present.

Mr. Fouse received his early education at the public schools of the neighborhood, and at the age of seventeen became a student of the Juniata Collegiate Institute. Subsequently he attended Heidelberg College, at Tiffin, Ohio, and after remaining there for a term, entered Mercersburg College, where he completed his preliminary education. His collegiate training was designed to prepare him for the ministry, but the strong natural tendency of his mind to more active and exciting pursuits led him to engage temporarily in mercantile life. In 1870, he became a clerk of the American Iron Works, at Pittsburg, Pa., where his extreme aptitude for and attention to his duties gained him several promotions, but at the expiration of a year he resigned in order to engage in the insurance business, in which he began as a solicitor, and, being unusually successful, at the age of twenty-one years he organized a fire insurance company in his native county, limiting its risks to farm and village property. He drafted its charter, by-laws, applications, and other necessary papers, which, when submitted to the Hon. John Dean, of the Supreme Court, for his legal opinion, were pronounced by him to be "marvelously complete." In less than six months after the company was chartered Mr. Fouse had placed risks,

amounting to over $2,000,000, in six counties in which he had established agencies.

At the age of twenty-two years he became interested in a manufacturing company in York, Pa., where he had occasion to consult mercantile agencies as to the financial standing of merchants to whom his firm sold goods. Becoming impressed with the idea that the "guess" system, then in vogue for reporting the financial standing of merchants, could be greatly improved, in the spring of 1874, his firm sold out and dissolved partnership, and in accordance with his ideas Mr. Fouse organized a mercantile agency (with headquarters in New York), making a specialty of reporting record facts. In three years the agency had offices in all the principal cities in the country and ten thousand correspondents, and did a business of a million dollars a year, but owing to the opposition of a rival agency, it became involved in litigation, and in February, 1878, was compelled to make an assignment, with liabilities of $25,000, a small sum under the circumstances. In the following spring, Mr. Fouse devoted himself exclusively to the study and teaching of the correct principles and practices of life insurance. As a result of his researches and study, a sound system of life insurance was established, which is universally known as "The Fouse Plan." In 1878, although but twenty-eight years of age, he organized The Fidelity Mutual Life Association, one of Philadelphia's most stable and prominent institutions, and has been its president since its organization. Mr. Fouse has established a reputation not only in this country, but also in Great Britain, as one of the ablest and soundest actuaries of the time, by reason of which his services as consulting actuary are frequently called into requisition by numerous insurance companies. He was the first in this country to prepare a plan for insuring under-average lives, which is not only unique in its conception, but thoroughly practicable and popular, and is a most important addition to life insurance. The plan is calculated to occupy a high and permanent place in the annals of insurance. The criticisms of the insurance press in America and in Europe on this new American feature were most complimentary and flattering to the author. He has since finished a very important work for the U. S. Army officers, viz.: "The War Mortality, with Deductions, Conclusions, and Tables, Based on the Mortality Experience of Army Officers, as Shown by the Records of the War Department of the United States from 1806 to 1893."

Mr. Fouse has also served the Subsidiary High Court of Canada of the Ancient Order of Foresters as actuary, and his work ranks in importance and skill with that of Mr. Francis G. P. Nieson, F. A. I., F.F.S., for the Order in Great Britain. He was Chairman for several years, and subsequently Actuary, of the Executive Committee of the National Convention of Mutual Life Underwriters, and in 1887 was President of the Convention. It was principally through his efforts

L. G. Fouse

that the laws relating to natural and flexible premium insurance were improved, modified, and given any degree of uniformity. The St. Louis *Post Dispatch*, in giving an account of the proceedings of the Convention of October 20, 1886, said: " Mr. Fouse, the Chairman, is the convention, he is the brains of assessment insurance." Mr. Fouse is also the President of the American Faculty of Actuaries (incorporated under the laws of Pennsylvania), whose object is to afford a thorough training to students in the actuarial science. He is the author of the publications and textbooks of the Faculty, as well as numerous other publications bearing upon the subject of life insurance. His treatises on life insurance cover every department, embracing history, statistics, ethics, jurisprudence, and all of the elements of the actuarial science.

While actively devoted to his profession, he is socially of a quiet disposition, exceedingly domestic, and is very much attached to his family, consisting of a wife and son. His wife is a daughter of Herman Hause, of Mercersburg, Pa. His son, Harrie H. Fouse, is a graduate of Swarthmore College, and a student in the Law Department of the University of Pennsylvania. In church matters, Mr. Fouse is a Presbyterian, is prominent in the church and Sabbath school, and is Superintendent of Northminster Church Sabbath School, Philadelphia. In Lodge circles he is highly esteemed, and has attained the rank of Knight Templar.

As a financier, Mr. Fouse has not only established a most enviable reputation as the President of one of the leading life insurance companies in the country, The Fidelity Mutual Life Association, but also as connected with many other financial institutions, notably among which is the Third National Bank of Philadelphia, of which he is one of the directors. As a citizen, he has always been aggressive, public-spirited, and progressive, and takes a lively interest in municipal affairs and various benevolent institutions. It was in a very great measure due to Mr. Fouse's keenness that the crimes of Herman W. Mudgett, *alias* H. H. Holmes, the murderer of twenty-two persons, and the greatest criminal of the nineteenth century, were brought to light; and it was very largely to his persistency and efforts that Holmes was tried and convicted for the murder of Pitezel in Philadelphia. Although Mr. Fouse's active interest in this matter caused some newspapers at a distance to malign him, they were, by legal means, brought to justice, and confessed judgment at St. Louis.

One of Mr. Fouse's greatest accomplishments was the erection and completion of the magnificent new Home Office Building of the Fidelity Mutual Life Association, which will stand for years to come as a monument of his energy, enterprise, and successful management, as President, of that well-known institution.

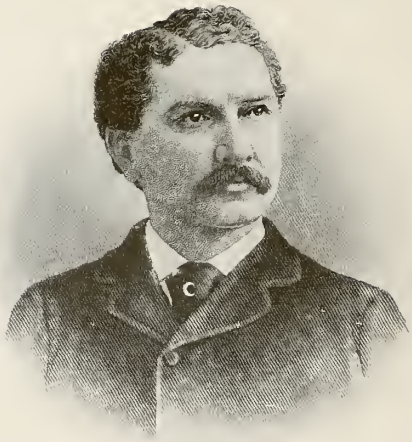
SMITH, EDMUND (born in Philadelphia, April 10, 1829), was the son of Robert H. and Mary (Potts) Smith. He received a good practical education in his native city. He married Arabella Barnes, who was a prominent figure in the social life of Philadelphia, and was related to many distinguished families of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Smith died suddenly in New York, July 31, 1895, from a stroke of apoplexy, while attending to some important business in that city. He was buried at Villanova, where he had a suburban residence, "Stoneleigh." His funeral took place August 2. Rev. Dr. McVickar (now Bishop McVickar), then of Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, conducted the services. A large number of officials of the Pennsylvania Railroad and other prominent business and railroad men attended the funeral. His widow survived him a little more than three years, having died August 18, 1898, at her Villanova residence, and was buried beside her husband. Two daughters and a son survive them. With the exception of their out-of-town residence in summer, they lived in Philadelphia all their lives.

Edmund Smith was a Pennsylvania Railroad man in an unusual sense. His life was identified with the start, rise, and progress of that great corporation. He saw the erection of a most humble edifice as the first passenger depot, and lived to see erected what is, perhaps, the finest railroad station in the world, as it is also one of the most magnificent buildings ever constructed in his native city. He started out at the age of eighteen years, in June, 1847, as a rodman in the engineer corps of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and closed his connection with it by resigning from the office of First Vice-President in 1888, having served, man and boy, continuously for a period of forty-one years two months and twenty days. During most of this time he was in direct control of the financial and accounting departments. He was one of the very few men living, when he voluntarily stepped out of harness of the greatest railroad company in the world, who had entered its service when the line was laid out.

His first work of importance as a young man with the engineers was to assist in the survey and construction of the road from Huntingdon, Pa., to the summit of the Alleghany Mountains. He remained in this service until May, 1850. Then he was transferred to the western section of the State. He was employed there two years and three months, when he was sent to Philadelphia. His great ability had become so manifest that he was placed in charge of the construction of the shops and the freight and passenger depots of the company in the metropolis.

In January, 1855, he was elected Secretary of the Company. He held this important position for a period of fourteen years, or until May, 1869, when he was selected to be the Third Vice-President. In March, 1863, he was chosen as the Treasurer. In June, 1876, he be-



Wm. F. Harrity.

came Second Vice-President. On September 13, 1882, he succeeded A. J. Cassatt as First Vice-President. He held this exalted position until June 30, 1888, when he resigned in order to be able to attend to his own private business affairs. He lived to be sixty-six years old, passing but seven years of his matured life in quiet retirement.

Two daughters and a son survive them.

HARRITY, WILLIAM F., was born in Wilmington, Del., October 19, 1850, and received his preliminary education in the public schools of Wilmington and at Clarkson Taylor's Academy and St. Mary's College, in the same place; he was graduated at La Salle College, Philadelphia, as Master of Arts, in June, 1871; studied law with the Hon. Lewis C. Cassidy and Pierce Archer, Esq., and was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar December 27, 1873; remained with his preceptors as their assistant for six years, and then formed a law partnership with the Hon. James Gay Gordon, which was dissolved January 1, 1884; has always been in active practice of the law in the Courts of Philadelphia; was Chairman of the Democratic City Executive Committee of Philadelphia in 1882, when James A. Beaver, as a candidate for Governor, had a majority in that city of but 3,464 over Governor Pattison; was Delegate-at-Large from Pennsylvania to the Chicago Convention of 1884, which nominated Grover Cleveland for President; was appointed Postmaster at Philadelphia December 1, 1885, and served a full term of four years. On January 8, 1890, Mr. Harrity organized the Equitable Trust Company, of Philadelphia, and was elected its President, which position he still fills; was Permanent Chairman of the Democratic State Convention held at Scranton in 1890, which nominated Robert E. Pattison for a second term; was unanimously elected Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee July 2, 1890, but declined to accept because of professional and business engagements, and resigned the position July 16, 1890; was nominated by Governor Pattison and was unanimously confirmed by the Senate as Secretary of State of Pennsylvania, January 20, 1891. Mr. Harrity never held any public office except those of Postmaster at Philadelphia and Secretary of State of Pennsylvania.

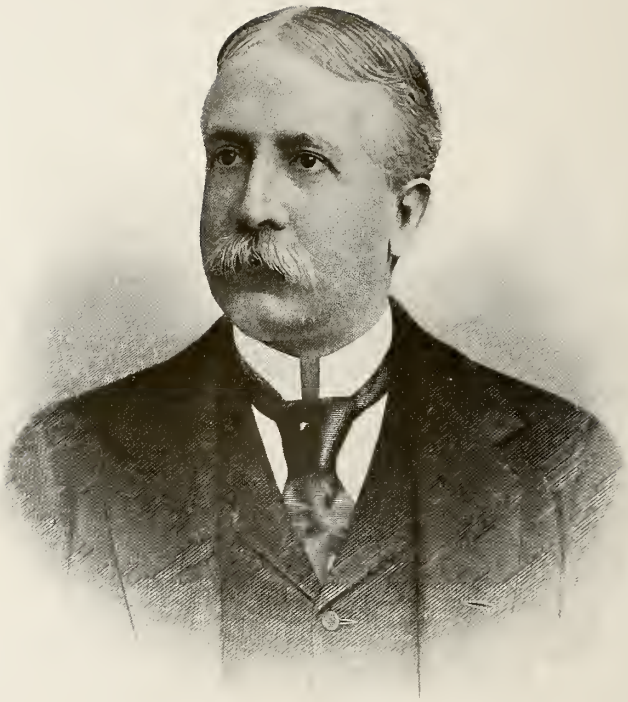
On January 20, 1892, Mr. Harrity was unanimously elected by the Democratic State Central Committee of Pennsylvania to represent that State in the Democratic National Committee as the successor of the late William L. Scott; on April 13, 1892, he was unanimously elected by the Democratic State Convention for the full term as the Pennsylvania member of the Democratic National Committee, which election was unanimously ratified by the Pennsylvania delegation

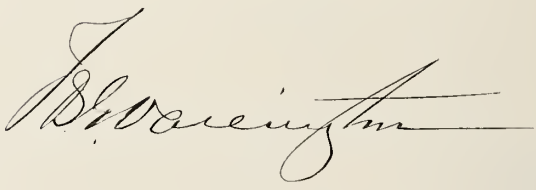
to the Democratic National Convention, held at Chicago June 21, 1892. On July 21, 1892, Mr. Harrity was unanimously elected Chairman of the Democratic National Committee at a meeting held in the City of New York. As Democratic National Chairman Mr. Harrity conducted the National campaign of 1892, which resulted in the election of Grover Cleveland and A. E. Stevenson as President and Vice-President respectively, of the United States. It is generally understood that because of his efficient services to the Democratic party and of his devotion to President Cleveland during his candidacy for the nomination and election as President in 1892, Mr. Harrity would have been appointed as a member of President Cleveland's Cabinet had he not indicated his inability and disinclination to accept the position, Mr. Harrity preferring to continue in the office of Secretary of State of Pennsylvania until the end of his term (January 15, 1895).

Mr. Harrity was a Delegate-at-Large to the Democratic National Convention of 1896, and by a unanimous vote was made Chairman of the Pennsylvania delegation to that Convention. He was also unanimously re-elected as the Pennsylvania member of the Democratic National Committee. As Chairman of the Democratic National Committee he presided over the deliberations of the Chicago Convention with signal ability, impartiality, and dignity.

In the same Convention, Mr. Harrity received twenty-one votes for Vice-President, delegates from Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Rhode Island, and South Dakota voting for him, although he was not a candidate for the position. The sixty-four votes of Pennsylvania would also have been cast for him had not Mr. Harrity himself (who was Chairman of the Delegation) requested otherwise. The leading and successful part taken by Mr. Harrity in the Chicago Convention was a matter of frequent and favorable comment. Not only was he commended for the skill and ability displayed by him during the three hours in which he presided over the Convention, but the nomination for the Vice-Presidency was within his reach. It is authoritatively stated that prominent free-silver leaders declared that if Mr. Harrity were willing to stand upon the platform adopted he would receive their support for the Vice-Presidency and be nominated. Mr. Harrity advised against such action being taken.

Mr. Harrity has been successful in all his undertakings in the fields of law, finance, and politics. He is of industrious habits and is an indefatigable worker. He averages not less than from twelve to fifteen hours each day at hard work, giving much of his time and attention to the affairs of the Equitable Trust Company, of Philadelphia. He does not neglect his law practice, although that is looked after by his law partner, United States District Attorney James M. Beck, and a corps of assistants. That Mr. Harrity should attract a large circle of friends is inevitable. His career in business and in





official and political life has been so creditable that men sought him out to that extent that, without any adventitious aids, Mr. Harrity has attained an enviable position in the country as well as in the community in which he resides. He has in a marked degree that rare and invaluable aid to successful leadership, the quality of attracting and holding the confidence and affection of those about him, and upon whose assistance a successful manager or leader must rely.

Mr. Harrity is married and, with his wife and four children, namely, Mary Agnes, Marguerite, Isabel, and William F. Harrity, Jr., resides at No. 6310 Sherwood Road, Overbrook, Philadelphia.

ARLINGTON, JOSEPH G., was born in the City of Pittsburg, but has lived in the City of Philadelphia since his earliest childhood. On his father's side he is descended from the very best and purest English Quaker stock. His mother, a New York lady, was a member of the celebrated Seymour family, whose ancestors were among the earliest settlers of the American colonies, dating in a direct line back to 1630.

Mr. Darlington was educated in the Friends School, Walnut Street, above Sixth Street. After leaving school he entered the silk importing house of Dale, Ross & Withers, where he served an apprenticeship of four years. His salary the first year was only $50, and during six months of the year he was obliged to work until late at night. For the second year of his apprenticeship he received $75, $100 for the third year and $175 for the fourth year. Upon the completion of his apprenticeship Mr. Darlington entered the employ of John W. Thomas, at a salary of three hundred dollars, which at the close of the first year was advanced to one thousand dollars. The relations thus established grew stronger each year, until finally the employer manifested his appreciation of his clerk by making him his partner, the firm name being changed to John W. Thomas & Co.

Mr. Thomas retired from business on January 31, 1874, having disposed of his entire interest to his partner, the firm name being changed to Joseph G. Darlington & Co., the same as it is to-day.

Mr. Darlington's business is the largest *strictly drygoods business* in Philadelphia. The firm confines its operations to the highest class of merchandise of American and Foreign manufacture, and conducts its business with a strict regard to mercantile correctness. The firm has offices in Paris, London, Berlin, and Vienna. It often occurs that goods of English and Continental manufacture are exhibited at this Philadelphia house before they are shown in London and Paris. The establishment is a model of its kind, complete in every detail, and gives employment to about 500 persons.

During the Civil War, Mr. Darlington enlisted with the militia as a member of the Hamilton Rifles, Captain B. Andrews Knight, and

he subsequently enlisted in Company A, Gray Reserves, Captain Keyser.

Mr. Darlington is the Senior Vice-President of The Union League Club of Philadelphia, a member of "The Cincinnati," The Saint Nicholas Society of New York, The Colonial Society, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, The Geological Society, The Sons of the Revolution, The Chamber of Commerce of New York, The Penn Club, The Art Club, The Radnor Hunt, and a Governor of The Merion Cricket Club.

CLYDE, THOMAS, of Philadelphia, the founder of the Clyde Steamship Lines, born in 1812, was, in consequence of the death of his parents, reared by his uncle, Thomas Clyde, who resided in Philadelphia until 1824, when he removed to to Chester, Pa., where the subject of this sketch, having had the benefit of the common school education of the day, became long before reaching his majority Superintendent for his uncle, who held large contracts for furnishing material to the Government for the construction of the Delaware Breakwater, then being erected at the entrance of the Delaware Bay. On reaching his majority he became a contractor himself, upon the same Government work.

Upon the completion of the Breakwater, he engaged as a contractor in the construction of the James River and Kanawha Canal, designed to connect the Ohio River and the Chesapeake Bay.

Upon the arrival in this country, in 1839, of the late John Ericsson, the celebrated inventor and engineer, with his invention for the application of the screw-propeller to steam vessels, Thomas Clyde recognized at once the value and great possibilities of this new method in the application of power to the propulsion of vessels, and became largely interested in its development. After constructing several experimental steam propellers intended for inland use, he, in 1844, built the twin-screw steamship "John S. McKim," the first screw steamer built in the United States for commercial purposes, thus recognizing and practically applying over fifty years ago this now favorite and necessary method of obtaining high speed economically and safely. This ship was used successfully in the trade between New Orleans, Texas, and Mexico, and, upon the breaking out of the Mexican war, as a transport for troops to Texas. After this war, and upon the discovery of gold in California, she was sent in 1849 with a full load of California pioneers to San Francisco, and continued to run successfully with great profit to her successive owners until finally, worn out after many years of service, she quietly sank one night while at anchor in a harbor on that coast.

Having been largely instrumental in the successful introduction and development of the screw-propeller in this country, he continued

Thos. Lloyd

actively and prominently in the business of steam transportation by water over forty-five years, until his death in January, 1885. He was during many years of that period the largest owner of steamers and steamships in America, plying as they did between all the important ports of the United States, and also many of those in the West Indies and upon the Pacific. He at one time controlled all the steamship transportation between New York and San Francisco, as well as the traffic of the Panama Railroad, the only route across the Isthmus of Panama, having from his own fleet been able to furnish this railroad in sixty days a complete equipment of steamers for its connection both from Panama to Central America and San Francisco; and between Aspinwall and New York, the Overland Pacific roads having secured control of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, and attempted to take the entire California business overland.

Though owning during his lifetime every variety of steamboat and steamship, he always gave the preference to the screw-propeller, and used it wherever it was practicable. He experimented upon and demonstrated its practicability and value for light-draft harbors and rivers where others had supposed nothing but the more expensive side-wheel steamers were available.

Being bold and progressive, he adopted many improvements both in the model and machinery of steamers, and was regarded from his great practical experience as an authority in both. In his fleet was constructed the first twin-screw steamer, the first compound-engine, triple-expansion engine, and the first steel steamship ever built in this country.

It is a remarkable coincidence that one of his steamships took Jefferson Davis and his regiment of Mississippi volunteers from New Orleans to the Mexican War in 1846, while another brought him as a prisoner from Savannah to Fort Monroe in 1865, and his steamer, the "Rebecca Clyde," was the first to reach Savannah after its capture by General Sherman, with an entire cargo of provisions and supplies sent by the citizens of New York as a contribution to the needs of those left destitute in Savannah by the war.

No one in his lifetime did more than he to develop and maintain the American merchant marine, or felt a deeper interest in his country maintaining a strong position upon the seas. To the steamship business he devoted the best energies of his life, although he was for many years, and at the time of his death, a director in the Delaware Mutual Safety Insurance Company, and also of the Central National Bank, besides having large interests in railroads and real estate, as well as in other lines of business.

He was greatly respected and esteemed by all who knew him, and especially by those in his employ, who in various capacities numbered thousands. Although a rigid disciplinarian, he was just, sympathetic, and liberal, appreciating and reciprocating the attachment of

those connected with him, and it was a source of pride to him that few, having entered his employ, ever left it. His constantly increasing business supplied them with continuous employment, and he made it a rule to take care of those who lost their health in his employ.[1]

In 1837 he married Rebecca Pancoast, the daughter of William Pancoast, of Delaware County, Pa. His residence and the headquarters of his business were located in Philadelphia, though his steamers ran from the principal seaboard cities of the country. His sons were educated in and continue the business. He died in Philadelphia on January 12, 1885.

BREWSTER, FREDERICK CARROLL (born in Philadelphia May 15, 1825), is the son of Francis Enoch Brewster, and a lineal descendant of Elder William Brewster, of the Mayflower. This ancestor had been educated in Cambridge University, England, "had served as a diplomatist in the Low Countries," had, during his exile for conscience sake at Leyden, "established a printing press," and was the first acknowledged teacher in the little colony. He brought with him to Plymouth his wife and four children, and his descendants, spread through the Eastern and Middle States, were numerous; there have been among them preachers, lawyers, and doctors. A worthy and popular physician settled in Deefield, Cumberland County, New Jersey. There Francis Enoch Brewster, a son of this physician and father of Frederick Carroll Brewster, was born. He was sent to Philadelphia and educated, read law, was admitted to the bar, and for many years carried on a large practice. As an advocate he was distinguished for close reasoning and ready wit.

Frederick Carroll Brewster, as a boy of bright and promising intellect, was sent to the Old Friends' Select School, Fourth and Arch streets, where he was rapidly fitted for college and entered the University of Pennsylvania under Dr. Ludlow as Provost. He displayed marked aptness and industry, and in 1841, at sixteen years of age, was graduated with the full honors of the institution. Among his classmates were William Henry Rawle and Horatio Gates Jones. He pursued the study of law in his father's office, and in September, 1844, was admitted to the Philadelphia bar; though yet not of legal age his equipment was thorough, and habits of untiring industry were already formed that made early promise certain of fulfillment. His practice was successful from the start. Among his notable first cases was the Cunningham murder trial. A policeman, Samuel Cun-

[1]When disaster occurred, and steamers were lost at sea, the payrolls of such steamers were kept open until the bereaved families were without need of further assistance, and at the time of his death were still open, and had been monthly drawn upon by widows and orphans for more than ten years, while the sons of such families almost always entered his service in some capacity.

Yours Sincerely
F. Carroll Brewster.

ningham, shot a mechanic to death in an attempt to arrest him. Mr. Brewster defended the policeman and secured his acquittal, establishing by his argument a precedent in law subsequently followed: that a well-founded apprehension of the intent of an assailant to inflict bodily harm is sufficient cause for the exercise of self-defense, even to the extremity of taking life. His brilliant and successful defense of Lenairs, also indicted for murder—a case that aroused interest on both sides of the Delaware River—involved the same point of law, and his client was vindicated by the young advocate almost single-handed, against the ablest criminal lawyers of the New Jersey bar. The Kirkpatrick poisoning case—in which Robert Kirkpatrick, with others, was arrested under a charge of conspiracy to poison Edward Kirkpatrick, a former partner of Robert Kirkpatrick—lasted for a month, and stirred Philadelphia society to the center. The acquittal of these clients established Mr. Brewster's position as a leader of the bar. His successful termination, in favor of Mr. Mann, of the celebrated contest for the District Attorneyship between William B. Mann and Lewis C. Cassidy, was in 1856. Other leading cases that now came to Mr. Brewster were that of the famous arraignment of Thomas Alibone, president of the collapsed Pennsylvania Bank, for the alleged appropriation of $250,000, the proceeds of a draft on London for fifty thousand pounds sterling, in which Mr. Alibone was exonerated; and his successful defense of the constitutionality of the Legal Tender Act in the lower and upper courts—involving an issue vital to the very existence of the country—upon a line of argument subsequently followed in all the States. Up to this time Mr. Brewster, in politics a Republican, had resisted every pressure to enter the political arena. A special exigency, however, had arisen in municipal affairs. The city of Philadelphia was issuing millions of loans to further the enlistment of troops, vital legal questions were arising involving financial interests of a magnitude hitherto unknown, and, besides, the Girard Trust was in peril. At this juncture, in 1862, without consulting Mr. Brewster, the Republicans nominated him for City Solicitor. He was elected irrespective of party by a large majority, and served until 1866, when he was elected Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. As guardian of the city's interest, he appealed the famous Girard will suit, which the lower courts had decided adversely to the city and in favor of the heirs, on the ground that the great bequest had created a perpetuity. In 1863 he reargued the case before the Supreme Court at Harrisburg against an eminent array of counsel, arguing first, that the charity saved the perpetuity, and, second, that if the condition of alienation could not be sustained and the lands had to be sold to avoid a perpetuity, the benefit of the sale would belong, not to the heirs, but to the city of Philadelphia, to be employed in trust for the support of Girard College. This doctrine was affirmed by the court. Another case of great

importance to the city, questioning the right of the State Legislature to authorize the erection of a bridge over the Schuylkill River—arising in the matter of Chestnut street—was taken during his administration as City Solicitor to the United States Supreme Court. He was successful in establishing State jurisdiction over the tidal waters of the river, and substantiated the right of Philadelphia to erect bridges.

As Judge of the Court of Common Pleas he served with great satisfaction to the bar for upward of three years. He presided over the celebrated Twitchwell case, and secured additional reputation from his judicial record. In 1869 he was appointed Attorney-general of the State by Governor Geary, filling the office from 1869 to 1873, during the time conducting many cases of great importance, and some of them involving the determination of constitutional questions.

In addition to his strict professional and judicial labors, Judge Brewster's work and influence have been extensive. He was president of the Alumni of the University of Pennsylvania in 1871-2, and has been selected for orations before the Law Academy of Philadelphia; the Philomathean Society of the University of Pennsylvania; at Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.; Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.; the opening ceremonies of the Orphans' Court, Philadelphia, and at the unveiling of the tablet to the memory of Stephen Girard.

As a legal writer, he has published "Brewster's Digest," "Brewster's Blackstone," four volumes of reports, and six volumes on practice. He has also in literary studies published "Moliere in Outline," "D'Israeli in Outline," and "From Independence Hall Round the World."

He was one of the first members of the Union League of Philadelphia, is now a member of the Art Club and the President of the Lawyers' Club. He has crossed the Atlantic thirty times, visited all the important cities of Europe, journeyed to Egypt, Palestine, Jerusalem, and Damascus, and, during October, 1894, to February, 1895, he went round the world.

In March, 1850, Mr. Brewster married Emma Barton, daughter of William P. C. Barton, M.D., Senior Surgeon of the United States Navy, and Esther Rittenhouse Sergeant, both parents being lineal descendants of Wilhelm Rittenhouse; the Barton[1] family deriving through Elizabeth, daughter of Mathias Rittenhouse, of the third generation, and the Sergeant[2] family through the noted Pennsylvanian, David Rittenhouse, a son of the same ancestor, Mathias.

Mrs. Emma Barton Brewster died in 1882. She had seven children —five of whom survive. Their names are: Frederick C., Jr., and

[1] This emergence and return of the collateral line is shown as follows: Mathias Ritteuhouse [3]; Elizabeth [4]; who was married to Rev. Thos. Barton; William Barton [4]; Dr. William P. C. Barton [5]; Emma Barton.[6]

[2] The line is derived as follows: Wilhelm Rittenhouse [1]; Nicholas [2]; Mathias [3]; David [4]; Elizabeth [5]; who was married to Jonathan Dickerson Sergeant; Esther Rittenhouse Sergeant [6]; a third daughter, who was married to Dr. William P. C.Barton; Emma Barton.[7]

JOHN C. BULLITT.

Francis E., both members of the Philadelphia bar; Dr. William Barton Brewster, who was a surgeon in the United States Army; Emma B. Guillon, and Esther Sergeant.

BULLITT, JOHN C. (born in Jefferson County, Kentucky, February 10, 1842), is the son of William Christian Bullitt and Mildred Ann Fry, and comes of a stock sturdy in mental as well as physical strength. His paternal ancestor in America was Benjamin Bullitt, a French Huguenot, who, with others, fled from the historic province of Languedoc to escape the persecutions that followed upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. His grandfather, Alexander S. Bullitt, removed to Kentucky about 1783, and was president of the convention which framed the first constitution of the State. His father, William C. Bullitt, was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1849 which formed the present State constitution, while other members of the family rendered distinguished services to the State. His mother, Mildred Ann Fry, was the daughter of Joshua Fry, of Virginia. His grandfather, also named Joshua Fry, came to this country previous to the Revolution, and was a prominent figure in the early Colonial history of the Old Dominion, being at the time of his death in the command of the Colonial troops, and was succeeded by George Washington, who was then a lieutenant-colonel.

John C. Bullitt spent his boyhood days in the vicinity of his birthplace. He was educated at Center College, Danville, Kentucky, and was graduated from that institution at the age of eighteen, carrying off the honors of his class. Following a natural taste for the law, he took a course at Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky. Immediately upon attaining his majority he was admitted to the bar in Louisville, Kentucky, and, removing to Clarksville, Tennessee, began the practice of his profession.

From Clarksville Mr. Bullitt removed to Louisville, Kentucky, where, for a brief period, he continued his practice. In 1849, seeking a still broader field, he removed to Philadelphia. Alone, a stranger, without influence, and but twenty-five years of age, to gain recognition at a bar where Brown, Binney, Biddle, Price, and Cadwalader were at the zenith of their reputation, was a severe test of the young lawyer's self-reliance.

His first important case was in taking charge of the assets of the Schuylkill Bank of Philadelphia whose Cashier had sold an over issue of the stock of the Bank of Kentucky. The sale of these assets, consisting of bonds, stocks, real estate in Philadelphia, and Coal lands in Schuylkill County, was intrusted implicitly by the President of the Bank of Kentucky, to Mr. Bullitt. By his ability and tact Mr. Bullitt

returned to his clients either in securities or direct cash payment $900,000. The skill with which the sale of these assets had been conducted gave the young lawyer a deserved reputation, and business men and bankers who had litigation to look after eagerly sought his services. His practice grew steadily. His ability to untangle legal skeins and to advise in cases where advice was more valuable than litigation became more and more recognized, and he was constantly called upon to act in this capacity. By his advice the Philadelphia and Reading Company was dragged out of the slough of its legal complications, and the reorganization of an insolvent corporation, owing millions of dollars, represented by various classes of securities, was effected without a judicial sale or the aid of a bankrupt court. It was through the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Bullitt that the creditors of Jay Cooke & Co.—the great banking house that succumbed in the panic of 1873—were induced to have a trustee appointed for the purpose of winding up the estate. This was particularly difficult of accomplishment, but was successful at last, despite the fact that even Judge Cadwalader, who passed upon the adjudication, was strongly opposed to it. The wisdom of Mr. Bullitt's method of settlement was shown in the gradual but eventual payment of all the creditors. To him also belongs the credit of defeating the conspiracy, so astutely planned, in the celebrated "Whitaker Will Case," and of sending the plotters to jail. The trial of the civil case was called on the 5th of January, 1880, and lasted continuously until the 14th of May following. It was marked by a series of startling developments and dramatic incidents seldom witnessed in courts of justice. The late Judge Allison said it was the most important and interesting case in which he had presided in his experience of over forty years on the Bench. It has taken its place as one of the causes celebré in the history of jurisprudence in Pennsylvania.

Locally Mr. Bullitt's name is especially identified with the planning and drafting of the new charter for the city of Philadelphia, familiarly known in its various stages as the "Bullitt Bill," and undertaken as early as 1876, without fee, or promise of reward, under the direction of Governor Hartranft. The Legislature remained inactive until 1885, when Mr. Bullitt's ideas were faithfully followed, and the bill was passed, going into effect April 1, 1887. The new charter vested all the responsibility in the Mayor, reduced the number of incongruous departments from twenty-seven to seven, and simplified the method of government in similar ratio in every direction. The successful operation of the charter has attracted wide attention, and exerted a marked influence in remodeling the government of other municipal cities.

Mr. Bullitt's enterprise and business judgment induced him to erect the well-known Bullitt Building in Philadelphia, also to take the lead in the organization of the Philadelphia Country Club, of which he is

Jos. L. Doran,

the president, and to advocate the "Bourse" and the building of a boulevard one hundred and fifty feet wide from the Public Buildings to Fairmount Park. His course through life has been upright, and he has always been found on the side of the oppressed. He is a man of strong convictions, and in his dealings with men is ever courteous, but always resolute, unwavering, and straightforward, and has faithfully, patriotically, and in great measure successfully labored to advance the best public interests of the great city of which he has been so long a part. Mr. Bullitt's home life has been particularly happy, and he has been blessed with a large and interesting family. He married Miss Therese Langhorne, who died April 30, 1881. He has seven children living: Therese L., the wife of Dr. Coles, of the United States Navy; William C., Vice-President of the Norfolk and Western Railroad Company; Logan McKnight, formerly Vice-President of the Northern Pacific Coal Company, but now associated with his father in the practice of the law; Julia, wife of A. Haller Gross, of Philadelphia; Helen, wife of Walter Rogers Furness, of Philadelphia; James F. Bullitt, formerly a member of the bar, but now an Episcopal clergyman, and John C. Bullitt, Jr., a graduate of the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania.

ORAN, JOSEPH INGERSOLL (born in Philadelphia, January 17, 1844), is the son of Joseph Michael Doran and Ann Luker Callahan. His grandfather, Michael Doran, a merchant of Philadelphia, was a native of Mountreath, County Queens, Ireland, who came to Philadelphia in 1795, where he resided until his death. His father (born in Philadelphia, November 10, 1800, died there in 1859) was graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1820, studied law in the office of Joseph R. Ingersoll, was admitted to the bar in 1824, and by his energy and ability soon rose to high rank in his profession, attaining a wide reputation and a large and lucrative business. He was solicitor for the District of Southwark in 1835, a member of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1837, and Judge of the Court of General Sessions from 1840 to 1843.

His mother, daughter of Rev. Griffin Callahan and Susan Luker, of Accomac County, on the eastern shore of Virginia—her father being one of the first to preach Methodism in that section of the country—was descended from many of the earliest and most prominent Colonial families of Virginia—the families of Yeardley, Custis, Michael, Thorogood, Powell, Christian, Luker, and Callahan—members of which were prominent in political and civil life. Joseph I. Doran is in line of descent from Sir George Yeardley, Governor and Captain-General

of Virginia, 1618-26, and eighth in line of descent from John Custis, of Rotterdam, the ancestor of the Custis family of Virginia.

Joseph I. Doran received his preliminary education in private schools, principally that of John W. Faires, by whom he was prepared to enter the University of Pennsylvania. He remained, however, at the university only a short time. In the fall of 1860, he entered the office of John C. Bullitt, first as a clerk, then as a student of law, and was admitted to the bar in April, 1865. Two years afterward he was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Mr. Doran's practice has been confined to that of railroad and general corporation law. He is consulting counsel of many corporations, and has been General Solicitor of the Norfolk and Western Railroad, and also of its successor, the Norfolk and Western Railway Company since their organization. Like his honored father, Mr. Doran has devoted himself with great zeal and earnestness to his chosen profession, and his business has grown to large, laborious, and exacting proportions. Preserving his habits of industry, study and close application, he has also brought to the discharge of the manifold duties of his calling a clear and conscientious conception of every obligation, and an ability as unquestioned in degree as it has been prolific in emolument. From about 1880 he has been closely and actively identified with the development, which then started and which since has been so rapid and successful, of the coal and iron districts of Virginia and West Virginia. The paper read by him before the American Social Science Convention in 1876 on the subject of "Building Associations" attracted some attention. His pamphlet on "Our Fishery Rights in the North Atlantic," published in 1888, was an exhaustive investigation, and was received generally as a forcible and the best statement of the American side of the fishery question. The Philadelphia *Ledger* spoke of it as a "brief, pungent, and able pamphlet," and the Boston *Evening Transcript* as "one of the most satisfactory contributions to the literature of the fishery controversy."

In December, 1876, Mr. Doran married Ida Warner Erwin, the daughter of Joseph Warner Erwin and Caroline A. Borden, and the eighth in descent from William Warner, who was born in the Parish of Blockley, Worcestershire, England, settled on the west bank of the Schuylkill, and subsequently became Provincial Councillor as a member of Deputy Governor Markham's Council in 1681. The records show that he emigrated to this country and held official positions before the arrival of Penn, and that he purchased lands on the Schuylkill directly from the Indians, the titles to which were confirmed by the Upland Court and later by the Proprietary. By this marriage Joseph I. Doran has six children now living: Marie Louise, Alice Therese, John Henry, Caroline Borden, Josephine Lalor, and Warner Erwin.

Edward M. Payson

PAXSON, EDWARD M. (born in Buckingham, Bucks County, Pa., September 3, 1824), is the son of Thomas Paxson and Ann Johnson. His paternal line is traced back to Rycot House, Buckingham, Bucks, England, where a branch of the family has been established since the time of William the Conqueror, and in America and Pennsylvania since 1683. On his mother's side his ancestry goes back to Ireland through William Johnson, a professor in a South Carolina college, who settled in New Jersey before the Revolutionary War.

Judge Paxson was educated at the Quaker School, and, at the age of sixteen, took the *Saturday Courier* prize, over many competitors, a library copy of the Waverly Novels, for the best essay or tale. While still a youth, in 1842, he established the Newtown *Journal* at Newtown, Bucks County, which at once attracted the attention of leading men of both the county and State. In 1847 he founded the *Daily News* in Philadelphia, which he disposed of the following year to adopt the more congenial profession of the law. Entering the office of Henry Chapman, of Doylestown, he was admitted to the bar in April, 1850, and two years afterward removed to Philadelphia and began practice. He soon reached an enviable position at the bar, and became the trusted counselor of the prominent business men, both before the courts and in the consultation chamber. In 1869, Governor Geary appointed him to the bench of the Common Pleas to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Judge F. Carroll Brewster,—a position obtained without influence or solicitation. He filled the office with such marked ability that the Republican Convention, held the following June, tendered him the regular nomination for the judgeship. The nomination was ratified by a large majority at the polls in the succeeding October. In 1874 he was elected, under the new Constitution, to the Supreme Court, on the same ticket with Warren J. Woodward, and received his commission on the 2d of December of that year. Here he took a commanding position among his judicial brethren, emphasized by great industry and ability. His accurate knowledge of the law was presented in terse, clear diction, and no member of the Supreme Court bench contributed more opinions than he. Many important cases, involving millions of dollars, were intrusted to his care by his associates, notably, the Williamsport Bond case, the Pittsburg Bond case, the Pittsburg Riot case, and the case of Asa Packer *vs.* Noble.

Besides his voluminous judicial work, Judge Paxson has edited Brown's "Collection Laws" and "Memoirs of the Johnson Family," a private memoir of the Johnson family on his mother's side. The line includes a great uncle, Thomas P. Johnson, one of New Jersey's greatest lawyers, and Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Stanley Matthews. Judge Matthews's grandmother and Judge Paxson's grandfather were brother and sister. Judge Paxson became

Chief Justice of Pennsylvania by seniority January 1, 1889, and resigned in 1890, to become Receiver of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad.

Judge Paxson married April 30, 1846, Mary C. Newton, daughter of the late Nathaniel Newton, of Delaware County. She died June 7, 1885. He was married, a second time, to Mary Martha S. Bridges, widow of Samuel A. Bridges, of Allentown, Pa.

TOWNSEND, HENRY C. (born in West Chester, Chester County, Pa., February 22, 1822), is the son of John W. Townsend and Sibylla Kirk Price, daughter of Philip and Rachael Price. The family name appears on the earliest records of Pennsylvania colonial days. Richard Townsend (born in Cirencester, Gloucestershire, England, September 30, 1645; died in East Bradford Township, near West Chester, Pa., January 28, 1732*) accompanied William Penn (1682) in the ship Welcome, on his first visit to his colony, and settled first at Chester, and subsequently at Germantown, near Philadelphia. He was an eminent minister in the Society of Friends, and erected the first flouring mills in the colony (brought ready framed from London), near Chester, Pa. Joseph Townsend, nephew of this Richard (son of William, of County Berks, England), who arrived in the Colony of Pennsylvania in 1712, was the direct ancestor †of the Pennsylvania Townsends. He purchased a tract of land of about 880 acres on the east bank of the Brandywine Creek, including part of the site of the Borough of West Chester. William Townsend, third in descent from this ancestor and grandfather of Henry C. Townsend, married Grace Loller, a sister of Col. Robert Loller, founder of "The Loller Academy" at Hatboro, Montgomery County. He was an able and distinguished man, who was a delegate from Philadelphia County to the Convention which framed the first Constitution of Pennsylvania, September 28, 1776. He joined the Continental Army under Washington, and served in the battles of Trenton, Princeton, and Germantown; was paymaster of the militia of Philadelphia County, and a member of the Assembly in 1779 and in 1784-8.

Mr. Townsend was educated at Friends' Westtown Boarding School, Chester County, and at Bolmar's Academy, West Chester, Pa. He entered Yale College in 1839, remaining through the second year of the class of 1842—his college course being interrupted by

* He became a Friend in 1672, married Annie Hutchins in 1677, by whom he had a daughter, Hannah, who married Isaac Cooke of Germantown, who is said to have been the ancestor of Jay Cooke of Philadelphia; also a son, James, born on board the Welcome, but who died in infancy. A daughter, Sarah, married James Bartlett, and their son, Josiah, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, from New Hampshire.

† The line of descent proceeds as follows: Joseph [1] (born in England, November 18, 1684); John [2] (born December 2, 1716); William [3] born (January 9, 1748); John W. [4] (born March 23, 1789, died March 2, 1874); and Henry C. [5]

Henry C. Townsend.

Thomas Potter

ill-health. He received the honorary degree of A.M. from Yale College in 1873. In 1841 he entered the law office of his uncle, Eli K. Price, and after a three years' course of study was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar in September, 1844. He immediately commenced practice, and has since been continuously and successfully engaged in the chosen branches of his profession—the management of estates, execution of trusts, and as counsel for various corporations—involving large responsibilities, the fullest confidence of his clients, and eminent equipment in legal knowledge. Among the prominent corporations of which he is counsel is the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company, whose charter he prepared in 1847, and for which he has been the legal adviser for a period of fifty years. He has served as a manager and director of many charitable and business corporations, including the Grandom Institution, the Preston Retreat, the Philadelphia Home for Incurables, the Pennsylvania Working Home for Blind Men, the Philadelphia Saving Fund Society, and also as Trustee of the Williamson Free School of Mechanical Trades.

In July, 1847, Mr. Townsend married Georgiana Lawrence Talman, daughter of James Townsend Talman and Mary Watson Lawrence, of Flushing, L. I., by whom he has six children—Fanny, E. Price, Franklin, Harrison, Lawrence, and Bertha.

POTTER, THOMAS, founder of Thomas Potter, Sons & Co. (born in County Tyrone, Ireland, in 1819, died at Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, September 29, 1878), was lineally descended from George Potter, an officer of Oliver Cromwell, who received a large grant of land for his service, which was subsequently confirmed by Charles II. Thomas Potter's father being the son of a younger son, was left with a small income, and came to Philadelphia in 1828, where he died, leaving a small estate to his family. Young Potter had been desirous of taking orders in the church, but the death of his father compelling him to help support his mother and three sisters, he sought employment in the Bush Hill oilcloth works of Isaac McCauley, which occupied the former residence of James Hamilton, twice Colonial Governor of Pennsylvania. His education was acquired at night schools during his apprenticeship, and under the tutelage of his mother, an excellent scholar, and was thorough and liberal. He rose rapidly in the confidence of his employer and soon became manager of the works. In 1838 he engaged in business on his own account, and was so successful that not long afterward he was able to purchase the McCauley oilcloth and linoleum factory. Under his management the business became the most extensive of its kind in the United States. In 1870 he removed the works to their present location at Second and Venango streets.

Mr. Potter was deeply interested in education and served for many years as school director. This office and that of school controller, both without emolument, were the only preferments he sought. His devotion to these duties and the excellence of his administration were recognized at the time, and twelve years after his death were deservedly emphasized by the Board of Education, who named the large institution at Fourth and Clearfield streets "The Thomas Potter School." He served as commissioner of his district in 1853; was a member of the Common Council after the consolidation, which made Philadelphia the largest city territorially in the country, and became Chairman of the School Committee; later he was appointed Chairman of the Finance Committee of Councils, and took a leading part in municipal legislation. In 1861 he introduced the measure appointing a commissioner to assist in supporting the families of Union volunteers from Philadelphia, and gave up his private office to the work. He was one of the early members of the Union League Club, and belonged to the committee of that body charged with raising money for the volunteers. He sought, also, while in Council the enactment of an ordinance providing for the erection of the Academy of Fine Arts, the Academy of Natural Sciences, and other educational institutions at the four corners of Broad and Market streets, Philadelphia, but the ordinance, unfortunately, was defeated. He was prominent in the organization of the paid Fire Department, and in securing the eastern section of Fairmount Park for Philadelphia. After his return from Europe in 1871 he became president of the City National Bank, retaining the position until his death.

Mr. Potter married Adaline Coleman Bower, a granddaughter of General Jacob Bower, of Revolutionary fame, and an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati.

POTTER, WILLIAM, formerly Minister to Italy, and President of Jefferson Medical College (born in Philadelphia, April 17, 1852), is the son of Thomas Potter and Adaline Coleman Bower. On his father's side he is lineally descended from George Potter, an officer in Cromwell's army, and on his mother's side from General Jacob Bower, an officer in the Continental line during the entire Revolution, and an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati. Mr. Potter received a thorough preliminary education in the private schools of Philadelphia, and entered the class of 1874 in the University of Pennsylvania. The serious illness of his father compelling him to leave the University before graduating, he finished his university course in Europe, and with private tutors. On his return from abroad he commenced the study of law, but abandoned its pursuit to become a partner, in 1874, in his father's large

William Potter.

manufacturing corporation. To the vast interests of this business he gave the succeeding eighteen years of his life, but while thoroughly and actively identified with this enterprise, he always retained an earnest interest in public affairs and in the higher and purer phases of politics. Always a Republican and believing the prosperity of the country inseparable from Republican supremacy, he labored unceasingly for the purification of political methods.

In 1892, Mr. Potter was appointed by President Harrison to the Italian mission. When appointed he was among the most distinguished of the leaders of the young Republicans of Philadelphia. It was said of him at the time by John Russell Young that "As Secretary and Director of the Union League, he is, as it were, the Adjutant-General of that powerful organization, guiding the patriotic influences of its members. He has youth, wealth, culture, high social position, a sincerity of manner charming to those in his company, and an intensity of patriotism which considers no service to the country a burden." The necessity of better postal intercourse between the nations was among the duties which devolved upon the administration of President Harrison. Mr. Potter was appointed special commissioner to visit London, Paris, and Berlin in behalf of the State Department and the Postmaster-General, and negotiate a system of sea post-offices. The success of these negotiations led to his appointment as delegate to the Fourth Congress of the Universal Postal Union, held in Vienna, in 1891. Mr. Potter was given plenipotentiary power, under which he arranged and signed for his government a new treaty. This instrument, which went into effect October 1, 1892, was one of the important achievements of Mr. Harrison's administration.

Of Mr. Potter's work in Italy, Charles Emory Smith said:* "The Hon. William Potter, who reached home during the past week, returns with an exceptional record of success and distinction as Minister to Italy. His career at Rome, though running through less than two years, has been long enough to give him a unique position. It is not too much to say that no American Minister at that capital since George P. Marsh has made so distinct and so favorable an impression. We happen to know from those on the ground best qualified to judge that his success has been of the most signal character. He was equally fortunate in winning the respect and favor of the Government to which he was accredited, and the cordial admiration and appreciation of the American Colony, which in Rome, perhaps, is more critical and exacting than at any other point in Europe. Mr. Potter combines an unusual degree of tact with the highest common sense and good judgment, and his frank, open, and winning bearing won his way to the hearts of all with whom he came in contact. His retirement from the post was marked by an extraordinary series of demonstrations, showing the esteem in which he was held, and he returns with a record of which he and his city may well be proud."

* *Philadelphia Press*, April 18, 1894.

Since his return, while taking part in public and political affairs, he has devoted himself particularly to his college work and the study of law, having been admitted in 1896 to practice as an attorney in the courts of his native city. He is very much interested in the cause of municipal reform, which he believes to be the coming question in this country. In an open letter during the campaign of 1896, Mr. Potter said: "Partisanship in civic affairs is not in keeping with the advance of American civilization, and it is the part of wisdom for members of our political organizations founded upon the principle of 'moral ideas' in politics to lead in the coming movement to give business management and civil service to all American municipalities."

Mr. Potter is a member of the State and National Advisory Committee of the Republican Party, and as such has taken prominent part in the State and National campaigns for the Republican ticket. He was elected an honorary member of the Society of the Cincinnati of New Jersey, in 1895. He was Vice-President of the British and American Archæological Society of Rome (now out of existence), and is at present a member of the Committee of the American School at Rome for the study of archæology, art, philology, literature, and history; Vice-President of the University Club of Philadelphia, and a Trustee of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.

UGH, CHARLES EDMUND (born in Unionville, Chester County, Pennsylvania), is the son of Elijah Pugh and Eliza Taylor, both of Welsh extraction and members of the Society of Friends. Mr. Pugh was educated at the State Normal School, Millersville, Pennsylvania, and at the age of nineteen entered the service of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company as agent at Newport, Perry County, Pennsylvania. Having chosen his vocation as a life work, he applied himself with singleness of purpose to the mastery of its details, and steadily rose step by step to advanced positions of trust and responsibility. In 1882, after having filled various subordinate and official positions, he was made General Manager of the Pennsylvania Railroad; March 1, 1893, he was made Third Vice-President; and February 10, 1897, he was made Second Vice-President, a position which he now holds. Mr. Pugh's recognized position of influence in railroad management has been reached from the lowest step in the ladder, through persistency, concentration, and executive force—characteristics which his present identification with the interests of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company thoroughly energize.

Frank Thomson

In 1894 he was married to Clara Jaggard, daughter of Clement Jaggard, Esq., of Altoona, Pa., by whom he has three children—Annie Jane, Clara Elizabeth, and Esther Clement.

THOMSON, FRANK, President of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, was born in Chambersburg, Pa., July 5, 1841. He is of Scotch ancestry. In 1771, Alexander Thomson sailed from Scotland and settled as a pioneer in the Cumberland Valley. Among his children was a son, Alexander, who, after winning distinction at the bar of his State, represented his district in Congress from 1824 to 1826. Returning to the practice of his profession, he became Judge of the Sixteenth Judicial District, and subsequently Professor of Law in Marshall College. Judge Thomson died in 1848, when his son Frank was only seven years old.

Frank Thomson received his rudimentary and classical education at the Chambersburg Academy, but he did not inherit the paternal taste for the law. With the foresight which has been one of the distinguishing characteristics of his life, he saw in the practical work of the railroad an attractive and promising field of action, and at seventeen years of age he entered the Altoona shops of the Pennsylvania Railroad for instruction. A four years' course of training in this great school of applied science graduated him a mechanical engineer, who could build a locomotive through every stage of the progress, from the crude iron to the finished engine on the rails, while it also fitted him to operate as engineman the product of his own skill. It required little time for Col. Thos. A. Scott, General Superintendent of the road, to detect in the young engineer evidences of unusual ability, and the outbreak of Civil War furnished the opportunity of testing his judgment. Colonel Scott had been appointed by President Lincoln Assistant Secretary of War, and placed in charge of all matters relating to the transportation of troops and supplies, and he called Frank Thomson to his aid as Chief Assistant. Mr. Thomson took the field immediately, the scene of his operations being the South and the upper Southwest, where he constructed railroads and bridges, repaired those which had been injured by the exigencies of war, and directed the transportation of troops and the forwarding of supplies to the front. The signal success of his efforts in this dangerous undertaking not only received fitting recognition from the War Department, but marked him as a railroad man of rare promise. At the conclusion of active hostilities in this territory he was relieved from military duty, and in June, 1864, was appointed Superintendent of the Eastern Division of the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad, which occupied his time until March, 1873. After this experi-

ence promotion came rapidly. In March, 1873, he was made Superintendent of Motive Power of the Pennsylvania Railroad at Altoona.

In this position the vast information and wide experience gained from his course in the shops was applied to the work of practical locomotive construction, and so was laid the foundation of the system which has since produced those celebrated locomotives known as the "Pennsylvania Railroad Standard Engine." On July 1, 1874, he relinquished this post to become General Manager of the Pennsylvania Railroad system east of Pittsburg and Erie. As General Manager he introduced a number of reforms in the management, administration, and maintenance of the road. The standard track and solid roadbed owe their existence to his efforts, and the system of track inspection and the award of prizes for the best sections of track were instituted by him. The adoption of a superior standard of equipment, the building of picturesque stations and the ornamentation of their grounds, and the use of the block-signal system and other safety appliances, were all distinctive features of his management. He was also instrumental in developing that high grade of discipline for which the Pennsylvania Railroad is noted.

On October 1, 1882, Mr. Thomson became Second Vice-President, and on October 27, 1888, was advanced to the post of First Vice-President, which he held until he was made President of the company after the death of President Roberts in 1897. During his incumbency of the Vice-Presidential offices Mr. Thomson was charged with the traffic arrangements of the system, both in the freight and passenger branches, and as administrative officer of the road and direct representative of the President was in a position to carry out to their fullest fruition the progressive reforms which he instituted as General Manager. His direct supervision of the traffic arrangements existing between the Pennsylvania Railroad and its connections kept him in close touch with all the railway interests of the country, and so makes him to-day one of the best informed, most experienced, and ablest of American railroad managers.

The social side of Mr. Thomson's life is quite as comprehensive as its business counterpart. He is a patron of art, literature, and music, and his handsome residence at "Corkerhill," near Merion Station, is enriched with many examples of artists in painting and sculpture, whose works are as valuable as they are rare. At this mansion, with the assistance of his daughter, Miss Anne Thomson, he dispenses a quiet but notable hospitality, to which his wide acquaintance, both in this country and abroad, has contributed the presence of many men and women eminent in the higher walks of life. His famous "cabin," located in his grounds, uniquely decorated with the spoils of the chase, is often the scene of quiet entertainments, while his finely appointed house is given over to the more elaborate social functions. The secret of Mr. Thomson's excellent health under the

heavy strain of his duties is found in his love of out-of-door sports. He is an ardent angler, a hunter of much merit, and generally selects for his holidays the season when he may indulge his taste for the fascination of the rod or gun. Mr. Thomson is a member of the Philadelphia Club, the Union Club of New York, and other prominent clubs in both cities.

Mr. Thomson is a widower, his wife, the daughter of the late Benjamin G. Clarke, of New York, having died in June, 1887. Miss Anne Thomson, the only daughter, a prominent figure in Philadelphia society, and Frank G. and Clarke Thomson, both students at Harvard, compose the family.

OOKE, JAY (born in Sandusky, Ohio, August 10, 1821), is the son of the Hon. Eleutheros Cooke, who was a leading lawyer of Sandusky, and a member of Congress from 1831 to 1833. Young Cooke entered the banking-house of E. W. Clark & Co., Philadelphia, in 1839. He quickly became that firm's confidential clerk, receiving a power of attorney to sign for them in all matters eighteen months before he became of age. On reaching his majority, August 10, 1842, he was admitted as a partner in the firm, of which he continued to be a member until January, 1858. Retiring temporarily from the banking business, he gave his time for three years to negotiating railway securities and building railways. During this period he negotiated the sale of the Pennsylvania State Canals. While he was of the firm of E. W. Clark & Co., they negotiated a large portion of the government loans to carry on the Mexican war, and this combined experience served to prepare Mr. Cooke for the far greater work of negotiating the loans required for prosecuting the war for the Union.

On January 1, 1861, Mr. Cooke resumed the banking business in Philadelphia with Mr. William G. Moorhead, under the firm name of Jay Cooke & Co., with branch houses under the same title subsequently established in New York and Washington, and a branch in London in connection with Hugh McCulloch, afterward Secretary of the Treasury, under the firm name of Jay Cooke, McCulloch & Co. This international banking business continued successfully until the general financial revulsion of 1873, which was the beginning of a period of general shrinkage and liquidation following the inflation of the war period. In the midst of these adverse general conditions, the immediate occasion of the suspension of the house of Jay Cooke & Co. was their attempt to carry too heavy a load in connection with the construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad, one of the most timely and beneficent commercial undertakings of the century. With but

brief delay Mr. Cooke, by a few years of activity along financial lines, completely restored his fortune.

Mr. Cooke's reputation and place in history rest more particularly upon his work of successfully negotiating the government war loans. At the outbreak of hostilities in 1861 the national treasury was empty, and the public credit so low that it could only borrow money at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum. The enormous demands of the war immediately dwarfed into insignificance all previous American experiences, and all ordinary instrumentalities in the way of raising money. The needs of the Treasury for military expenditure speedily reached one million dollars daily, and before the end came, with an army of a million men in the field, the demand reached the colossal volume of three million dollars every twenty-four hours. Each successive Secretary of the Treasury—Chase, Fessenden, McCulloch—first exhausted all known means for negotiating the war loans directly by the government and through the co-operation of the national banking system which had been devised largely as an aid to the government finances; but each in succession was compelled by failure to call Mr. Cooke to his side, and to him, as sole fiscal agent of the government, was intrusted the direct responsibility of providing the money for carrying forward to a victorious issue the greatest war of history.

All competent writers on the war for the Union, both American and foreign, agree that the signal and sustained ability with which the financial credit of the nation was built up and maintained in the midst of war, and with which the money-raising power of the people was stimulated, guided, and upheld, was not second as a factor in military success to the skill of generals and courage of troops in the field. General Grant expressed this common conviction when, at the close of the war, he sent from City Point to Mr. Cooke, with his thanks, the assurance that to his efforts the nation was largely indebted for the means that had rendered military success possible.

The loans negotiated by Mr. Cooke, chiefly through an enthusiastic, confident, persistent, and skillful appeal to the patriotism of the people, reached an aggregate of two thousand million dollars, and the compensation for this service, an average of three-eighths of one per cent., out of which came all expenses and commissions to sub-agents, left to the fiscal agent as a reward little besides the prestige and satisfaction of a great success in support of a noble cause.

CLARK, ENOCH W. (born in East Hampton, Mass., November 16, 1802, died in Philadelphia, August 3, 1856), was a descendant of Captain William Clarke, who came from England in 1630, and removed to the town of East Hampton in 1659. At the age of sixteen Mr. Clark came to Philadelphia and

entered, as an office boy, the financial house of S. & M. Allen, one of the leading banking houses of the period, having main offices in Philadelphia and New York, with branches in Charleston, Louisville, Albany, and other cities. His application and marked aptitude steadily advanced him in the confidence of the house, and when, in 1823, he reached his majority, through the influence of Solomon Allen, senior member of the firm, he was made a partner in a branch house established just at that period in Providence, R. I. Here he met with marked success. A few years later he started in business on his own account, but, being unfortunate, he, in 1833, removed to Boston, and again associated himself with the Allens. In 1836 the parent house failed, leaving him, after thirteen years of business experience, saddled with a load of debt, which took him seven years of hard work to discharge. In 1837 he removed to Philadelphia, and resumed the banking business in connection with his brother-in-law, Edward Dodge, the firm being E. W. Clark & Co. Seven years of close application enabled him to pay up his Boston obligations in full with interest.

In 1843 and 1844 he visited St. Louis and, in the latter year, established with his Philadelphia partners and his brothers, J. W. Clark and L. C. Clark, then in business together in Boston, the house of E. W. Clark & Bros., in that city. From there he went to New Orleans, and with the same parties and Mr. George W. Farnum, of Philadelphia, established the house of E. W. Clark, Bros. & Farnum. In 1847 the different houses united in forming the house of E. W. Clark, Dodge & Co., in New York. Thus, until his death in 1856, his houses occupied the most important business centers, and their transactions were on a very large scale.

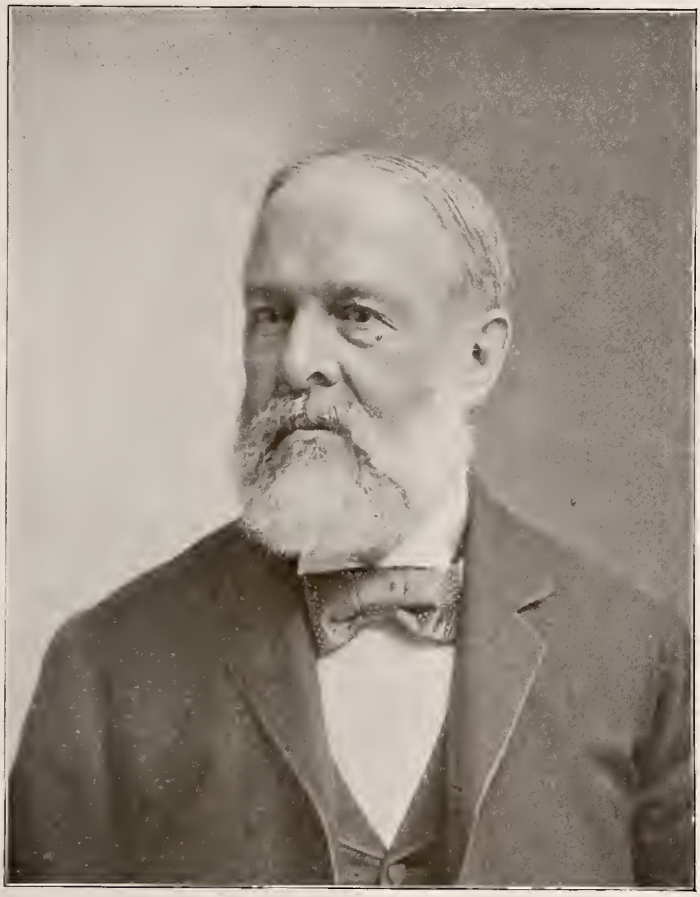
Mr. Clark's achievements in banking were made during a period of which the younger generation of financiers has little knowledge. The business of bankers was largely the buying and converting into available funds the issues of State banks all over the country, in collecting out-of-town notes and drafts, and in buying and selling gold and silver during periods of suspension of specie payments. Private banking houses throughout the country usually transacted their business in other cities through private bankers, and not, as at present, through banks, and these out-of-town accounts formed an important part of the business of eastern bankers. The National Banking system has simplified the exchange business throughout the country since the war of the Rebellion, and entirely changed the conditions that existed in the time of State banks, and before the wide extension of railroads throughout the south and west.

E. W. Clark & Co. and their associated houses were for many years leading operators in this domestic exchange business throughout the country, and their transactions were very large. In the years intervening between 1844 and his death in 1856, Mr. Clark amassed a considerable fortune. Jay Cooke became a partner in the house about

1844, after being for some time a clerk, and Mr. Clark's son, Edward W., was admitted in 1849, and Clarence H. in 1854. Mr. Clark himself withdrew from the really active management of the house about 1850, and died in August, 1856, after suffering for a year from an attack of a painful disease, having its origin in nicotine poisoning.

CLARK, EDWARD W., banker, of Philadelphia, the oldest son of Enoch W. Clark and his wife Sarah C. (Dodge) Clark, was born in Providence, R. I., January 28, 1828, and came with his parents to Philadelphia in January, 1837. He is the head of the firm of E. W. Clark & Co., which was first organized in January, 1837, by his father (whose biography is given in a preceding sketch), and his uncle on his mother's side, Edward Dodge. He received his education principally at the Central High School of Philadelphia, and entered the banking house as office boy in 1844. In 1849 he became a member of the firm, which, at that time, included Mr. Jay Cooke, whose biography also appears in this work.

As stated in the sketch of his father, the firm was dissolved on December 31, 1857, but it was immediately reorganized January 1, 1858, under the same name, the following gentlemen being the partners: Edward W. Clark, his brother Clarence H. Clark, F. S. Kimball, and H. H. Wainwright. Mr. Clark was elected President of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company late in the year 1867, an action which exhibited the thorough confidence of the directors in his financial ability. He retained his interest in the banking house until 1877, when he was made a Receiver of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company. The responsibilities of that position, added to those of the Presidency of the Lehigh Coal & Navigation Company, compelled his withdrawal from the firm. Having succeeded in winding up the Receivership in the latter part of 1881, and contemplating an early resignation from official connection with the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, Mr. Clark re-entered the firm of E. W. Clark & Co. on January 1, 1882. The house was reorganized at that time (C. H. Clark and F. S. Kimball retiring), still under the old name, by which it had been honorably known for nearly half a century, with the following gentlemen as partners: Edward W. Clark, Sabin W. Colton, Jr., Edward W. Clark, Jr., J. Milton Colton, Edward E. Denniston, and H. M. Sill. Clarence H. Clark, Jr., became a partner on January 1, 1884. Mr. Clark's career, while not as conspicuous as that of some others, has been in many respects a remarkable one. He has been in the banking business since 1844, excepting the five years from 1877 to 1882, and most of that time as senior and head of the firm of E. W. Clark & Co. He has been a Director of the Fidelity Insurance, Trust & Safe Deposit Company since its organization, and of the First



Yours truly
E. C. Clark

Richard Yates

National Bank for many years, also of many railroad, coal, and other companies. The firm had large dealings in Government securities during the war period. It is sufficient for the purpose of this sketch to say that in these securities the firm did more than any other house in Philadelphia, excepting Messrs. Jay Cooke & Co., and materially helped to maintain the Federal credit during the critical war times.

Mr. Clark politically was an advanced and early Republican in principle, even before the party was formed; a stanch supporter of the Union cause, and a constant adherent of the party during the later periods of its history. He takes a warm interest in public affairs, and is always ready to aid all measures for improvement, whether moral, municipal, or political, but seldom appears conspicuously in such movements, preferring to do his share in the work quietly and unobtrusively. Indeed, the force which Mr. Clark has exerted in all affairs, both public and private, has always been of the quiet, but none the less effective kind. He is known among his friends as a thoughtful, conservative man of high character, strict integrity, sound judgment, even temperament, and with steadfastness of purpose in whatever he undertakes.

Mr. Clark was married July 19, 1855, to Mary T. Sill, of an old Philadelphia family. They have six children, of whom three sons are associated in business with their father.

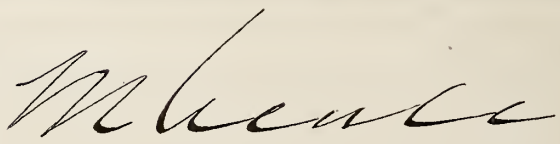
AUX, RICHARD (born in Philadelphia, December 19, 1816, died March 22, 1895), was the son of Roberts Vaux and Margaret Wistar Vaux, and came of old Quaker stock. Born in affluence, he received excellent educational advantages, and was early trained to the law, being admitted to the Philadelphia bar in April, 1837, a few months before he reached the legal age. Immediately upon his admission to the bar he was sent to London as a bearer of dispatches to the American Minister, the Honorable Andrew Stevenson. On his arrival he was made a member of the legation. After a short term of service he resigned, to visit the continent of Europe, returning to his native city in 1839. Upon his return, being in affluent circumstances and relieved from the drudgery of early practice, he threw himself with the ardor of a strong temperament into political life, attaching himself, however, to the party of the minority, with but little promise of immediate success. In 1841 he became Recorder of the city, serving without compensation for a period of seven years. The functions of the office were those of a Committing Magistrate in important cases. His decisions, showing thus early conscientious care and clear perception of the principles of law

underlying mere precedents, are recorded in Vaux's Decisions, among the reports of the Recorder's Court.

In 1856, after consolidation, he was elected Mayor of the city of Philadelphia, having been, twice before, while the city was confined within its original and narrow limits, an unsuccessful candidate for its chief executive office. As Mayor he thought out and epitomized the organic municipal law which in later years was adopted. The resolution, introduced into Common Council in 1862, which led to the preparation of the draft of the Act of 1865 and its final adoption, was drawn by Mr. Vaux. He served as Mayor for two years, and lived to see his views there advocated in his speeches and writings incorporated in the present charter of his native city. Very late in life he served in Congress, during the session of 1890-91, representing the district of which Samuel J. Randall was so long the representative.

His political life, however, embraces only a part of his public services. For fifty-three years he was Inspector of the Eastern State Penitentiary—from 1842 until his death. The system of prison punishment and reformation instituted in this penitentiary by Mr. Vaux's father—that of separate confinement and punishment—was strictly carried out by Mr. Vaux, and though at first denounced as inhuman, has since been copied throughout the entire world. During his long connection with the penitentiary as Inspector, Mr. Vaux wrote more voluminously on the subject of prison management than was the case before or since with any other writer. He was also a member of the Board of Directors of Girard College from 1858 to 1866, and for some time during these years President of the Board, and from 1884 until his death; and was one of the few who originated the system of training the boys in this college to manual employment, against even the most adverse criticism and opposition. His position in the fraternal institution, the Order of Free Masons, was conspicuous and distinguished, and in 1867 and 1868 he was elected Right Worshipful Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, a position of influence in thought and character co-extensive with the jurisdiction of the fraternity.

He was a member of the American Bar Association, and served upon their committees; of the Bar Association of Pennsylvania, and of the Law Association. He was a man of fine presence, and, in his appearance before the courts, of graceful and forcible oratory. The minute adopted at a meeting of the Philadelphia Bar, held in the Supreme Court Room, Philadelphia, in memory of Mr. Vaux, March 26, 1895, closes as follows: "His manly simplicity and transparent ingenuousness of manner were the unerring index of his sterling integrity and lofty sense of honor; and his open countenance and calm outlook showed plainly the straightforwardness and purity of character of his inward soul. In the course of a somewhat protracted life he has filled with honor to himself and profit to the public many con-



spicuous official positions and discharged multifarious civic duties. And he has passed away, universally respected and beloved, and followed to his resting place with the approval and regret of all good citizens."

EALE, COLONEL MOSES (born near Bridgeton, N. J., November 9, 1832), is the son of Moses Veale and Elizabeth Sharpe, and comes from a distinguished line of ancestors. His great-grandfather, Nehemiah Veale, settled near Bridgeton in 1700. His great-great-grandfather, Walter Veale, was Rector of Idysligh, North Devon, England, in 1691. His mother's family, the Sharpes, settled at Salem, N. J., in 1675. That section of South Jersey was at that time called the District of Fairfax, and a great uncle of his mother was appointed Judge of the district by King George I. of England. His maternal grandfather was a patriot soldier and non-commissioned officer, who made a gallant record in the charge at Lundy's Lane under Gen. Winfield Scott, in the War of 1812.

Colonel Moses Veale was educated in the Quaker seminary in Philadelphia, and, afterward, taught as an instructor in the institution for three years. He then read law for the required period, and was admitted to practice in the courts of Philadelphia and the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. When, in 1861, President Abraham Lincoln called for troops for three years' service, the young lawyer volunteered and was selected, November 8, as Second Lieutenant of Company F, One Hundred and Ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, known as "The Curtin Light Guard." He soon attracted the attention of his higher officers, and in the spring and summer of 1862 he was selected to act upon the staff of Gen. C. C. Augur as Assistant Provost Marshal. Later he was detailed to perform duty upon the staff of Gen. John W. Geary, commanding a division, as Assistant Commissary of Musters and Aide-de-Camp, where he received rapid promotion. He was commissioned as Captain April 4, 1863, and as Major, May 4, 1864. He was breveted as Colonel January 16, 1865, for gallant and meritorious services at the battles of Cedar Mountain, Va.; Antietam, Md.; Chancellorsville, Va.; Gettysburg, Pa.; Wauhatchie and Lookout Mountain, Tenn.; Missionary Ridge, Ringgold, Resaca, New Hope Church, Pine Knob, and Savannah, Ga., and Sherman's Campaign, North, through the Carolinas in 1865. He was discharged by a special order of the War Department June 8, 1865.

Colonel Veale's services were of the most creditable character. He mustered into the service the first volunteer regiment that re-enlisted, the Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania Infantry, in December, 1864, the first

"Veteran" regiment, as it was designated, in the United States. General Geary spoke of him as "The Bravest of the Brave." Gen. John H. Kane said "He showed much gallantry in action." Gen. Joseph Hooker, commanding the Army of the Potomac, and later, the Twentieth Army Corps, under Sherman in Georgia, used this language in commendation of Moses Veale: "It gives me great pleasure to state, for the information of all concerned, that I knew Major Moses Veale well during the late war, and that I regard his services on the staff of General Geary as being the most able and distinguished of all his officers, among whom were many of brilliant reputations and prominent standing." Colonel Veale was slightly wounded in an arm and in the groin at the battle of Cedar Mountain, Va. He was taken prisoner and held as a hostage in Libby Prison, under retaliatory orders of Jefferson Davis, until September 30, 1862, when he was exchanged and immediately returned to his command. He was wounded in the midnight battle of Wauhatchie, Tenn., by a ball passing through his right shoulder. At the battle of Kenesaw Mountain, Ga., he was shot through the right lung, the ball passing entirely through his body. His horse was shot from under him and was mortally wounded. Upon the recommendation and personal request of Maj.-Gen. Henry W. Slocum, commanding the Army of Georgia, under General Sherman on the "March to the Sea," afterward through the Carolinas, and previously at two different times, in Virginia and Pennsylvania, and later in Georgia, commanding the corps in which Veale served, Colonel Veale was given by the Secretary of War a medal of honor with this inscription: "The Congress to Major Moses Veale, One Hundredth and Ninth Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers, for gallantry in action at Wauhatchie, Tenn., October 28, 1863." When General Geary, with his White Star Division, entered the City of Savannah in December, 1864, close upon the heels of the retreating enemy, and before the general in command of the Union Army knew it, Major Veale was ordered with 400 troops to proceed to Fort Jackson, four miles below, on the Savannah river. He occupied it and Fort Barlow, and captured sixty heavy guns in both, and the lines connecting them, and put out the fire which the retreating troops had applied to them. Among a number of special orders in which Colonel Veale is mentioned in commendation by Major-Gen. John W. Geary, commanding the Second Division, Twelfth, and later Twentieth, Army Corps, in the Army of the Potomac, the Army of the Cumberland, and the Army of Georgia, are the following valuable services: In the Gettysburg campaign; in the reopening of the Tennessee river; in the battle of Mill Creek Gap, Ga.; in the summing up of the Atlanta campaign, its various actions in some instances being named; in the siege of Savannah, where he crossed the Savannah river in a boat, alone, to Hutchinson's Island, from which he walked and reconnoitred the entire length of the enemy's position,

Very truly yours
Nathaniel Sanderson

and returned safely, bringing valuable information; and after the capture of the city.

Colonel Veale was commissioned by the President, after the war, as the United States Attorney for the Territory of Montana; later, he served as Clerk of Indian Affairs, and on January 8, 1868, was appointed Adjutant-General of that territory, with the rank of Brigadier-General. He returned to Philadelphia in the fall of 1876. Since his return he has been nominated by the Democratic party for State Senator and Recorder of Deeds. On both occasions he ran ahead of his party ticket; in the latter instance he was 8,000 votes ahead of his general ticket. In 1884 he was appointed by Gov. Robert E. Pattison as Health Officer of Philadelphia, and, again in 1891, Governor Pattison reappointed him to the same office.

He is a member of St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal Church, being a Vestryman, and has for some years past been the Superintendent of its Sabbath school. He is a member of the Penn Club, and, for a great many years, he has been a member of Post No. 2—a post conspicuous among the organizations in the Grand Army of the Republic for the many professional men in its membership. The post regards Mr. Veale as its "silver-tongued orator," and has never in its history gone outside of its own organization to secure its Memorial Day orators. He is a member of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion and of the Union Veteran Legion, and is a comrade of the Medal of Honor Legion, composed of soldiers and sailors who were honored by the bestowal of medals of honor by Congress or by the Secretary of War. Among other associations and boards to which he belongs are the State Quarantine Board, of which he was President; the State Sanitary Association, of which he was its first Vice-President, and the Pennsylvania Society for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, of which he is Vice-President, and a member of its Board of Directors.

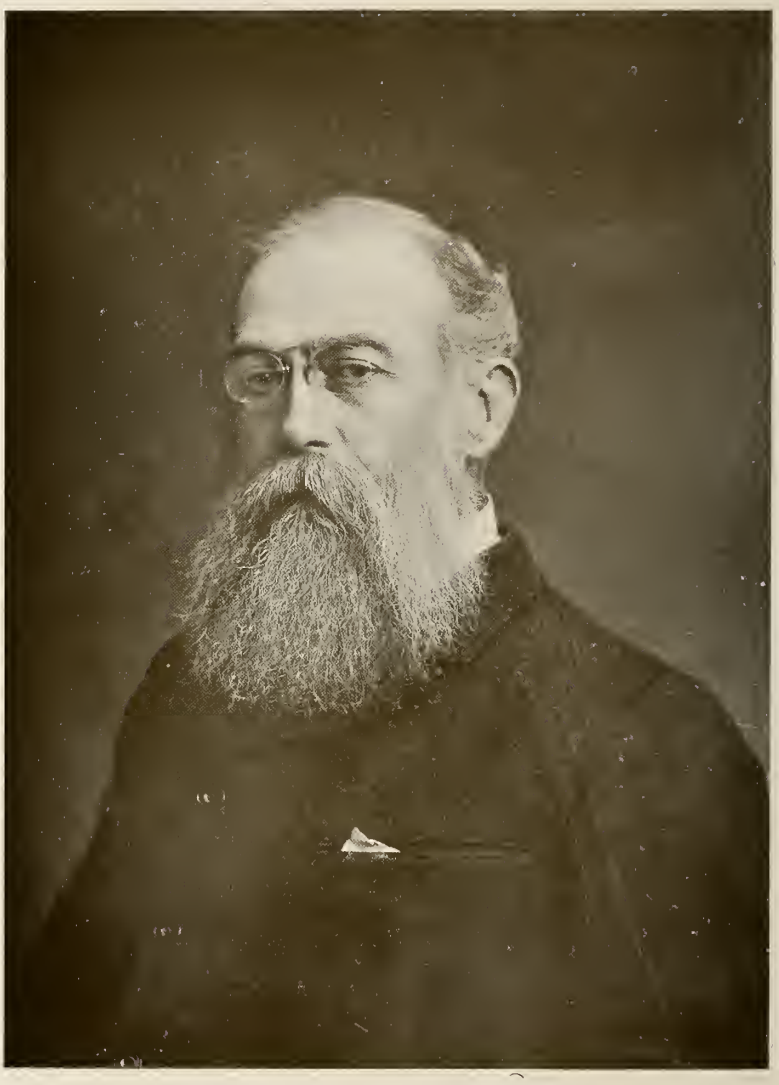
Colonel Veale married the daughter of William McDonald and Elizabeth Wynne. Her great-great-grandfather on the McDonald side belonged to the Free Quakers of Revolutionary times. On the mother's side her great-great-grandfather, Thomas Wynne, was a distinguished surgeon, who came to America in 1682 with William Penn.

PAULDING, TATTNALL (born in Huntington, N. Y., July 5, 1840), is the son of Hiram Paulding and Ann M. Kellogg, and is of conspicuous Revolutionary ancestry. His grandfather, John Paulding (born in New York in 1758, died in Staatsburg, N. Y., in 1818), entered the army at the opening of the Revolution, was captured three times by the British, served till its close, and was one of the three captors, September 23, 1780, of Major

John André, on the latter's return from a meeting with the traitor Benedict Arnold. Indignantly refusing any price they might name, offered by Arnold for his liberation, they delivered him to the American post at North Castle, neither claiming a reward nor leaving their names. An annuity of $200 was subsequently granted by Congress. His remains lie in the churchyard of St. Peters, near Peekskill, N. Y. In 1827 the City of New York placed a monument over his grave.

His father, Hiram Paulding (born in Westchester County, N. Y., Dec. 11, 1797, died October 11, 1878), was a distinguished naval officer, entering the navy in 1811 and subsequently rising to the rank of Rear Admiral. He was conspicuous in the battle of Lake Champlain, and received a sword and thanks of Congress; served in the Algerian war; was in command of the Shark, the Levant, the Vincennes, and the St. Lawrence during the period from 1820 to 1850; had charge of the Navy Yard at Washington, D. C., in 1853-6, and of the home squadron 1856-8; was Assistant to the Secretary of the Navy in 1861, and from 1861 to the end of the war commanded the Navy Yard at New York; was retired as Rear Admiral in 1872. He was Governor of the Naval Home at Philadelphia in 1866, and Port-Admiral of Boston in 1869.

Tattnall Paulding was educated at public schools, supplemented by an academic course at Ashland Hall, Montclair, N. J., and at Rittenhouse Academy, Washington, D. C. He served as Secretary to his father when in command of the West India Squadron, and was afterward Secretary of the Union India Rubber Co. of New York. The Civil War breaking out, the patriotic spirit of the young man, so conspicuous in his father and grandfather, called him to his country's service. In April, 1861, a few months before reaching his majority, he went to the front with the famous Seventh New York Regiment, and on May 14, 1861, was commissioned by President Lincoln as a Lieutenant in the Sixth United States Cavalry, and participated in most of the cavalry battles of the Army of the Potomac within the period from July, 1861, to May, 1864; and was a prisoner of war in Libby Prison. He was promoted to a Captaincy in the Sixth United States Cavalry, and later breveted Lieutenant-Colonel in the United States Army for meritorious and distinguished service during the war. Returning to civil life, Mr. Paulding became largely interested in insurance, and in 1890 was elected President of the Delaware Insurance Co., one of the oldest and most prominent Fire and Marine Insurance Companies of Philadelphia, of which he is still the executive head. He is also a manager of the Savings Fund Society of Germantown, Penn Mutual Life Insurance Co. of Philadelphia, a Director in the Mercantile Beneficial Association and the National Bank of Commerce, and a member of the Union League Club, and the Germantown Cricket Club. In 1895 he was appointed by Governor Hastings as a member of the State Valley Forge Commission. Politically



Jno. F. Crafts
(Craftsbeard)

Mr. Paulding is allied with the Republican party, and his church connections are Episcopalian.

In 1872 he was married to Hannah S. Huddell, and has two children living—John Tattnall and Caroline White.

GRAFF, JOHN FRANKLIN, was born in Limerick Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, December 23, 1828, and was educated in the common schools of that district. His great-grandfather, who came to this country from Hanover, Germany, in 1742, was a personal friend of Rev. Dr. Henry Muhlenberg, and was also a Lutheran minister of the gospel. His grandfather, John Graff, who settled at Trappe, Pa., was married in 1790 to Ruth Hoven Evans, a widow whose former husband was Captain Evans, an officer in the War of the Revolution. His father, Samuel Harris Graff, was born in 1794 and died in 1872; he was a soldier in the War of 1812, having entered the army a volunteer at the age of eighteen. The mother of Mr. Graff, Catherine Koons (born in 1792 and died in 1830), was a grand-daughter of George Michael Koons, who emigrated to America from Germany in 1727, and became the ancestor of a numerous family, including several leading merchants in Philadelphia and men of prominence in business and professional life in Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Michigan, and other Western States.

At the age of fifteen Mr. Graff removed to Philadelphia, and for thirteen years divided his time between the exacting duties of mercantile life and a course of systematic study, embracing among other subjects, medicine, theology, and art. During these years he was a prolific contributor of articles for publication, and delivered several courses of popular lectures in this and other States, chiefly on humanitarian topics. At the age of twenty-eight he entered journalism, and was continuously associated with the Philadelphia *Press* from the date of its first issue, August 1, 1857, for a quarter of a century, writing, in addition to much other matter, numerous letters and articles under the *nom de plume* of "Graybeard." Probably the most important of these were his Saturday articles, running through more than two years, intended as a concise and original commentary upon the Bible as the inspired Word of God. These studies were subsequently published in a handsome volume entitled "Graybeard's Lay Sermons." The book has been widely read throughout this country and England, received high commendation from eminent ecclesiastical authorities in every branch of the Christian Church both at home and abroad, and is to-day a welcome and acknowledged help to Christian ministers of all denominations.

Mr. Graff married Elizabeth Jane Long (daughter of Thomas and

Martha MacLean Long, of Wilkesbarre, Pa.), January 28, 1869, and the same year made an extended tour with his wife through parts of Europe, writing a series of letters for publication while on the journey. Since then, his travels in America, and descriptive letters, have included three distinct tours to the Pacific Coast, covering each of the transcontinental railroads, his "Letters from Colorado" having since been republished in book form.

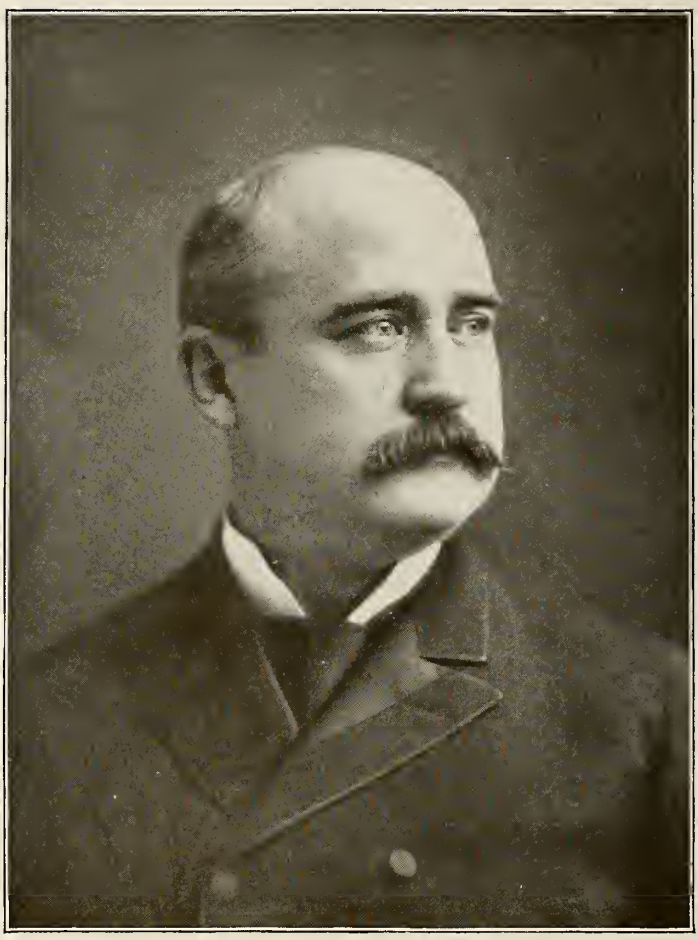
He has four children, all living—Samuel MacLean Graff, married, with two children, a resident of Alaska; Martha Matilda Graff, Mary Forney Graff, and John F. Graff, Jr.

WOODSIDE, W. JOHN (born in Penn Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, November 21, 1838), is the son of William Stewart Woodside and Caroline T. Crosby, and is a descendant of Archibald Woodside, who emigrated from Ballymena, Ireland, in 1728, and settled in Chester County, Pa. This ancestor was a soldier in the Pennsylvania line. A brother, James Woodside, was the first white settler in Clearfield County, Pa. The centennial of this event was celebrated at Lewisburg, Pa., in August, 1886, when a monument was dedicated to his memory. Another brother, John Woodside, was the first settler in Northumberland County, Pa., on the site where Danville now stands. He was scalped by the Indians and left for dead, but recovered and lived to a ripe old age.

Mr. Woodside was educated at New London Academy in Chester County, where the foundations of a thorough practical education were laid and subsequently broadened by three years' teaching in the schools of the vicinity. Turning his attention to a more active business career he became in 1865 one of the organizers of the firm of A. Ralph & Co. This was dissolved February 1, 1897, by the death of Mr. Robert Stewart, and the Stewart-Ralph Snuff Company was organized, with Mr. Woodside as vice-president. He is also President of the American Chemical Company, the Woodside Manufacturing Company of Oxford, Pa., and the Carroll Chainless Cycle Company, of Philadelphia, and has long been an active member of the Union League.

Mr. Woodside has not only attained prominence and success in his own line of business, but wields an influence that has affected the widest circles of business interests. In 1888 he was appointed the Commissioner for Pennsylvania to the Centennial celebration of the inauguration of Washington in New York in 1889. In 1890 he was appointed by President Harrison one of the members of the World's Columbian Commission for a term of six years. He served in this Commission as Chairman of the Committee on World Congresses, and

John W. Woodside



Edmund S. Stuart

from 1893 was in charge of preparing medals of award and diplomas. His special abilities were recognized by President Cleveland, and in 1894 he was appointed on the Assay Commission of the Mints.

Mr. Woodside is a citizen of public spirit, and much interested in the history of the development of our National, State, and Municipal institutions, and has been active in the work of celebrating with appropriate ceremonies events of memorable importance. He was an intimate friend and earnest co-worker with the late Colonel Jesse E. Peyton of New Jersey, and did much to promote the success of those great civic gatherings of the people of the Union which have made Philadelphia famous for hospitality and patriotism. Mr. Woodside is a student of history and literature; possesses the pen of a ready writer, and is a poet of no slight ability.

In 1863 Mr. Woodside was married to Annie M. Dare (died June 6, 1869), daughter of Dr. George T. Dare, by whom he has one son living, George Dare Woodside, a graduate of Lafayette College (1884). The family of Dare, of which Annie M. Dare was seventh in line of descent, dates back to Captain William Dare, who built the Blue Anchor Tavern in Philadelphia in 1682. The direct line to Annie M. Dare is as follows: Captain William [1]; Benoni [2]; Elkana [3]; Benoni (2) [4]; Rev. Elkana Kelsey [5]; Dr. George T. [6]; Anna M. Dare. [7] Mr. Woodside was married the second time November 21, 1871, to Josephine Jefferis, of Chester County.

STUART, EDWIN SYDNEY (born in Philadelphia, December 28, 1853), is the son of Hugh Stuart, of Scotch-Irish ancestry, who came to this country when a child, from the north of Ireland, and subsequently engaged in the manufacture and sale of furniture. Edwin S. Stuart was the first son of a second marriage. He was educated in the public schools of Philadelphia, and at fourteen years of age was engaged as errand-boy in Leary's old bookstore, one of the old landmarks of Philadelphia, and noted as a point of attraction for the literary celebrities of the past. Here young Stuart rapidly rose through the gradations of clerkship until Mr. Leary's death, in 1874, when he managed the business for two years for the benefit of the estate. In 1876 he purchased the business, and since has conducted it with increasing prosperity and success. The establishment, now removed to No. 9 South Ninth street, occupies over eleven thousand square feet of floor space, with three thousand square feet of shelving. This remarkable store carries between two and three hundred thousand volumes in stock, which consists especially of rare and curious books. It is the largest establishment of the kind in the United States, and one of the largest in the

world. In connection with the house a few works are published, the most important of which are Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia," in three volumes. It is a standard work and an authority upon the early history of Philadelphia.

In 1880, Mr. Stuart was elected Treasurer of the Young Republican Club, and in 1882 its President, the club achieving a great success and widespread influence under his presidency. He was a delegate to the National Conventions of Republican League Clubs held in New York in December, 1887, and in Baltimore in March, 1889; and was elected President of the Pennsylvania State League of Republican Clubs at the Lancaster Convention in April, 1888. He was an elector on the Blaine and Logan ticket in 1884, has frequently served as a delegate to State and City Conventions, and was Chairman of the Convention which first nominated Charles F. Warwick for City Solicitor. In 1886 he was nominated for Select Council by the Republicans of the Twenty-sixth Ward, and was elected by a large majority, and he was re-elected in 1889. After the adoption of the new charter in 1886, an earnest effort was made to nominate Mr. Stuart for Mayor, but his consent could not be obtained. Four years later, in 1890, he was made the candidate of the party, and elected by the largest majority ever given for Mayor. He was inaugurated April 1, 1891, twenty-four years after he began life as an errand boy. His official career was marked by an earnest spirit of reform and an undeviating effort to advance the interests of the city. The City of Philadelphia during his incumbency made magnificent strides, notwithstanding his administration was crippled at the outset by a defaulting City Treasurer, and important reform measures were carried through against great opposition. At the expiration of his term Mayor Stuart retired with the respect of the people of Philadelphia. As he is still a young man, it is not improbable that greater honors await him.

Mr. Stuart is a member of the Union League and the Stylus and other clubs. Socially he is one of the most popular men in Philadelphia. He is unmarried.

BOWMAN, COLONEL WENDELL PHILLIPS (born in Byberry, now 23d ward, Philadelphia, October 31, 1847), is the son of Henry Bowman and Grace Bartine. He is of English ancestry, and in the fourth generation from the first American ancestor, Roger Bowman, born March 10, 1732, who, smarting under the persecutions of the Established Church, left Derbyshire, England, in 1754, and, seeking the religious freedom of early colonial life, settled in Philadelphia. Here he was a prominent and

Wendell Phillips Bowman

highly respected member of the Society of Friends. Engaging first in mercantile pursuits, he established himself in Second street, near Market. He married, in 1763, Margaret, daughter of John and Elizabeth Johnson, and subsequently purchased a large tract of land in Merion Township, Montgomery County, where he erected a handsome residence, subsequently called "Juniper Bank"—a part of which still remains, surrounded by trees planted by members of the family. He died in 1821. The old mansion was only a short distance from the Merion Friends Meeting-house, erected in 1694, and was famous for the hospitality dispensed to prominent preachers and representative Friends. Henry, the only child of Roger, born June 10, 1764. who was also a merchant and carried on the tanning business, married Tabitha, daughter of John Rowland, one of the oldest and most prominent families of the State of Delaware. He removed with his bride to the old family mansion, and resided there until his death from cholera in the epidemic of 1832. His son John, who married Annie, daughter of John Comly, a distinguished Quaker preacher and author, succeeded to the mansion, his younger brother, Henry, Jr., after leaving boarding-school, also residing there with him. The younger brother soon after married Grace, daughter of David W. Bartine, one of the associate justices of Bucks County, and brother of the Rev. Dr. Bartine, a celebrated Methodist divine and orator. He lived on his farm at Byberry until his death, August 12, 1870. He was a man of high repute and influence, a stanch temperance advocate and patriot, and one of the original Abolitionists of the period. He named his second son Wendell Phillips, after the renowned champion of the abolition cause.

Wendell Phillips Bowman passed his boyhood at Byberry, under the prestige of a distinguished ancestry, and the strong and characteristic environments of the parental roof. He was educated at the Benjamin Rush school, Byberry, and at the Byberry Friends' school. He remained at the homestead, "Cream Ridge," until the breaking out of the Civil War. The beginning of hostilities between the North and the South made a strong impression upon his boyish enthusiasm, and, though too small to enlist, he joined the Byberry Home Guards as drummer-boy. When the rebel forces invaded Pennsylvania and were marching on Gettysburg, his pronounced martial spirit could no longer be restrained, and Captain William Babe, who was recruiting Company C of the 44th Regiment, yielded to his importunities and accepted him as a private, at the age of fifteen. After serving through the Gettysburg emergency, in the Cumberland valley and on the upper Potomac, he joined Company K of the 197th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, serving in the military division of Gen. P. H. Sheridan. He was subsequently transferred to the West and the Mississippi River, when his term of enlistment expired. Re-enlisting, he was soon overtaken by a complication of severe

maladies incident to exposure, which finally compelled his retirement from the service. From the results of this sickness he was unable to walk without crutches from the time of leaving the army until 1874.

While on crutches, he vigorously prepared himself for and entered upon the study of the law, under the tuition of George H. Earle and Richard P. White, of Philadelphia, and was admitted to the Philadelphia bar in June, 1872. At the bar he was successful from the start, and soon took a prominent position in the profession.

In 1877, at the time of the Pittsburg riots, the military skill of Colonel Bowman was called into requisition for the preservation of law and order in the State. Chosen as an officer of the 20th Volunteer Regiment, in a little over thirty hours the regiment was recruited, organized, and dispatched to Pittsburg. Transferred to Scranton to restore order there, he was detailed as adjutant of the regiment and sent to Philadelphia to enlist one hundred picked men for the command. He enrolled four hundred, selected from them the one hundred men required, and reported to his regiment within forty eight hours, with every man fully armed and equipped for service in the field.

In 1878 Mr. Bowman became captain of the Veteran Company H of the First Regiment of Infantry N. G. P. In November, 1879, he was promoted to major; in October, 1885, he was advanced to lieutenant-colonel, and in August, 1887, to colonel. The splendid armory of the regiment was built during his connection with the regiment.

Colonel Bowman is a member of the George G. Meade Post, No. 1, G. A. R., but has steadfastly declined all honors therewith. He has served as Judge Advocate General of the Department of Pennsylvania, and delivered for the post the Decoration Day orations for several years, as well as for other posts throughout the State.

An active Republican, earnest and hardworking, his services have been on the stump and in practical work of party organization. He has participated, except when prevented by sickness, in every important political campaign, and has been in wide demand in his own and in other States. He has never aspired to political office, and has always discouraged his friends anxious to place his name before political conventions.

Mr. Bowman has been progressively identified with public movements and institutions. He is a member of the Union League, and for several years has been a school director.

He was married, April 17, 1876, to Lizzie W. Malcolm, daughter of Rev. Thomas Shields Malcolm, a Baptist divine and writer, prominent for many years in Philadelphia. Mrs. Bowman's grandfather, the Rev. Howard Malcolm, D.D., LL.D., was President of Georgetown College, Kentucky, from 1839 to 1849; President of the University of Lewisburg from 1851 to 1858, and President of the Hahnemann

Thomas Fitzgerald

Medical College of Philadelphia at the time of his death. Her mother was a Miss Van Dyke, of Princeton, N. J., whose uncle, Dr. James Carnahan, was President of Princeton College for forty years.

Mr. Bowman's summer residence is "The Elms," on a part of the old homestead at Merion, Montgomery County, which has been in the family since 1798.

FITZGERALD, COLONEL THOMAS, journalist, dramatist, and art critic, was born in New York City, December 22, 1819, and died in London, England, June 25, 1891. The Fitzgerald family is descended from the Geraldines of Ireland, and Colonel Fitzgerald was himself a warm friend of the late Duke of Leinster. He early chose a journalistic career, first as assistant editor on the New Brunswick *Fredonian*, and soon afterward forming a connection with the New York *Commercial Advertiser*. At the age of twenty he visited Florida, and for a while was connected with the *Floridian*, of Tallahassee, Florida. In 1844 he removed to Philadelphia and pursued his journalistic vocation in connection with the *Bulletin* and other journals for some years. His training now had been varied and thorough, and he was ready and anxious for independent enterprise. In 1847 he established *The Item*, at first as a weekly, but its success was so continuous that, in 1852, he turned it into a daily. The enterprise, successful at the start, has since grown to colossal proportions. Long before Colonel Fitzgerald's death he was recognized as one of Philadelphia's most popular and successful journalists.

Colonel's Fitzgerald's popular recognition as a dramatic writer was first established in 1868, when his first drama, "Light at Last," achieved a brilliant success, with Mrs. John Drew as the heroine. It had a run in New York, Boston, Chicago, and other principal cities. Other productions were "Wolves at Bay," "Tangle Threads," "Patrice" (for Miss Laura Keene), "Perils of the Night," etc. It is notable that, while Controller of the public schools of Philadelphia, he was the first to advocate and introduce music into the order of school exercises. His pamphlet at this time, "Music in Our Public Schools," achieved a wide popularity, and parts of it were republished in foreign journals. The London *Telegraph* recognized it as "one of the most thoroughly practical and valuable publications on the subject that had ever appeared."

As an after-dinner speaker, Colonel Fitzgerald achieved a wide reputation, and as an extemporaneous speaker and brilliant orator he received the highest praise from the Honorable Charles Sumner. He stumped the State of Pennsylvania twice for Mr. Lincoln, with John W. Forney, who was an enthusiastic admirer of his ability as an ora-

tor. Both Mr. Lincoln and his Secretary of War, Stanton, were his warm personal friends.

In 1890, Colonel Fitzgerald retired from business, transferring *The Item* to his sons, Riter, Harrington, and Hildebrand. Riter became the dramatic, musical, and art critic; Harrington the managing editor, and Hildebrand the business manager. Under their skillful management *The Item* has become one of the most valuable publications in America.

Colonel Fitzgerald's death occured while on a trip through Europe, suddenly, from an attack of influenza. He was accompanied by his son Riter. His body was brought home and buried in Mount Moriah Cemetery beside his wife. Colonel Fitzgerald made many public and private bequests, in the latter taking special pains to escape the public eye. He presented to the Academy of Fine Arts Bisbing's celebrated picture "Dans la Prairie," which was awarded a medal in the Paris Salon. His large and valuable collection of paintings was left to the Academy, to be placed in the special gallery known as the "Fitzgerald Collection," but the Academy lacked the room for them.

In 1844 Colonel Fitzgerald was married to Sarah Levering Riter, daughter of Dr. George W. Riter, and a descendant of the celebrated Levering family. His surviving children are Riter, Harrington, Hildebrand, and Maude.

WINDRIM, JAMES HAMILTON (born in Philadelphia, July 4, 1840), is the son of James Windrim and Catharine Hamilton, and is of Scotch-Irish descent. He was educated at Girard College, Philadelphia, and subsequently studied in the office of John Notman, architect, where he received a thorough preparatory training for his future professional career. He has devoted himself continuously to his profession as an architect, with signal success, for the last thirty years. In 1890 he was appointed to the position of Supervising Architect of the United States Treasury Department by Secretary Windom during the administration of President Harrison. He resigned the position in April, 1891, to accept the appointment of Director of the Department of Public Works in the City of Philadelphia, for a term of four years. He has been for a number of years a member of the Board of Managers of the "Spring Garden Institute," and of the "School of Design for Women." He is a member of the Art Club, the Union League of Philadelphia, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Franklin Institute, and the Academy of Natural Sciences.

On July 4, 1861, Mr. Windrim was married to Mary Barr McCutcheon, of Scotch-Irish parentage, and has two children living,

James H. Windrim

Robert C. Ogden

John Torrey Windrim, an architect, and Elizabeth Windrim Flagg. From childhood Mr. Windrim has been associated with the Presbyterian Church.

OGDEN, ROBERT C. (born in Philadelphia, June 20, 1836), is the son of Jonathan Ogden and Abigail Murphey (died in 1893), and is descended from early American settlers. About 1630 John and Richard Ogdens, Puritans, emigrated from England to Connecticut, settling near the present town of Stamford. Records of these brothers exist in the Dutch archives of the State of New York, they having a contract to build a church in New Amsterdam (now New York) in 1642. Robert C. Ogden is in the sixth generation in direct descent from Richard Ogden. Members of the family settled in New Jersey about 1700, and in 1830 Jonathan Ogden, above mentioned, removed from Bridgeton to Philadelphia. Mr. Ogden has also Welsh ancestry on his father's side, embracing the Jenkins family of early Philadelphia history, and the Swinneys of Cumberland County, New Jersey. On his mother's side he is of English and Scotch-Irish descent, through his great-grandfather, John Ashburner, an Englishman, who came to Philadelphia after the war of the Revolution, and married a Rudderow. The family was prominent in Camden County, New Jersey, in the colonial period; and through his maternal grandfather, Robert Murphey, who was born in County Antrim, Ireland, in 1776, and was prominent in Hibernian society. His father, Jonathan Ogden, served in the Legislature of New York, was prominent in the councils of the Presbyterian Church, and was distinguished for his cheerful and hopeful temperament. He lived to be 84 years of age. His mother, a woman of remarkable intelligence, energy, and earnest piety, lived to nearly eighty years of age.

Mr. Ogden was educated in Philadelphia schools and at the New London Academy, Chester County, Pennsylvania. He left school while quite young, not having attained his fourteenth year, and in 1854 removed to New York, where he remained till 1879, returning to Philadelphia January 1, of that year. In New York he was for a number of years a member of the once famous clothing firm of Devlin & Company. In 1885 he became a member of the firm of John Wanamaker, and continues actively engaged in the business of that establishment, assuming in 1896 the management, as resident partner, of the Wanamaker business in New York.

Apart from his business interests, Mr. Ogden takes an active part in many religious, social, and benevolent movements in Philadelphia. Politically his views are Republican, but he takes no active part in politics. He is a member of the Presbyterian Church, and has been active in the Presbyterian Board of Publication, the Board of Minis-

terial Relief, the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, the Presbyterian Hospital, and the Presbyterian Social Union. In 1885 he was a commissioner to the Presbyterian General Assembly. He is Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Hollond Memorial Church, and has had much to do with the erection of its beautiful edifice at Broad and Federal streets. He is liberal in religious views, being warmly attached to the progressive element in the Presbyterian Church, and acted as a member of the famous Conference of Liberal Presbyterians held in Cleveland, November, 1893; was a signer of the Cleveland declaration, served on the committee for its dissemination, and is a director of the Union Theological Seminary. He has been active in philanthropic work, having been a Trustee of the Hampton Institute for Afro-American and Indian Youth, near Fortress Monroe, Virginia, for twenty-five years, and is now President of that Board. Since 1889 he has been a member of the Citizens' Permanent Relief Committee of Philadelphia, and in this capacity was active in forwarding supplies to the Johnstown and other flooded districts in the summer of that year, and was one of the active members of the Flood Relief Commission, appointed by Governor Beaver for the administration of the great sum subscribed for the relief of the flood sufferers. In 1892 he was Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Citizens' Permanent Relief Committee for the Russian famine relief, and in 1893-4 of that for the relief of the unemployed.

Mr. Ogden did field duty during the war with the Twenty-third Regiment, N. G. S. N. Y., especially during the Gettysburg campaign in 1863. He continued with the regiment in that campaign, returning home with it to aid in the suppression of the draft riots. He held commissions in this regiment, and also upon the staff of the Eleventh Brigade, N. G. S. N. Y., of which it was a part. He is at present a member of Meade Post, No. 1, Grand Army of the Republic. He is a member of the Union League, Manufacturers', Art, and Contemporary clubs of Philadelphia, and of the Hamilton Club of Brooklyn. He has occasionally contributed to newspapers, and has been a frequent speaker at social, benevolent, and religious gatherings. His published addresses have been "The Unveiling of the Monument to the Unknown Dead," Johnstown, 1892, and "Progressive Presbyterianism," at the Centennial of the First Presbyterian Church, Bridgeton, New Jersey, 1892. He has published in book form "Pew Rents and the New Testament"; "The Perspective of Sunday-school Teaching," and "Samuel Chapman Armstrong, a Memorial Address, Founder's Day, Hampton Institute, January 28, 1894."

Mr. Ogden married Ellen Elizabeth Lewis, of Brooklyn, N. Y., and has two children, daughters, living—Julia Treadwell, the wife of George Waldo Crary, M.D., of New York City; and Helen, wife of Alexander Purves, of Philadelphia.

John Sartain

SARTAIN, JOHN, was born in London, England, October 24, 1808, where he resided until he reached his majority, coming to America and settling in Philadelphia in 1830. He left school at the age of ten years to enter the department of scene painting in the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. At fourteen he found more congenial employment with an engraver, John Swaine, to whom he became apprenticed to learn the art in which he subsequently became famous. Here his environments were well calculated to bring out his latent genius, and so precocious was the talent he developed, that before the first year of his apprenticeship was ended he had a distinguished patron in William Y. Otley, famed as an art critic and antiquary, and was intrusted by him with the work of executing plates for his great folio, "The Early Florentine School," published in 1826, and now an exceedingly rare and valuable book. Eighteen of these plates were from young Sartain's hands, besides finishing many that had been begun years before for the same work in Italy by Tomaso Pitroli. From this auspicious beginning he made rapid progress, and, developing marked originality, he attracted wide attention.

Two years before his settlement in Philadelphia the young artist had perfected himself in the new school of the engraver's art known as mezzotint, more colorful in its effects than the earlier methods, and was the first to introduce it in this country. For ten years he stood alone in this class of work in America. He rapidly rose to general recognition among critics and connoisseurs as the leading artist in his line, and in the wide and long career which now opened before him, his talent for original and brilliant work was only equaled by his marvelous industry. His larger pictures hang to-day upon the walls of thousands of homes of culture and refinement, while leading periodicals have constantly attested his skill, and portraits of hundreds of distinguished men preserve the excellence and popularity of his work. In all this he has shown singular devotion to the best expression and loftiest ideals of his art.

Mr. Sartain also won distinction in painting, exhibiting noticeable delicacy of touch and fitness of feeling. Hand in hand with his devotion to art, he, besides, cultivated in a marked degree a taste for literature, becoming both a publisher and general patron of letters. In early years he devoted much time and money to journalism, particularly to the publication of periodicals. In 1843 he became the proprietor and editor of *Campbell's Foreign Semi-Monthly Magazine*, and was the first to print the works of the scientist, Agassiz, on this side of the Atlantic. About the same time he obtained an interest in the *Eclectic Magazine*. A few years later he bought the *Union Magazine*, of New York, and conducted it as *Sartain's Magazine*. As publisher he became acquainted with Edgar Allan Poe, of whom he was a warm friend and admirer. Some of the most interesting chapters

that he contributed to the history of American literature were his reminiscences of the author of "The Raven." He was the first publisher of Poe's famous "Bells," as he was also the first to publish in this country Hood's "Song of the Shirt." An eager student and apt scholar of broadest sympathies, he accomplished for literature a work second only to that achieved for art.

Prosecuting his aims he traveled extensively, familiarizing self with all the great galleries and leading academies and art schools of Europe, and few men in this country stood higher in authority upon all questions pertaining to art, and none enjoyed wider appreciation or received more flattering testimonials. These came from widely variant sources.[1]

Mr. Sartain was one of the oldest, if not the oldest, Freemason in the United States, and had a life-long and zealous interest in the order, in which he has found much of the highest happiness of his life, and by which he was conspicuously honored. "But above all these honors and decorations"—reads a Masonic sketch of Mr. Sartain—"he carries the 'badge' of a noble nature, which sheds a bright luster upon his name and fame, and stamps more indelibly than can silver or gold the exalted virtues of the man."

While in England, Mr. Sartain was married to Susannah Longmate Swaine, the daughter of his early instructor, by whom he had four sons and two daughters: Samuel, known throughout the country as a steel engraver of rare taste and ability, and whose work upon portraits is the delight of connoisseurs; William, a painter and engraver of New York, an associate of the National Academy of Design, President of the Art Club of New York, and one of the founders of the New York Society of American Artists; Emily, Principal of the School of Design for Women in Philadelphia, a practical engraver, etcher, and portrait painter, who perfected her studies here by a half dozen years in Paris and Italy, received a medal for painting in oil at the Philadelphia Centennial, 1876, and was a member of the Jury of Awards in the Chicago exhibition, 1893; Henry, who has received an art education; Charles, and Helen, now Mrs. Schofield.

1 He was made Free man of the City of London; was Chief of the Bureau of Art, Centennial Exposition, 1876; Controller of the Memorial Hall, the Annex and Photograph Buildings (Centennial); President of the Artists' Fund Society, Philadelphia; President of the St. George's Society; Vice-President of the School of Design for Women for fourteen years; President of the Monument Cemetery, Philadelphia; Member of the Council and Chief of the Art Department of the American Exhibition in London, 1887; Director of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts for twenty-three years; designer of all the interior arrangements of the Academy Building, Philadelphia; was decorated and created Chevalier and Officer of the Equestrian Order of the Crown of Italy by King Umberto, July 10, 1878; was made Commander of the Royal Order of Melusine by Her Royal Highness, the Princess Marie de Lusignan, of Jerusalem, Cypress, and Armenia, July 29, 1892; was Honorary President of the Neapolitan Association for the Encouragement of Arts, Science, and Letters, May 15, 1882; was awarded the Star of Merit (Laureat) of the East Indian Rajah, Sourindro Mohun Tagore of Calcutta, August 3, 1885; Honorary Member of the Associazione dei Salvatore, of Gaeta, with silver medal, August 31, 1882, and Honorary President of the Italian Institute of Progress, July 1, 1882. He was a Chevalier of the Maritime Alps, and entitled to wear on his sleeve the Braganza Badge of Portugal, conferred in 1886 by S. A. Serma O. Infante D. Alfonso, Dugue do Porto.

Yours truly

Joseph R. Rhoads

RHOADS, JOSEPH R. (born in Philadelphia, August 6, 1841), is the son of Professor James Rhoads and Alice Sellers, daughter of George Sellers, of Sellers Hall, Delaware County, Pa. His ancestor, Adam Rhoads, came to this country from Derbyshire, England, in 1681, one year before William Penn, and took up city lots in Philadelphia, which entitled him to 100 acres of Liberty Land beyond Haddington, where he built a homestead. This homestead, with a considerable portion of the property, still remains in the family, by some of whom it has been occupied during eight generations. In 1765 Samuel Rhoads, a son of this ancestor's brother, was Mayor of Philadelphia, and later was Vice-President of the American Philosophical Society, of which Benjamin Franklin was President, and presided during Franklin's absence in France. On his father's side the collateral lines include the families of Roberts, Thomas, Walker, Jeanes,—Joseph and Samuel Jeanes, deceased, were his first cousins,—Garrett, and Noble; and on his mother's side,—the Delaware County families of the Sellers, Blunstons, Gibsons, Ashs, and Woodwards. His father, James Rhoads, was for many years Professor of Belles Lettres and History in the Central High School of Philadelphia, was a member of the Franklin Institute, Academy of Natural Sciences, Horticultural Society, etc. He was one of the first directors of the West Philadelphia Passenger Railroad Company. He died in 1885. His brother, Dr. Joshua Rhoads, was at one time Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Institute for the Blind, and afterward for years Superintendent of the Illinois Institution. Another uncle, Judge Daniel Rhoads, was a prominent member of the judiciary in Centre County, Pa.

Mr. Rhoads enjoyed excellent early advantages. He was educated at private schools and at the Central High School of Philadelphia, and at the University of Pennsylvania, in due course receiving from the former the degree of A.M. and from the latter LL.B. In connection with his law course at the University he also read law in the office of Edward Hopper, Esq., son of Isaac T. Hopper, and upon reaching his majority in 1862 was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar. He soon built up a substantial business, and during his continuous active practice since he has been engaged in many important cases, and has enlarged his clientage to wide and lucrative proportions. While his practice has been general in character, he has given especial attention to Orphans' Court practice and the settlement of estates. He has also done a great deal in road damage cases. His position among the leaders of the Philadelphia Bar is thoroughly established, his strong point being in consultations and office business.

Although closely devoted to his profession, his influence has been felt in the educational, municipal, and business affairs of the city. He was a director of Girard College from 1866 to 1870; a member of the Select Council, and Chairman of the Committee of Law from 1877

to 1880; President of the Independent Citizens' Association of the 13th Ward in 1883; Vice-President of the Apprentices' Library Company from 1890 to 1897; also a member of the Philadelphia Board of Education during the same period. Since 1890 Mr. Rhoads has been President of the Merchants' Trust Company, one of the younger of the prosperous trust companies of Philadelphia. During his administration the company has been put upon a dividend-paying basis, and has accumulated a handsome surplus.

In 1866 Mr. Rhoads was married to Amanda Seal, youngest daughter of Joseph H. Seal, Esq., a retired merchant of Philadelphia, by whom he has a daughter, Alice Sellers Rhoads, wife of Henry Ward Marston, of Marston & Wakelin; and a son, Joseph Howard Rhoads, a graduate of Haverford College and the University of Pennsylvania, and admitted to the Philadelphia Bar in 1893, who is now practicing law with him. Mr. Rhoads was a vestryman of St. Philip's Church, and is now a vestryman of Grace Church, Philadelphia, and accounting Warden of the Church of St. Asaph at Bala.

McCLURE, ALEXANDER KELLY (born in Centre, Perry County, Pa., January 9, 1828), is the son of Alexander McClure and Isabella Anderson. Educated in the common schools of his locality, and early trained to be self-reliant, he, at the age of eighteen, in 1846, founded the Juniata *Sentinel* at Mifflintown, Juniata County, Pa. From the successful management of this publication he became editor and publisher, in 1852, of the Chambersburg *Repository*. In the mean time he pursued the study of the law, and was admitted to the bar in 1855. He had previously, in 1850, held the office of Deputy United States Marshal, and the year of his admission to the bar he was made Superintendent of State Printing. His active interest in political affairs and his other varied services had now brought him into prominence in the political field, and in 1857 and 1858 he was elected Representative in the State Legislature. In 1860-62 he was a member of the State Senate. During the period of the Civil War which followed he entered the service, and, in 1862, became Assistant Adjutant-General of the United States with the rank of Major. In 1865 he was again elected to the State House of Representatives, and in 1872-74 served as State Senator. In March, 1875, he united with others in founding the Philadelphia *Times*.

Mr. McClure is the author of a number of books, including a volume on the resources of the South, and "Lincoln and Men of War Times." He is a vigorous, trenchant writer, and a man of wide information.

In 1852 Mr. McClure was married to Matilda S. Grey, and again in

A. K. McClure

James Pollock

1877 to Cora M. Gratz, and has but one child, a son, by his first marriage. In 1888 the honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred upon Mr. McClure by Washington-Lee University.

POLLOCK, JAMES (born in the County Derry, north of Ireland, August 28, 1846), is the son of James Pollock and Hannah Smith, and is of Scotch-Irish parentage, whose ancestors were, at the siege of Londonderry, on the side of William III., Prince of Orange. His father came with his family to America in 1850, and settled in Philadelphia, locating in the old District of Kensington. He then engaged in the business of carpet manufacturing, dying in 1881. As soon as young James was of school age he was placed in the charge of competent instructors. He was graduated from the Harrison Grammar School when sixteen years of age. He then took his first lessons in business forms and practices from Riegel & Brother, drygoods house, with whom he remained until 1877, when he associated himself with his father in the manufacture of Venetian carpets. In this he has been very successful, and now leads in his line of manufacture.

He has investments in a number of other enterprises, notably, as in Thomas Huston & Company's Globe Carpet Mills, in the iron business, and in the Ninth National Bank, of which he was a founder and is a Director. He is a Director in the Industrial Trust Co., President of the American Loan and Trust Co., a Director in the Union League, a Director in the School of Design for Women, First Vice-President of the Scotch-Irish Society of Pennsylvania, a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, a member of the Columbia Club, a member and former president of the Five O'Clock Club, and, being of a genial disposition, he belongs to several other social clubs. For a number of years he was President of the Beacon Dispensary. He was a founder and for many years a Director in the Manufacturers' Club.

The public schools of Philadelphia are largely indebted to Mr. Pollock for their present efficiency. In 1876, he was appointed by the Board of Judges of Philadelphia a member of the Board of Education, as the representative of the 31st Section. He continued to hold that position for nine years, or until he removed from the Ward. He was an important factor in shaping the policy of the Board. He was one of the members who early saw the advantage that would result in having a City Superintendent over the schools. After it had been decided that a superintendent should be appointed, the perplexing question of securing a suitable man arose. President Edward T. Steel and Mr. Pollock traveled from city to city, and from State to State,

devoting time and money to the search. Finally, Professor James MacAllister, of Milwaukee, was secured and accepted by the Board as the first City Superintendent, and the results fully justified the choice. He continued to act as the Chairman of the Committee on Superintendence for five years.

He has always identified himself with movements calculated to promote the welfare of his city and State. He belonged to the Original Committee of One Hundred favorable to Municipal Reform, and was Secretary of his Ward Association, organized to aid in the passage by the Legislature and its adoption by the people of the new State Constitution. Politically, he is a Republican, and has attended several National Conventions of his party. He was one of a committee of twelve representative Philadelphia business men to go to Chicago in 1888, and to impress upon the Committee on Platform in the Republican Convention the importance of adopting a clearly expressed resolution in favor of a protective tariff. He was selected as a Republican candidate for Select Council of the 31st Ward, while yet a resident of Kensington, but, owing to a division in his party, he was not elected. After the failure of the Shackamaxon Bank he was one of the first business men to favor the formation of what is now known as the Ninth National Bank. In 1896, he was appointed the Chairman of a Committee of Fifteen, composed of the leading members of the Manufacturers' Club, to attend the Republican National Convention, that met in St. Louis, to look after the interest of the Club at that Convention. He was Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Business Men's League, that rendered efficient service in the election of Major McKinley as President of the United States, and that, after the election, advocated the candidature of John Wanamaker as Senator from Pennsylvania.

In 1875, Mr. Pollock was married to Margaret Cunningham, by whom he has living one son and two daughters.

RITER, FRANK MILLER (born in Philadelphia, May 20, 1855), is the son of Michael Miller Riter and Elizabeth Georgiana Caldwell, and is in the fourth generation, on his father's side, from Michael Riter, and on his mother's side from Andrew Caldwell, both ancestors being of Revolutionary stock. His early education was received principally in the Friends' Central School, upon leaving which he contemplated a business career, and for a time engaged in general business pursuits. His tastes and ambition soon led him to abandon such a course. Preparing himself by preliminary study for a legal career, he entered the University of Pennsylvania, and was graduated in 1878 with the degree of LL.B.

Frank M. Pixley

ROBERT ALEXANDER.

He entered at once upon the practice of his profession. In February, 1883, he was elected to the Common Council, but resigned the following April, and was appointed Assistant City Solicitor. He served in the State Legislature of Pennsylvania from 1889 to 1895. In February of 1896 he was appointed Director of the Department of Public Safety of the City of Philadelphia, a position which he at present holds.

Mr. Riter is identified politically with the Republican party, and has been earnestly and actively devoted to the success of its principles. His influence locally as a prominent public official, and as a member of the Legislature, has identified him with the progress of both city and State. He is a growing man, numbered with those whose enterprise and strength stand responsible for the future growth and prosperity of the city. He is unmarried.

ALEXANDER, ROBERT, prominent lawyer of Philadelphia (born in Bucks County, Pa., July 3, 1846), is of Scotch extraction. His boyhood was spent in his native county, where he received his early education at the public schools, and was afterward graduated with high honors at the Carversville Normal School. Thoroughly equipped by his normal school training, he devoted the next four years after his graduation to teaching. During this period, when Lee's army invaded Pennsylvania in the summer of 1863, he enlisted for three months in the 45th regiment of Emergency Volunteers. Young Alexander's predilections, however, were toward the law, and, coming to Philadelphia, he entered the law office of the Hon. D. Newlin Fell, now a judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. He was admitted to the bar in 1871, and at once entered upon active practice. At the bar he soon laid the foundation of a legal business that has steadily grown in extent and importance, and so marked has been his success that his practice is varied and lucrative, as well as extensive. He has taken part in the argument of many of the leading cases before the Pennsylvania courts, in which he was concerned as counsel.

When Charles F. Warwick, now Mayor of Philadelphia, was made Assistant District Attorney, Mr. Alexander became associated with him as his law partner, attending to the private business of the firm. In 1884 Mr. Warwick was elected City Solicitor, and in recognition of the legal knowledge and forensic ability of Mr. Alexander, appointed him his First Assistant. While serving in this position many important and difficult questions in the adjustment of municipal affairs, in accordance with the requirements of the Bullitt bill, taxed the legal ability of the City Solicitor's department to the utmost. In the solution of these questions Mr. Alexander took an active part, Mr. War-

wick availing himself of the judgment and experience of his able assistant in solving the many knotty legal questions that claimed attention. His assistant also took part, with marked skill and ability, in the many matters of litigation to which the city was a party. Among these cases Mr. Alexander gained high commendation for his vigorous efforts in the city's behalf in the suit instituted to prevent the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad Company from building its road through the city without obtaining the consent of the Councils. After two terms of service in the City Solicitor's office, extending over six years, Mr. Alexander withdrew to attend to his private practice, which had become so extensive as to require all his time.

Among the important cases with which Mr. Alexander has been connected, the most noteworthy, perhaps, was the Bardsley case, in which he acted as the counsel for the derelict City Treasurer. Although the case was hopeless from the start, Bardsley's criminal actions being too clearly established to admit of successful defense, Mr. Alexander handled the complicated questions involved with rare ability and judgment, and finally, by persistent and skillful effort, obtained Bardsley's pardon.

In 1890 Edward W. Magill became associated as law partner with Mr. Alexander, under the firm name of Alexander & Magill. The firm in its varied and extended practice conducts a large corporation business. As a lawyer Mr. Alexander is well read, admirably trained, and thoroughly equipped. He is a painstaking worker, and in the preparation of his briefs and the handling of his cases he gives the strictest and most exhaustive attention to every detail. His most marked strength, perhaps, lies in the power of keen and searching cross-examination of witnesses—an element of power that has contributed to many of his most signal successes. Sound in judgment, clear in arrangement, and logical in argument, he is strong alike before the court and jury, and holds an enviable position at the Philadelphia bar.

In September, 1871, Mr. Alexander was married to Mary C., daughter of B. S. Batcheller, Esq., of Lowville, N. Y.

GILPIN, CHARLES (born in Wilmington, Delaware, November 17, 1809, died in Philadelphia October 29, 1891), was the son of Edward Gilpin and Lydia Grubb, both of Wilmington, Delaware. He is lineally descended from Joseph Gilpin, who, with his wife, Hannah Glover, emigrated from the Parish of Marborough, County of Oxford, England, in 1696, and settled on his own and in Birmingham Township, Chester County, Pennsyl-

Charles Griffin

Geo. D. W. Creary

vania. The house of this ancestor was General Howe's headquarters in the battle of Brandywine.

Mr. Gilpin was educated in the Grammar School at Wilmington, Delaware, and in the Germantown Academy, Philadelphia, and afterward more liberally and thoroughly by private study. Pursuing the law, he was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar in 1832, and followed his profession to success and prominence, continuing his practice for more than fifty years. His reputation and influence connected him with almost every public movement in the city. He was school director; member of Common Council for the old city of Philadelphia; also a member and president of Select Council; Mayor of the old city of Philadelphia, and United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Gilpin was a charter member of the Union League, a member of the Philadelphia Club, Tinicum Fishing Company, of the Melita Lodge of Free Masons, and many other social and political organizations. He was one of the originators and founders of the Gray Reserve Regiment, in 1861—now the First Regiment, National Guards of Pennsylvania. At the period of the Civil War, too old himself to go to the front, he kept two substitutes in the field, and was radically patriotic in support of the Union.

In 1843 Mr. Gilpin was married to Sarah Hamilton Hood, daughter of John McClellan Hood, of County Tyrone, Ireland, and Elizabeth Forepaugh, of Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, whose family formed a part of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian emigration from the north of Ireland.

He was a member of the Calvary Presbyterian Church, and in politics a Republican of Whig antecedents.

McCREARY, GEORGE DEARDORFF (born September 28, 1846, in York Springs village, Adams County, Pa.), is the son of John B. McCreary and Rachel Deardorff. His early ancestors on his father's side were Scotch-Irish from Tyrone, Ireland, and on his mother's side German Baptists who came to this country to avoid religious persecutions in the year 1729, and temporarily resided in or near Germantown, Philadelphia. In 1848, his parents moved to Tremont, Schuylkill County, where his father became one of the pioneer coal operators. About 1856, the family moved to Tamaqua; in 1859, to Mauch Chunk; and, in 1864, finally settled in Philadelphia. While young McCreary's life was spent at York Springs his early education was received in the public schools of the different towns mentioned. In 1861, he attended Saunders' Military School in West Philadelphia. In 1864, he entered the University of Philadelphia. In 1867, choosing a business career in

preference to a professional one, he left the University and entered into active business with the Honey Brook Coal Company, of which his father was President. At this period, while learning the coal business, he edited a weekly column on the coal trade for the *Evening Bulletin* of Philadelphia. In 1870 he became associated with W. Beaumont Whitney, of Philadelphia, and Mahlan S. Kemmerer, of Mauch Chunk, as wholesale selling agents, under the firm name of Whitney, McCreary & Kemmerer, and established a large and profitable business. In 1879, the death of his father devolving upon him the administration of a large property, he sold out his interest in the coal business and gave his main attention to the estate. He is connected with and has been Director in the Upper Lehigh Coal Company, the Pioneer Mining and Manufacturing Company of Alabama, and Alden Coal Company, besides retaining an interest in other business affairs. He is Vice-President of Market Street National Bank, and in charitable movements is President of the Sanitarium Association of Philadelphia; a Director in Sheltering Arms and member of the Philadelphia Sketch Club, and Trustee of the Sunday Morning Breakfast Association. He is an active member of the Union League and of the University Club. He has been conspicuous as a member of numerous relief committees for sufferers by flood, fire, and disease, visiting various sections and disbursing large sums of money, notably in connection with the flood sufferers at Johnstown.

Mr. McCreary's strong character and integrity have made him prominent in all public matters. He was sought as candidate for Mayor of Philadelphia, but declined. In reform politics his influence has been thoroughly felt. He was one of the pioneer members of the Committee of One Hundred, and during his association as such, was a member of the Campaign and Executive Committees, and Chairman of Ward Organization of the Legislative Committee, and Chairman of the Special Committee for the investigation of the Almshouse under the Phipps management. He has served as Chairman of Republican Conventions. While always a Republican, independent in thought and action, never seeking office, an alliance of business men in 1891 urged upon him the candidacy for the Treasurership of the City of Philadelphia, and he was made the nominee of the Regular Republican ticket, and elected by 20,000 majority. As City Treasurer he reorganized the office, and conducted its affairs with universal satisfaction to the citizens and with profit to the city.

In 1878, Mr. McCreary was married to the daughter of the late William Howell, a prominent wall paper manufacturer of Philadelphia, and has two daughters and two sons. He has traveled extensively in the United States, Mexico, West Indies, and Europe. In February, 1895, he was in the shipwreck of the Cienfuegos in the Bahamas. In successful business, in finance, in knowledge of public matters, in the broad equipment of travel, he is one of Philadelphia's foremost representatives.

Clement B. Penrose

PENROSE, CLEMENT BIDDLE (born in Carlisle, Pa., October 27, 1832), is the son of Charles Bingham Penrose and Valeria Fullerton Biddle. He comes of English ancestry in direct line from Bartholomew Penrose, who emigrated from England to Philadelphia prior to 1712. In Foss's "The Judges of England," mention is made of John Penrose, Judge of the King's Bench in Ireland, in 1385. His mother was a daughter of William MacFunn Biddle, and a granddaughter of the Rev. Elihu Spencer.

Mr. Penrose received his elementary education in various schools in Washington, D. C. Later he entered Franklin College, Lancaster, Pa., and subsequently the University of Pennsylvania. He was graduated in July, 1850, and three years later, in 1853, the year of his majority, he received the honorary degree of Master of Arts. He studied law and was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar in 1853. He has been Judge of the Orphans' Court of Philadelphia since February, 1878, and Vice-Provost of the Law Academy since 1869.

In September, 1857, Mr. Penrose married Mary Linnard and has eight children: Emily L., Valeria F., Charles B. (deceased in 1887); Stephen B. L., Helen, Elizabeth C., Lydia B., and Mary C. His sons were graduated from Williams College, Mass. His younger son, Stephen B. L., is President of Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington.

Judge Penrose has one brother living—Dr. R. A. F. Penrose, LL.D., Professor in the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania. Another brother, Col. Charles Bingham Penrose, U.S.A., who died in September, 1895, was detailed by Secretary Stanton to accompany President Lincoln to Richmond in 1865.

DECHERT, HENRY MARTYN (born in Reading, Pennsylvania, March 11, 1832), is the son of Elijah Dechert and Mary Williams Porter, and comes of a line of distinguished legal and military ancestry. His father was a prominent lawyer at Reading, and his maternal grandfather was a presiding judge in Berks and Northampton counties, also a first lieutenant in the Pennsylvania Artillery in 1776-83. His great grandfather, General Andrew Porter, was commander of the First Pennsylvania Artillery during a part of the Revolution.

Mr. Dechert was graduated from Yale in 1850, and, choosing the profession of his father, took up the study of law, and soon after was admitted to the Philadelphia bar. From 1856 to 1858 he was Assistant City Solicitor of Philadelphia. He has since practiced in all of the courts of the city and State with increasing prominence and success. Since 1886 he has been President of the Commonwealth Title and

Insurance and Trust Company of Philadelphia, composed only of lawyers and conveyancers. Since 1894-5 he has been President of the Board of Trustees of the Pennsylvania State Asylum for Chronic Insane. He is also President of the Midnight Mission and of the West Philadelphia Institute; director of Delaware Fire Insurance Company, and other financial corporations; director in Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty; of Western Home for Poor Children; of Western Temporary Home for Women and Children; of Young Men's Institute, and of Pennsylvania Colony Farm for Epileptics. He is Past Master and Treasurer of Sinking Fund of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, Free and Accepted Masons, and member of the University, Art, and Lawyers' clubs of Philadelphia.

In 1862-3 he was mustered into the United States service, as a lieutenant in the 40th Regiment, P. V. M., and is a member of George G. Meade Post No. 1, G. A. R.

In 1857 Mr. Dechert was married to Esther S. Taylor, by whom he has three children: Henry Taylor, Bertha Mary, and Edward Porter.

DECHERT, GEN. ROBERT PORTER (born in Reading, Pa., August 16, 1842, died at Philadelphia, Pa., May 12, 1894), was the son of Elijah Dechert and Mary Williams Porter, and comes of distinguished legal and military ancestry. His great-grandfather, Gen. Andrew Porter, was Commander of the First Pennsylvania Artillery. His grandfather, Robert Porter, served as Lieutenant in his father's regiment, subsequently became prominent as a lawyer, and served as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of the district, including General Dechert's native county of Berks, Pa. His father, Elijah Dechert, born in Berks County, Pa., was admitted to the bar in Reading, Pa., where he established a successful practice.

Robert Porter Dechert removed to Philadelphia in early boyhood, and was educated in the public schools of the city, the Saunders Academy, of West Philadelphia, and the Central High School, graduating from the latter in 1861. In the same year he entered the law office of his brother, Henry M. Dechert, as a law student, but, on the breaking out of the war, immediately enlisted, July 1, 1861, as Sergeant-Major in the Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers. For meritorious services he was promoted to First Lieutenant January 8, 1862; to Captain April 23, 1863; to Major November 3, 1863; to Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel March 13, 1865. He was mustered out July 17, 1865. During the war he served as Aide-de-camp and Assistant Adjutant-General on the staffs of Colonel C. W. L. Andrews, commanding the Third

Henry Ph. Wechert

Robert P. Dechamps

Brigade, Second Division, Twelfth Corps; of Brigade-Commander Thomas H. Ruger, Third Brigade, Second Division, Twelfth Corps; Major-General A. S. Williams, Twentieth Corps, and Major-General Henry W. Slocum, commanding the Army of Georgia. He participated in the battles of Winchester, Cedar Mountain, Antietam, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg, and was with Sherman in his famous march to the sea.

In July, 1865, he returned home, having risen from the ranks to Lieutenant-Colonel at twenty-three. Resuming his legal studies he was admitted to the bar in 1866. In 1869 he was appointed Assistant District Attorney of Philadelphia under Furman Sheppard, and reappointed in 1874, but in 1877 declined a re-appointment under Mr. Hagert. In 1880 he was the choice of his party for Adjutant-General. In 1870 he was elected to the State Senate, where he served with distinction, his legal knowledge being invaluable in connection with the passage of the Act on Criminal Evidence. In 1884 he was elected City Controller, discharging the duties of this responsible and semi-judicial office so satisfactorily as to assure his re-election in 1887, although representing the party of the minority.

He was closely connected with the National Guard of Pennsylvania, and largely assisted in placing it at the head of the citizen soldiers of the States. He first joined the Gray Reserves, and was elected Captain of Company F in 1867. In 1869 he enlisted with First Troop, Philadelphia City Cavalry, was made Corporal in 1870, Sergeant in 1873, First Sergeant in 1875, Cornet in 1877, Colonel of Second Regiment in 1878, and re-elected in 1883 and 1888. In 1890 he was appointed by Governor Beaver Commander of the Frst Brigade, with rank of Brigadier-General, and was in command at the time of his death. He died Saturday, May 12, 1894, after a lingering illness, at the residence of his brother, Henry M. Dechert, and was buried with military honors in Woodlands Cemetery.

His services as soldier and citizen were universally recognized. and in the tributes accorded him he has been characterized as "A brave soldier, a distinguished officer, a learned lawyer, and eloquent advocate, intrusted with high responsible civic duties, which he discharged with honor to himself and his city." [1]

He was identified with many societies and clubs, and was a prominent Mason, being Past Master of Hamilton Lodge, No. 274, and Past High Priest of Corinthian Chapter, No. 250. He was also a member of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution and of Post 2, G. A. R. He was never married.

[1] *The Legal Intelligencer*, Philadelphia, May 25, 1894.

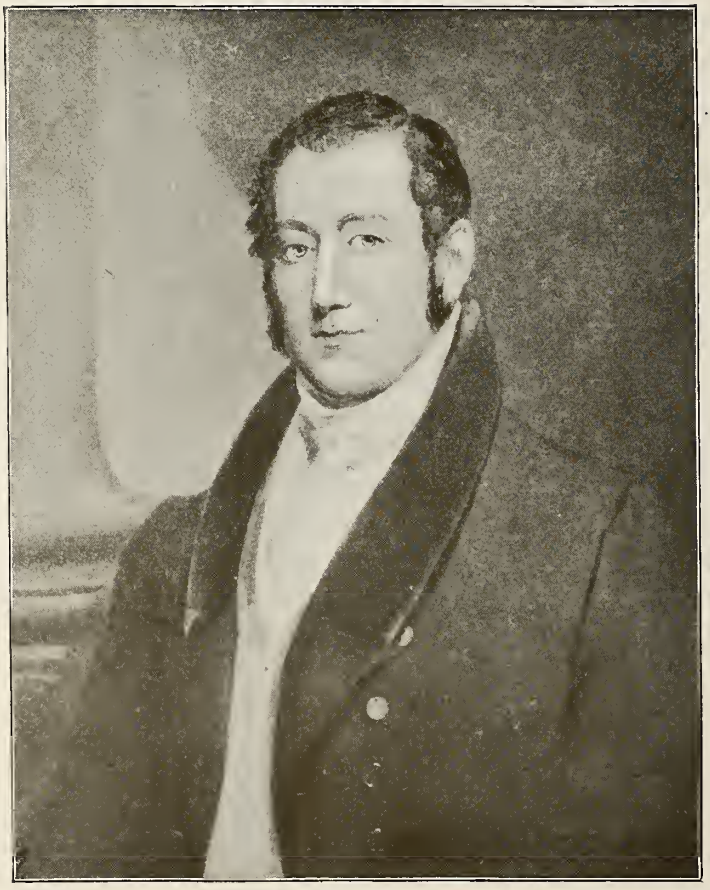
ROBERTS, JOHN (born in Philadelphia, October 10, 1835), is the son of Thomas E. Roberts and Sarah Horner, and is of English ancestry. His grandparents, John and Sarah Roberts, came from Ourton, England, in 1677, and settled on the North Branch of the Pensauken Creek, Burlington County, New Jersey. His parents were prominent residents of the old Northern Liberties District, which in 1854 became, by consolidation, a part of the City of Philadelphia, and were members of the Society of Friends.

Mr. Roberts was educated in preparatory schools and at Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., graduating in the class of 1859, with the degree of A.B., and in due course received the honorary degree of A.M. Upon leaving college, he pursued the study of law, and was admitted to the Bar at Philadelphia. His admission to the Bar occurring at the stirring period of the outbreak of the Civil War, he deferred the practice of his chosen profession, and entered the army, enlisting as a private in the Third New Jersey Regiment, attached to the brigade of General Phil. Kearney. He served faithfully for three years, for meritorious services rapidly rising from the position of private to that of captain. He was wounded at the battles of Gaines Hill and Fredericksburg. Having completed his three years' service, and the war about drawing to a close, anxious to start life again in the practice of his profession, he declined the offer of a Colonelcy, and, returning from the army, he was admitted to the Bar in Philadelphia, where he has since resided. Mr. Roberts soon established himself as a lawyer in good practice, and has been engaged in many important litigations, the successful issues of which have given him a solid and secure reputation among clients and at the Bar. He has not only won recognition as a distinguished lawyer, but has given largely of his ability and time to the public. For twelve years he has been a manager in the Department of Charities and Correction, and aided materially in placing these institutions upon their present basis.

In 1866 Mr. Roberts married Sarah J. MacAvoy, by whom he has three children—Mamie, now Mrs. Morrison D. Wood, of Germantown; Sarah J., and Emma H.

LEWIS, JOHN FREDERICK (born in Philadelphia June 24, 1791, died October 2, 1858), was the son of Johann Andreas Philip Ludwig, a descendant of the old patrician family of Ludewig, who as early as the thirteenth century were citizens and officers in the Free Imperial City of Hall, Suabia, and of the Holy Roman Empire. One of his ancestors, Peter Ludewig, was a Senator and one of the hereditary proprietors of the salt mines and works in Hall, whose son, Johann Peter Ludewig, was Chancellor of the University of Halle, in Prussian Saxony, poet laureate of Germany, and

John R. Peers



John F. Lewis

Privy Councillor of the King of Prussia, being ennobled by the Emperor Charles VI. and also by the King of Prussia. Another son of Peter Ludewig, Johann David Ludewig, was Imperial Notary of the German Empire, Judge of the Superior Court of the Crown, and Privy Councillor. Johann Andreas Philip Ludwig, the father of John F. Lewis, was fourth in descent from this Johann David Ludewig. He came to this country from Crailsheim in 1777, as one of the officers of the Anspach-Baireuth Regiment of Yagers, serving with distinction through the Revolutionary War, and receiving an honorary discharge at its termination. Upon settling in Philadelphia in 1783, he anglicized his name to Lewis.

John F. Lewis received a practical education in private schools, and entering business life, associated himself with the firm of Condy Raguet & Co., and soon afterward with Silas E. Weir, in which house he early became a partner, being identified with the old firms of Weir, Smith & Lewis; Willing, Weir & Co., and Weir, Lewis & Co., at No. 20 South Front street, Philadelphia, and was for many years engaged in the auction, commission, and importing business. He transacted a large business for that period, and the firm with which he was connected ranked among the first in the city for mercantile credit and responsibility. After the death of his partner, Mr. Silas E. Weir, in 1828, he engaged in business in his individual name as a general commission merchant and importer of goods from China. He sent many ships to Canton, of which his sons were successively the supercargoes. He was successful in business, and retired with what was in those days deemed an ample fortune.

Mr. Lewis was a member and for many years a trustee of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. John, in Race street, above Fifth; a member of the German Society, and one of the founders of the Bible House at the corner of Seventh and Walnut streets. At the time of his death, October 2, 1858, he resided at the southwest corner of Sixteenth and Walnut streets, which property he owned for many years. He was succeeded in business by his sons in the firms of Edwin M. Lewis & Co., and John A. Lewis & Co., at the southeast corner of Front and Walnut streets, in the stores which he built and owned. Until the last-named firm retired from business, the name of John F. Lewis remained in gold letters on the marble over the old stone doorway, a name held in highest esteem by his fellow townsmen.

In 1812, he married Eliza Mower, daughter of Mr. Jacob Mower, by whom he had seven sons, six of whom were living at the time of his death: Edwin M. Lewis, the eldest son, who, after retiring from business, was Cashier and then President of the Farmers' and Mechanics' National Bank, assignee of Jay Cooke & Co., one of the receivers of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, and who was offered the office of Secretary of the Treasury by General Grant, but declined the honor. F. Mortimer Lewis, second son, after retiring from busi-

ness, traveled extensively abroad, and for many years gave much of his time to public charities. He was President of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, President of the Germantown Hospital, and President of the Children's Hospital. S. Weir Lewis, third son, after retiring from business, traveled very extensively abroad. He devoted much of his life to various charitable institutions. He was for many years Treasurer of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, of the Athenæum of Philadelphia, and of the Northern Home for Friendless Children. He was Secretary of the Southern Home for Destitute Children, Treasurer of St. John's Lutheran Church, and connected as officer or Director with the Philadelphia Home for Incurables, the Magdalen Society, the Farmers' and Mechanics' National Bank, and other organizations. John A. Lewis, who, with his brother G. Albert Lewis, was the last to retire and close the old business at Front and Walnut streets, was Treasurer of the Montour Iron Company, and is now Cashier of the National Bank of Commerce of Philadelphia. Theodore C. Lewis was in the commission business and also a manufacturer. He died early in life. G. Albert Lewis, seventh and youngest son, after retiring from business became, in 1863, Cashier of the City National Bank of Philadelphia.

LEWIS, HOWARD WORTHINGTON, second son of Silas Weir Lewis, was born in Philadelphia, September 8, 1855. Paternally he is a descendant from the very ancient and honorable family of Ludwig of Hall, Germany. His father, S. Weir Lewis; his grandfather, John F. Lewis, and his great-grandfather, John A. Lewis, were prominent citizens of Philadelphia, and well known for business integrity and philanthropic work. His mother was Caroline Amanda Kalbfus, of Baltimore, whose ancestors, the Hynsons and the Owings, were among the first settlers of Maryland, the Hynsons emigrating from England in 1650, and owning large grants of land.

Mr. Lewis was educated in the public schools, graduating in 1873 from the Philadelphia High School, with the first honors of his class, and receiving the degree of Master of Arts in 1878. After completing his education, following the natural bent of his family for the banking business, he entered the Farmers' and Mechanics' National Bank of Philadelphia. He rose rapidly to the office of assistant cashier of the bank, and in January, 1892, was chosen cashier, being at that time the youngest cashier among the Philadelphia banks, and having the executive management of the largest capitalized National bank in Pennsylvania.

At an early age he succeeded his father as Director and Treasurer

Henry G. Walton

of the Athenæum of Philadelphia, one of the city's oldest institutions. He has always found time to give his services to charitable institutions, having for many years been a trustee of the Northern Home for Friendless Children, and serving for some time as its Secretary. He has been Secretary and Trustee of the Southern Home for Destitute Children for a still longer time, and planned the pleasure grounds for the children at the new home at Broad and Morris streets. Other charities and public movements have had his support in such way as he could command. He is a strict churchman, and maintains his membership in the Lutheran Church, following the footsteps of his ancestors, who for hundreds of years have been members of that church.

Mr. Lewis is a master of accounts, and has had charge of the examination and adjustment of many important business interests and estates. He is a firm friend of athletic sports, being a member of the Merion and of the Germantown Cricket Clubs, the Country Club, the Philadelphia Barge Club, the Philadelphia Skating Club, and other organizations.

ALTON, HENRY FOSTER (born in Stroudsburg, Monroe County, Pa., October 2, 1858), is the son of the late James H. Walton and Caroline Walton. The family of Waltons is one of the oldest in Pennsylvania, and were originally Quakers, who settled in the eastern part of the State nearly two centuries ago, where the name has since been identified with the growth and prosperity of the country. His father, James H. Walton, who served a term in the House of Representatives, and one term in the State Senate, was a lawyer of eminence, and a Director of the United States Mint at Philadelphia under the administration of James Buchanan.

Mr. Walton's education was commenced in the public schools of Stroudsburg and Philadelphia, and was subsequently finished under the instruction of private tutors. By assiduously pursuing his studies, a thorough foundation was laid and marked proficiency in the various branches of learning was attained. After completing his preparatory studies he entered the office of Wayne MacVeagh and George Tucker Bispham, Esqs., and, after a thorough course of study, was admitted to the bar in 1879, and at once entered upon the practice of his profession. In 1884 he was appointed an Assistant Solicitor of Philadelphia, holding the position with marked ability until 1891, when his prominence in public affairs attracted attention, and he was elected to the House of Representatives as a Republican from the Twenty-seventh District. He was re-elected as Representative in 1893, serving during the term as Chairman of the Judiciary

General Committee, and again in 1895, when he was elected Speaker of the House. Mr. Walton's legal career has been one of uninterrupted success, his keenness of perception enabling him quickly to grasp the salient points of a case, and his learning, eloquence, and sound judgment making him a formidable adversary. His services as member of the Legislature have received the highest commendation from his constituents and the people of the State. As Speaker of the House of Representatives, he displayed, in an eminent degree, the qualifications necessary to preside over a deliberative body, and by the fairness and accuracy of his rulings he won a foremost place in the ranks of parliamentarians.

In 1882, Mr. Walton married Eleanor Gertrude Norman of Baltimore. He has a family of five children.

GRAHAM, GEORGE SCOTT (born September 13, 1850), is the son of James Graham and Sarah J. Scott, and is of Scotch-Irish descent. His father was a merchant, his mother the daughter of a freeholder in the north of Ireland. The family line of the Grahams traces back to the Covenanters of Scotland.

Mr. Graham was educated at Public School and in the University of Pennsylvania, graduating from the Law Department of the latter in due course, with the degree of LL.B. He was at once admitted to the Philadelphia bar, and entered upon the practice of law in that city. His subsequent career has been identified both with the University of Pennsylvania, in which he was Professor of Criminal Law and Procedure for ten years, and with the City of Philadelphia as District Attorney, having filled the office for seventeen years—a period of nearly six terms, the latter of which he is now serving. During this period he has been four times unanimously elected to the office by both parties. He has also served in Select Council for three years.

Mr. Graham is Past Grand Commander of Knights Templar in Pennsylvania; Past Commander of Corinthian Chasseur Commandery K. T.; Past Master of Harmony Lodge, A. Y. M.; member of the Union League, the Philadelphia Art Club, University Club, Bachelor's Barge Club, and ex-President and member of the Five O'Clock Club.

In recognition of his legal attainments he has received from Lafayette College the honorary degree of LL.D. His church connections are Presbyterian, his political affiliations Republican.

In 1870 Mr. Graham was married to Emma M. Ellis. They have two daughters living.

Geo. J. Graham

J. R. Williams

ALTEMUS, JOSEPH BECK (born in Philadelphia, April 29, 1829), is the son of Joseph Taylor Altemus and Mary Coleman. He is of German and English ancestry, the families on both sides being established in this country in early colonial times. His father, born in 1804, was a native Philadelphian, and his grandfather, Thomas Altemus, and his great-grandfather, Frederick Altemus, were both born at Abington, near Philadelphia. Through his grandmother, Pamelia Taylor, who married Thomas Altemus, he is descended from the French Huguenots—the patronymic Taylor being originally Talyeur; and through his great-grandmother, Anne Livezy, who married Frederick Altemus, he is connected with the Shoemaker family. Both the direct and collateral lines of ancestry include many prominent families. The first Bible printed in Pennsylvania, and which is now in the possession of the German Historical Society of Philadelphia, contains a record of the Altemus family.

Joseph Beck Altemus was educated in the public schools of Philadelphia, and at fourteen years of age became a clerk in the drygoods house of A. W. Adams & Co. In 1850 he was salesman in the drygoods commission house of Charles H. Welling & Co., originally founded in 1846. With this house Mr. Altemus soon became identified, and in 1854 had risen to be an active spirit in the business of the firm.[1]

The transactions of the house, largely under Mr. Altemus's control and aggressive management during its entire history—of over forty years—have been enormous. From 1864 to 1880 the volume of business amounted to upward of four million dollars per annum, and from 1880 to 1892 the annual average was from six to seven millions. During this period the house became known from Maine to California, not only through the magnitude of its business connections, but as a stanch, conservative business house, where a large number of business men all over the country had received their business education. From among its employees the house has turned out bankers, lawyers, and business men, who have become distinguished in their various professions and walks of life, and all of whom refer back to their early training in the house as the school where they received the business education that has proved invaluable to their subsequent success.

Conjointly with his mercantile career Mr. Altemus has been one of the original promoters of the consolidated passenger railroad service of the country. He was the first investor in these railroads in 1857, and since, for forty years, has continued his interests, serving as director in various roads, and inaugurating many large enterprises, those in Philadelphia resulting in the formation of the Philadelphia

[1] The firm style passing through the successive changes of Charles H. Welling & Co., Welling, Coffin & Co., Coffin & Altemus, and Coffin, Altemus & Co.

Traction Company, of which he is now a director. He was also a Director of the Philadelphia & Reading Railway Company for several years.

In conjunction with his business partner, Mr. Coffin, Mr. Altemus founded the town of Devon, a resort on the line of the Pennsylvania Railroad, sixteen miles from Philadelphia, noted for the "Devon Inn" and its handsome private residences. It was named Devon from its picturesque environments, characteristic of Devonshire, England. He is one of the oldest members of the Union League Club of Philadelphia, and is a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and of various other societies and clubs.

Politically Mr. Altemus is affiliated with the Republican party, and served as a Blaine and Logan presidential elector. During the Rebellion he took strong patriotic grounds, subscribed liberally to all organizations for the benefit of the soldiers and relief of the wounded, and was a stanch supporter of the administration.

In February, 1854, he was married to Martha Colliday Altemus, daughter of John Altemus, a descendant of Frederick, the great-grandfather of both, the divergent family lines again uniting in their surviving children, a daughter, Ida (now Mrs. Alexander Bacon), and a son, Lemuel Coffin Altemus.

WARWICK, CHARLES FREDERICK, Mayor of the City of Philadelphia (1898), and the third Mayor under the present system of municipal government, as likewise the eleventh since the city and outlying districts were consolidated, was born in Philadelphia, February 14, 1850. He received his elementary education in the public schools. He studied law with E. Spencer Miller as his preceptor. He completed the preparations for his professional practice in the Law Department of the University of Pennsylvania. He was admitted to the bar December 3, 1872.

From the time he began his practice, he has been active in public affairs. He is a brilliant speaker, and in the fall of 1875 he took the stump in the campaign which resulted in the re-election of General John F. Hartranft as Governor of the Keystone Stone. When General Garfield was the Republican candidate for President of the United States, Mr. Warwick accompanied James G. Blaine in his tour of the States of Ohio and Indiana, making speeches from the same platform with the great and popular statesman from Maine in behalf of the Republican candidates.

His first public office was that of Solicitor for the Guardians of the Poor. In 1881 he was appointed to be the second assistant of District Attorney George S. Graham. In 1884 he was elected City Solicitor of Philadelphia by a majority of 13,611. He was re-elected in 1887, 1890,

Chas. F. Warwick

Samuel Josephs

and 1893, by majorities ranging from 30,000 to 40,000. His rulings as City Solicitor were never overruled by the courts. Notably, one in which he decided that the city passenger-car companies were required by the law to keep the streets in good order. In February, 1895, he was elected Mayor of Philadelphia over ex-Governor Robert E. Pattison, by a majority of 60,984.

Mr. Warwick was married in 1873 to Miss Ella K. Griesemer. They have several children.

JOSEPHS, SAMUEL (born in Philadelphia April 4, 1832, died October 25, 1895), was the son of Emanuel Josephs and Jeannette Coffin. His father came to this country about the year 1820, settled in Philadelphia, and there successfully followed the hosiery business. On the maternal side he came of Quaker stock, his grandfather, Albert Coffin, marrying a young Quakeress in 1796. This Albert Coffin, a sea captain, was for many years in the service of Stephen Girard[1] and took out his first vessel. On one occasion, in a shipwreck, having saved a number of passengers and landed them safely at port in Ireland, he was carried triumphantly in a chair on their shoulders through the streets of the town.

Samuel Josephs was educated in Philadelphia, closing his school career at seventeen to enter the establishment of John M. Butler and learn the copper-plate printing business. He continued here from 1849 to 1853, when he started in business independently. His business career finally merged into that of a general contractor, an occupation which for some years engaged his attention. Mr. Josephs early became interested and influential in the municipal affairs of the city. In 1854 he was appointed by Mayor Conrad Supervisor of Streets. In 1855 he was made Assistant Commissioner of Highways, and he was nominated and elected, in the fall of 1860, to represent his district in the State Legislature. His services here were so satisfactory to his constituents that he was consecutively re-elected to the House of Representatives from 1860 until 1874, during that period serving on many of the most important committees. He would doubtless have been returned at will from his legislative district, but the removal of his residence to a district very strongly republican was made at the earnest solicitation of his wife, who wished him to withdraw to that extent from public life. His influence and ability made him an important factor in the counsels of the Democratic party, with which he was unaffiliated. He was a delegate, with one or two exceptions, to every Democratic State onvention for thirty years; a

[1] In a settlement he was one time overpaid by Mr. Girard. Calling the latter's attention to the fact, he was told to keep the money, but always felt that the mistake was intentional, as a test of character of one to whom such important interests were intrusted.

member of the City Committee continuously for twenty-five years, and was elected a delegate to every Democratic National Convention, with a single exception, from 1856 to 1892.

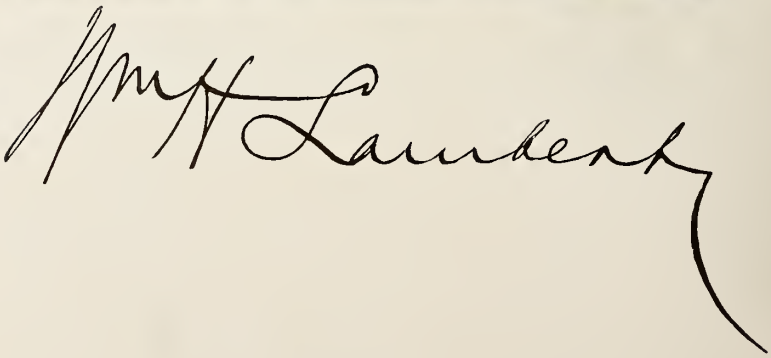
In 1856 Mr. Josephs was married to Elizabeth Gamble, of Philadelphia, who survives him, together with three children: Howard, Harry S., and Josephine W. Woddrop.

GEST, JOHN B. (born in Philadelphia, November 4, 1823), is the son of John Gest and Ann Barnard, daughter of Jeremiah Barnard and Mary Passmore. His father was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1783, removed to Philadelphia about 1815, and was Register of Wills from 1836 to 1839. His paternal grandfather and grandmother, Joseph Gest and Deborah Dickinson, were also of Lancaster County. The founders of the family, who came to this country in the seventeenth century, as have been nearly all their descendants, were members of the Society of Friends.

Mr. Gest was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1844, receiving from the same institution the honorary degree of A.M. in 1847, and that of LL.B. in 1852. He read law in the office of Charles Ingersoll, and was admitted to the bar and commenced practice in Philadelphia in 1847. Mr. Gest's practice was soon thoroughly established, and continued until 1873, when he became Vice-President of The Fidelity Insurance Trust and Safe Deposit Company, holding this position up to 1890, when he was made President and the head of the business, a position in which he still continues. His successful record as a lawyer, and his able management and development of the business of the company with which he has since been identified, have made him prominent among those who have contributed to the thrift and progress of the city. He is a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, and has been President of the Union Benevolent Association, President of the Alumni Association of the College Department of the University of Pennsylvania, and Trustee of the Presbyterian Hospital.

He married in June, 1852, Elizabeth A. Purves, daughter of Alexander Purves, of Philadelphia. Of their four children—Alexander P., a matriculate of the University of Pennsylvania and graduate of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute of Troy, with the degree of C.E., is Superintendent of the Belvidere Division of the Pennsylvania Railroad; Lydia M., is the wife of G. H. Freedley, of Philadelphia; John Marshall, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, is a practicing lawyer of Philadelphia, and William P., also a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, and a member of the Philadelphia Bar, is the assistant to the President of The Fidelity Insurance Trust and Safe Deposit Company of Philadelphia.

John B. Gest



LAMBERT, MAJOR WILLIAM HARRISON (born in Reading, Berks County, May 9, 1842), is the only son of James Valentine Lambert (born in Sinking Springs, Berks County, November 18, 1818; died in Philadelphia, January 18, 1881), and Susannah Keen (born in Reading, November 3, 1819; died in Philadelphia June 2, 1891), daughter of Jacob and Sarah Riegel Keen.

He was educated at private schools in Reading, and afterward—his parents removing to Philadelphia in 1850—in the public schools and the High School of that city, graduating from the High School in 1859, as valedictorian of his class, with the degree of A.B., the honorary degree of A.M. being received in 1864. Completing his graduate course he took up the study of law, but the breaking out of the Civil War and his entrance upon military service interrupted his studies and gave a new direction to his career. Nine months before reaching his majority, in August, 1862, he enlisted as a private in the Fifteenth Pennsylvania (Anderson) Cavalry, serving in Pennsylvania and Maryland during Lee's invasion, participating in the battle of Antietam, and afterward accompanying his regiment to Louisville, Ky. Here he was discharged November 24, 1862, to accept promotion as First Lieutenant and Adjutant of the Twenty-seventh New Jersey Volunteers (infantry) that formed part of the Ninth Corps of the Army of the Potomac, and participated in the battle of Fredericksburg in December following. July 2, 1863, he was honorably mustered out, and eleven days later was appointed First Lieutenant and Adjutant of the Thirty-third New Jersey Volunteers. In September of the same year the regiment joined the Army of the Potomac, being assigned to the Eleventh Corps, which, with the Twelfth, was ordered West under the command of General Hooker. He took an active part in the battles of Chattanooga (in which his horse was killed under him), and in the campaign for the relief of Burnside at Knoxville. January 16, 1864, he was commissioned Captain in his regiment, and in May was appointed Aide-de-Camp upon the staff of Brigadier-General Geary, commanding the Second Division, Twentieth Corps—the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps having been consolidated as the Twentieth, under Hooker—and was subsequently appointed Assistant Inspector-General on the same staff.

Captain Lambert took part in the Atlanta campaign, and in the action at Pine Hill again had his horse shot under him. In the famous March to the Sea and the campaign from Goldsborough to Raleigh, N. C., he accompanied his division, with which he marched northward and participated in the grand review at Washington that celebrated the close of active hostilities. Upon the disbandment of Sherman's army he was assigned to duty upon the staff of General Wilcox, commanding the District of Washington. He was breveted Major of United States Volunteers March 13, 1865, "for gallant and meritorious conduct during the war," and was honorably mustered

out of service with his regiment July 17, 1865. The "Medal of Honor" also, under resolution of Congress, was awarded him "for distinguished service during the War of the Rebellion."

When Major Lambert's active military duties were over he returned to civil life, and in 1866 became associated with the Philadelphia General Agency of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York. In 1872 he was admitted to partnership in the management of the agency, and in 1887 became its head as General Agent, a position which he still holds.

Major Lambert is connected with various military and social organizations. He is a member of Post 2, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Pennsylvania, and of the Commandery of the State of Pennsylvania; of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, of which he was Junior Vice-Commander in 1887-88; of the Union League, Art, Penn, United Service, Philo-Biblion, and Germantown Cricket clubs, of the Science and Art Club of Germantown, and of the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and is Treasurer of the Mercantile Library Company, and of the Central Congregational Church. In 1879 he delivered the Memorial Day address before Post 2, of Philadelphia, since which time his services have been in frequent demand for similar occasions and at military reunions. Among the more notable of his addresses may be mentioned that on "The American Navy," at the Grant Camp-fire in the Philadelphia Academy of Music, in 1879; the eulogy on General Meade, before the Department of Pennsylvania Encampment, Grand Army of the Republic, in 1880; the memorial oration at the Arlington (Va.) National Cemetery, in 1883; the annual oration before the Society of the Army of the Cumberland, in 1884, the theme being Major-General George H. Thomas; and the eulogy on General Hancock, at Gettysburg, on Memorial Day, in 1886.

Major Lambert has been a lover of books from boyhood, and has given much attention to their collection. His library is rich in the literature of the War of the Rebellion, with special reference to Abraham Lincoln, in which regard it is believed to be the most complete collection of books and pamphlets existing in private ownership. His library of Thackerayana, comprising manuscripts, autograph letters, original drawings, first and special editions, is probably unsurpassed in richness either in England or America.

Early in 1892 he was appointed by Mayor Stuart a member of the Board having charge of the Public Charities and Correction of Philadelphia, and September 30 of the same year he was appointed President of the Department, and in April, 1897, at the expiration of his term, was reappointed by Mayor Warwick.

In October, 1874, Major Lambert married Herminia Van Haagen, and has four children—Helen, George Thomas, Mary, and Edith.

Clement A. Griscom

GRISCOM, CLEMENT A., the head of the International Navigation Company, occupies a place of singular prominence in the maritime world. He was born March 15, 1841, and is the descendant of a family that for two centuries played an important part in the history of Philadelphia. The first of that name settled here in 1680, and were members of the Society of Friends. The family from which his mother was descended was also noted as having been active in public affairs. Thomas Lloyd, one of her ancestors, was Deputy Governor and President of the Council of Pennsylvania from 1684 to 1693.

Mr. Griscom was educated in the public schools of Philadelphia, and after leaving the high school he finished his studies in the Academy of the Society of Friends. He soon after entered the office of Peter Wright & Sons as a clerk, but was rapidly advanced. He was admitted to the firm in 1863, when only 22 years of age. The scope of his activities gradually enlarged until it embraced the management of the ship and steamship enterprises, which formed a leading part of the firm's business. Department after department was placed under his direction as he evidenced his ability to handle them.

Among other tasks he made an exhaustive study of marine architecture in its special application to the merchant marine. His success in this science was followed by promotions. He was soon selected as the first President of the Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, and was re-elected each recurring year. Upon the formation of the International Navigation Company, in 1871, Mr. Griscom was elected its Vice-President, and in 1881, upon the resignation of James A. Wright, became the President of the Company, which position he still occupies.

The company has grown steadily. It now owns the fleet of four palatial vessels of the "American Line" of transatlantic ocean steamships, and controls nearly all the stock of the "Red Star Line," a Belgian Company, and nearly all the stock of the International Navigation Company of Liverpool, and a total of nineteen ocean-going vessels. At Mr. Griscom's instance, the steamships "New York" and "Paris," both built under his directions, were transferred to American registry. This action was promptly followed by the building of the "St. Paul" and "St. Louis."

These four celebrated vessels, originally constructed under naval requirements for speedy conversion into auxiliary cruisers, were chartered by the United States Government at the beginning of the recent war with Spain, and performed their duties in a highly satisfactory manner, both as fighters and transports.

His patriotism was publicly recognized, when on April 18, 1893, he was tendered a banquet by the Union League as a testimonial of appreciation of patriotic works. He is a director in the following corporations: Pennsylvania Railroad Company, Bank of North America,

The Insurance Company of North America, The Fidelity Insurance, Trust and Safe Deposit Company, and other important business corporations. He is a member of the Philadelphia, Rittenhouse, Union League, and Farmers' clubs, and the Corinthian Yacht Club, of which he was for two years Commodore. He is a member of several clubs in New York City, and also in Washington, Chicago, and London.

He was married to Frances C. Biddle in 1862. They have five children. Their home, "Dolabran," was named for the old seat of the Lloyd family in Wales. It is beautifully situated on the line of the Pennsylvania Railroad, near Haverford.

BULLOCK, GEORGE ANDERSON (born in Philadelphia, September 11, 1841), is the son of Jonathan Bullock, and is a descendant of Isaac Bullock, who emigrated to America in 1680, and settled in Burlington County, New Jersey, under a grant from William Penn. His grandfather was Isaac Bullock, of Fallsington, Bucks County, Pa., and his grandmother, Sarah Burton, was a native of the same place, Mrs. Bullock being of the family of Burtons prominent in Bucks County, Pa. His father, Jonathan Bullock, was one of the Commissioners of the District of Spring Garden previous to consolidation. He was elected the first member of Select Council from the 13th Ward after consolidation, and was the first chairman of the first Republican City Executive Committee in 1856.

Mr. Bullock's preparatory education was begun in the Public Schools of Philadelphia, and continued in the Central High School. He received the degree of A. B. in 1860, and that of Master of Arts in 1865. Early entering upon a business career, he has devoted himself chiefly to passenger railway construction, his business growing to large proportions not only in Philadelphia, but in other cities, notably in New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Baltimore, Washington, D. C.; Easton, Pa.; Newark, N. J.; Trenton, and Norfolk, Va., the total of railway construction aggregating hundreds of miles.

His ability and wide experience have been justly recognized by the citizens and authorities of his native city. In 1887, he was made inspector of electrical construction; in 1888, inspector of the Bureau of Street Cleaning; and from 1889 to 1895, he was chief of the Bureau of Highways. Under his administration over six hundred miles of streets and roads were paved with improved materials, making Philadelphia one of the best paved cities of the country.

Geo A Pullock

David Baugh

BAUGH, DANIEL (born in Chester County, Pa., October 22, 1836), is the son of John Pugh Baugh. His great-grandfather, John Baugh, his grandfather, Daniel Baugh, and his father were all natives of Chester County, near Paoli, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. The family as far back as the great-grandfather's time was engaged in tanning, or interested in some way with the leather trade. The sons of the second generation owned four or five tanneries in different sections of Chester County, and prosecuted the business until the scarcity of bark and more advanced methods of leather manufacture compelled its general removal to the western and northern sections of Pennsylvania.

In 1855, after a year or two of experimental and scientific investigation of the then new business of crop fertilizing, the father, John P. Baugh, with his eldest son, Edwin P. Baugh, and Daniel Baugh, under the firm name of Baugh & Sons, embarked at their tannery in the business of making and selling to the local trade a superphosphate made from raw bones. The power hitherto employed in grinding bark and driving other machinery incident to the old business, was used for two years in grinding bones and in mixing the dissolved product. The purely local demand for the phosphate almost immediately expanded to such an extent that it was found necessary to erect a special plant on the Brandywine creek at Downingtown, and here the business grew until the product of the new works reached a wide distribution throughout Chester, Delaware, and parts of Montgomery counties.

In 1859 the firm opened an office at No. 20 South Delaware avenue, Philadelphia. A year later it was found again necessary to expand the facilities for the manufacture of the firm's phosphate, and suitable works were leased in Philadelphia, where the business was at once largely increased, and the old works at Downingtown gradually abandoned. In 1865, a large tract of land lying upon the Delaware river at the foot of Morris street was purchased by Baugh & Sons, and very complete works were erected, known as the Delaware River Chemical Works. To the business hitherto forming the aim of the firm, were added animal charcoal, glue, and chemicals of various kinds, without detracting from the original purposes. The business in all its branches has been always kept within prudent and conservative lines. In 1887 the firm was incorporated, five years after the death of the senior partner, John Pugh Baugh, which occurred in 1882, Edwin P. Baugh and Daniel Baugh becoming respectively the president and vice-president of the new corporation, under the name of Baugh & Sons Company. In 1888, upon the death of Edwin P. Baugh, the presidency of the company devolved upon Daniel Baugh, who has since been in active discharge of all its duties.

Mr. Baugh is also connected with the management of various banking, insurance, mercantile, benevolent, and other Philadelphia

institutions, including the Girard National Bank, Delaware Insurance Company, Trades League, Jefferson Medical College, School of Design for Women, Archæological Department of the University of Pennsylvania, the Commercial Museums of Philadelphia, Citizens' Permanent Relief Committee, and the Art Club. Of the last named Mr. Baugh is the president.

In 1861 he was married to Anna Wood, daughter of Allen Wood Wills, and has three children—two sons and a daughter.

WAGNER, GEORGE EMIL, prominently connected with fire insurance interests (born in Giessen, Germany, May 18, 1842), is the son of Ludwig Wagner and Christine Berg. Emigrating with his parents to Philadelphia in 1849, he received a thorough education in the public schools of the city, rapidly absorbing the spirit of the institutions of his adopted country, both civic and National. When the Civil War broke out, foremost among the patriotic, he went to the front as a private. A brilliant record of successive promotions followed—from private to First Sergeant, Second Lieutenant, First Lieutenant, Captain, Major, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Brevet-Colonel, and, since the war, Colonel of the Eleventh Regiment of the National Guards of Pennsylvania. Returning from military service to civil life he entered the stock brokerage business, and from 1865 to 1866 was a member of the Philadelphia Stock Exchange. Later he became connected with insurance interests—both fire and life—and for ten years was President of the Philadelphia Fire Underwriters' Association, and for the last six years has been President of the Philadelphia Fire Insurance Patrol. From 1875 to 1876 he was Secretary of the New Jersey Fire, Marine, and Inland Insurance Company, and is now the head of the large fire insurance agency of Geo. E. Wagner & Co.

Mr. Wagner has been twice married: First, to Eleanor Roberts Mears, daughter of Ellwood and Anne de B. Mears, by whom he had three children—George Ellwood, Anne de Benneville, and Eleanor Roberts; and, second, to Caddie E. Evans, daughter of Dr. Joshua R. and Lucinda Evans, by whom he had two children—Caroline Frances, and Florence Elizabeth. To all these children excellent educational advantages have been given. Four brothers, with Mr. Wagner, are survivors of the parental family—Louis Wagner, President of the Third National Bank of Philadelphia; Emil C. Wagner, Agent of the Girard Estate in Schuylkill County; Fred M. Wagner, Delinquent Tax Officer, and B. Frank Wagner, Manager of the Schuylkill Traction Company.

Geo E Wagner

Jam's S. Kuey

HUEY, SAMUEL BAIRD (born in Philadelphia, January 7, 1843), is the son of Samuel Culbertson Huey and Mary Scott Baird. He prepared for college in the private schools of Philadelphia, graduating from Princeton University in 1863 with degree of A.B., and received the honorary degree of A.M. from the same university in 1866. Immediately upon graduating from Princeton, he entered the service of the United States as Ensign on the staff of Admiral Baily, serving from 1863 to 1864. From 1864 to 1866 he was on the United States Steamship Yantic, participating in both the battles of Fort Fisher, in the engagements on Cape Fear River, and in the exciting blockade work of the Atlantic Coast. He was Captain, Major, and, from 1867 to 1878, Adjutant-General in the National Guard of the State of Pennsylvania. In 1868, Mr. Huey received the degree of LL.B. from the University of Pennsylvania, and, since his return from the war to civil life, has devoted himself to the profession of the law, attaining wide success and prominence among the leading members of the bar.

Mr. Huey has been Vice-President and Director for years of the Union League of Philadelphia, is a member of the Loyal Legion, of the Grand Army, of the Art Club, United Service Club, and of the Lawyers' and Country Clubs. He has been a member of the Board of Education from 1886 to the present time, and became President of the Board in 1897. His religious connections are with the Presbyterian Church, in which he is an Elder. Politically he is a Republican.

In 1868, Mr. Huey was married to Mary Elizabeth Abrams, a lineal descendant of the old Puritan Hunt family of Concord, Mass., by whom he has three sons and two daughters.

GIBBS, WILLIAM WARREN (born in the village of Hope, Warren County, New Jersey, March 8, 1846), is the son of Levi B. Gibbs and Ellen Venatta. His father's ancestors were among the early settlers of Rhode Island, and his mother was a sister of the late Hon. Jacon Venatta, one of the leading lawyers of New Jersey, and at one time Attorney-General of that State. Mr. Gibbs was educated in the public schools of his native village, and at fourteen years of age sought employment in a grain, flour, and feed store in Newark, N. J. A year later he was clerk in a general country store, where he remained for two years, going from there to take a position at a larger establishment at Hackettstown, N. J. Here he served for eight years, and abundantly displayed the financial abilities so conspicuous in his subsequent career. At the age of twenty-three he became a partner in the business, and

two years later, in 1871, his partner died, and he closed out the business, and, with a few thousand dollars as capital, went to New York, and with friends began the retail drygods business. This evidently was not altogether successful, and in 1873 he organized the firm of Bauer, Gibbs & Company, wholesale grocers. They were hampered, however, by inadequate capital, and he withdrew from the firm in 1875, practically penniless. At this juncture he became acquainted with Mr. Ferdinand King, inventor and holder of a patent for making gas from petroleum, and the two formed a corporation called the National Petroleum Gas Company of New York. Although they had no capital but an abiding faith in the merits of the invention, Mr. Gibbs' ability, shrewdness, and untiring energy soon brought the firm a large number of contracts.

In his first seven years, he built more than a hundred gas works in all parts of the country from Maine to California, and four years after he withdrew from the grocery business, with only one thousand dollars, he was worth a quarter of a million. His syste mof making gas involved the use of large quantities of petroleum, and his heavy purchases soon formed for him the acquaintance of some of the active officials of the Standard Oil Company whom he succeeded in interesting in his processes. As the result of his representations, the United Gas Improvement Company, of Philadelphia, was formed in 1882, with Mr. Gibbs as General Manager. This company has been highly successful and has paid large dividends. Mr. Gibbs is also prominently identified with railroad interests, especially in the Philadelphia & Reading and the New England Railroad Company (which includes the Poughkeepsie Bridge), of which he is a director. The Poughkeepsie Bridge is a monument to Mr. Gibbs' enterprise, as, in 1886, he undertook to finish the uncompleted structure, which had for years laid dormant, and carried it to a successful completion in a little over two years. Mr. Gibbs was largely interested in the organization of the Pennsylvania Heat, Light and Power Company, in which he is also a director. He is also Vice-President of the Welsbach Light Company, which he organized in the interest of the United Gas Improvement Company. The organization of the Electric Storage Battery Company in 1894 was likewise due to his efforts. This corporation, of which Mr. Gibbs is Vice-President, has control of all the principal storage battery companies in the United States. In February, 1897, Mr. Gibbs organized the Marsden Company, formed for the purpose of utilizing commercially the waste product of corn-stalks, which they manufacture into cellulose.

Mr. Gibbs was married October 16, 1872, to Frances A. Johnson, daughter of George W. Johnson, one of his early employees. They have six children, and reside in a handsome house in North Broad street, Philadelphia.

W. W. Gibbes

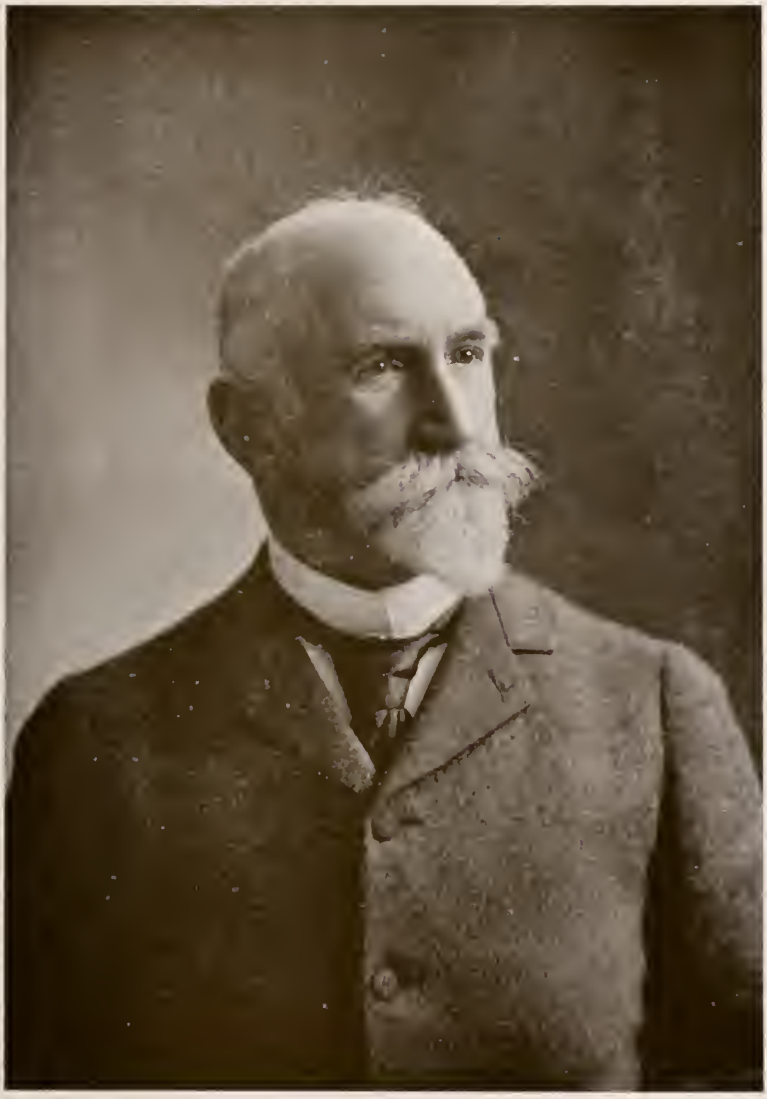
Geo Burnham

BURNHAM, GEORGE (born in Springfield, Mass, March 11, 1817), is the son of Chas. Burnham and Persis White. Upon his mother's side he is descended from Elder John White, who was one of the earliest settlers of Cambridge, Mass.; Hartford, Conn., and Hadley, Mass., being one of the first selectmen

of the town, and twice serving as deputy to the General Court of Massachusetts. Upon his father's side he is descended from Thomas Burnham, who, about 1635, settled in Hartford, Conn.—a lawyer, and a man of much force of character. In 1831, Mr. Burnham, then a lad of 14, came to Philadelphia and entered the employ of Baldwin & Colton, grocers, at Second and Dock streets, Mr. Colton being a friend of the Burnham family. The simple education of the New England free school was now supplemented by eager reading of histories and biographies into the midnight hours, the working day being from 6 a. m. till 10 p. m. A taste for inventions at an early period expressed itself in various ways, a diving machine, practically tested in the Delaware, having been devised at the age of 19. In 1837 Mr. Burnham took a clerical position in the locomotive works of M. W. Baldwin, becoming a member of the firm of M. Baird & Co., after the death of Mr. Baldwin, in 1866. Mr. Burnham married Anne Hemple, of Philadelphia, in 1842. Mr. Burnham is still living in Philadelphia.

GILLINGHAM, JOSEPH EDDY (born in Philadelphia, July 6, 1830), is the son of Samuel H. Gillingham and Lucy Eddy. His ancestors on both sides were Quakers from England, Wales, and France, who settled in this country about 1680. Mr. Gillingham was educated at private schools and at the High School of Philadelphia. He early entered upon a business career, to which his life has since been devoted,—in the main concentrated upon the sawmill and lumber business, which he has developed to large proportions,—as President of the Gillingham-Garrison Company Saw Mills and Lumber Company, of which he has been a partner and President since 1854. In successfully prosecuting this special enterprise, involving extensive capital and a wide field of industry, Mr. Gillingham has become a recognized factor in the business progress of the city, and his influence and association have been sought by other interests and various institutions. He is President of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, and is connected as officer or director with several trust companies, insurance companies, and other institutions of the city. He is also owner and manager of a farm of three hundred acres located twelve miles from Philadelphia.

In 1873 he was chosen as one of the Commissioners to the Vienna Exposition. He is Manager of the Pennsylvania Hospital, President of the Veterinary Department of the University of Pennsylvania, and a contributor to most of the charitable societies of Philadelphia. Among the clubs and societies of which he is a member are the Union League and the Art Club. Mr. Gillingham has twice made an ex-



Joseph E. Gillespie

Frank Dale La Fauve

tended tour of Europe—one year each—during which he went over, at his leisure, the principal points of interest of the Continent.

In 1864 he was married to Clara Donaldson.

LA LANNE, FRANK DALE (born in Philadelphia, February 2, 1847), is the son of Joseph P. La Lanne and Emiline Dale Warrington, daughter of Captain Purnell Warrington, a privateersman in the War of 1812, and is of French and English ancestry. His grandfather, Dominic Pëyrigné de La Lanne, was a soldier in Napoleon's army for eight years, going in as a private and coming out a Brigadier. His honorable discharge is now in Mr. La Lanne's possession. He was an owner of two plantations in San Domingo, but driven from there by an insurrection of the slaves, he came to Philadelphia at the time financially ruined.

Mr. La Lanne was educated at the Philadelphia High School, and, choosing a business career, by steady application and pronounced executive ability, has achieved success and wide prominence in business and manufacturing circles. He is head of the house of Frank D. La Lanne & Co., whose extensive cotton and woolen mills are a marked factor in that branch of productive industry in the city. He has also wide relations to other business interests. He is Vice-President and Treasurer of the Snow-Church Company, of Philadelphia; Director in the Bryn Mawr National Bank, and Director in the Bryn Mawr Trust Company. He is likewise identified with many clubs and societies. He was First Vice-President of the Sons of Delaware Club, and a member of the Union League, Manufacturers' Club, Philadelphia Country Club, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, French Benevolent Society, and the Merion Cricket Club. He is also a Vestryman in the French Church of St. Sauveur, Philadelphia.

In 1885 he was married to Anna Sharpe, daughter of Charles Sharpe, Esq., and granddaughter of Captain Abijah Sharpe, U. S. Marshal of Philadelphia, a privateersman of the War of 1812. Mr. La Lanne has one daughter, Anna Sharpe, born in 1892.

HENSZEY, WILLIAM PEDDLE (born in Philadelphia, September 24, 1832), is the son of Samuel C. Henszey. He was educated in Philadelphia, graduating from the Central High School in July, 1848. Upon leaving school, he started in mercantile pursuits, but his love of mechanics led him to study mechanical engineering, and, in 1859, he became connected with the Baldwin Locomotive Works as Engineer and Draughtsman. In 1862

he had charge of construction, and in 1870 he became a member of the firm, where he has since continued closely identified with the growth and prosperity of the largest works of its kind in the world.

Wm. P. Henszey.

In May, 1857, Mr. Henszey was married to Anne B. Hitchcock, of Abington, Mass., and has one daughter. He is a member of the Society of Friends, and in politics is a Republican.

SINGERLY, WILLIAM MISKEY (born in Philadelphia, Pa., December 27, 1832), was the son of Joseph and Catharine Singerly. His father was one of the pioneers in the construction and operation of street railways, accumulated a large estate, and was a prominent and influential citizen. Mr. Singerly was educated in the public schools of Philadelphia, graduating from the Central High School in 1850 with the degree of B.A., and later receiving the degree of Master of Arts. His early years were spent in purely mercantile pursuits, during which he received a business training of ten years in a commission house in Philadelphia. In 1870 he went to Chicago and established himself in business; but was soon recalled by his father, who desired him to take charge of one of his railway lines. He managed the railway with such success that he was able within a few years to dispose of a controlling interest at a large profit.

Once launched in independent business his career speedily became one of marked activity and enterprise, widening in scope until he became interested in the direct control of a large number of distinctly successful enterprises. The chief of these was his ownership and editorship of the Philadelphia *Record*, the second leading morning daily in the United States, and the pioneer of penny journalism. Its success has been remarkable and phenomenal, for it has earnestly and aggressively advocated Democratic principles in a city and State overwhelmingly Republican. It has carried the banner of Free Trade in the stronghold of Protection.

His capital, foresight, and enterprise have done much toward making Philadelphia the "City of Homes" by erecting nearly one thousand houses upon a large tract of land which was a part of his father's estate. Mr. Singerly's leisure—extracted from a busy life—was devoted to the higher features of farming, in which he gained wide fame as a successful stock breeder. He was the owner of one of the finest stock farms in Pennsylvania, upon which special attention was paid to securing perfection in Holstein cattle. Supplementing this was a large stock farm in Maryland, where the rearing of the thoroughbred race horse was given special attention and care.

He built the magnificent Temple Theater, which was destroyed by fire in 1886. Upon its site he erected a building whose architectural beauty is one of the features of the city, and in this structure, among other financial institutions, was located the Chestnut Street Bank.

After 1886 Mr. Singerly was prominently active in politics, and was readily recognized as the Democratic party leader of the State. He was especially energetic in the Cleveland campaigns, and in 1894 was the standard bearer of his party as candidate for Governor. As a public speaker he was distinguished for wit, force, and clearness, and, in controversy, for his dignified treatment of an opponent. He died suddenly March 6, 1898.

BLANKENBURG, RUDOLPH (born in Barntrup, Lippe Detmold, Germany, February 16, 1843), is the son of Ludwig Blankenburg and Sophia Blankenburg, *nee* Goede. Early placed under the instruction of a private tutor he was afterward educated at one of the renowned German high schools in Lippstadt, Westphalia. At twenty-one years of age he left his native country and came to America, settled in Philadelphia, and entered upon mercantile pursuits. After remaining with one of the leading houses of Philadelphia for ten years he embarked in business for himself, and has since built up one of the principal commercial and manufacturing houses of the city, having extended dealings throughout the country and abroad, with main connections in New York, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, Denver, and Yokohama.

Mr. Blankenburg has risen to prominence and influence, not only in business circles, but also in public affairs, in which he has taken an active part since 1880. Profoundly sympathizing with the unfortunate and needy he has done practical and effective work in relieving their sufferings. He is one of the founders of the Charity Organization Society of Philadelphia, and also a founder and the oldest member in active service of the Citizens' Permanent Relief Committee, organized for the purpose of giving immediate aid in case of any calamity at home or abroad.

In 1892 Mr. Blankenburg went to Russia to distribute the cargo of flour and provisions, sent on the steamer Indiana, for the starving Russian peasants. He traveled extensively in Russia, visiting the famine regions, especially in the province of Samara, between the River Volga and the Caspian Sea. During the unparalleled business depression in 1894 he espoused the cause of the poor in Philadelphia, who were being unmercifully mulcted by unprincipled money lenders at the rate of from twenty to sixty per cent. per month. He recovered for the needy borrowers thousands of dollars, and aided others by advice and counsel. He is now attempting to found a loan society for the purpose of furnishing money in small sums at the legal rate of interest, plus the actual cost of conducting the association.

Mr. Blankenburg, while independent in local affairs, is Republican on all national questions, and is always in demand throughout the country in national campaigns, being a forcible and eloquent speaker, and never failing to attract large and attentive audiences.

As one of the original members of the famous Citizens' Committee of One Hundred, organized in December, 1880, he distinguished himself as one of the most uncompromising and aggressive foes of the ring of corrupt Republican politicians who had for years ruled and plundered the city of Philadelphia; he served on its Executive Committee, addressed scores of public meetings, and after the successful issue of the campaign, was appointed chairman of the committee for

Rudolph Blankenburg

John N. Converse

the prosecution of election frauds. The work of this committee will ever be memorable in the history of Philadelphia.

Mr. Blankenburg's travels have given him a wide opportunity for observation and study, and include almost every part of the United States, repeated journeys to Europe, the tour of the world, aside from three visits to Japan. While in Japan he devoted much time to the study of Japanese life and manners. As a lecturer and writer upon social, political, and other subjects he contributes largely to the cause of education and the promotion of worthy undertakings.

He is a member of the Union League, the New Century Club, Contemporary Club, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, originator of and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National League of Business Men, Director of the Manufacturers' Club, President of the Thirteenth Street Building Association, a Director of the Mechanics' National Bank, and was for three years President of the German Society of Pennsylvania.

In April, 1867, Mr. Blankenburg was married to Lucretia M. Longshore, a member of the Society of Friends, and of an ancestral family antedating the arrival of William Penn.

CONVERSE, JOHN H. (born in Vermont), is a partner of the extensive establishment known as the Baldwin Locomotive Works. This vast industrial establishment is co-existent with the gigantic railway interests of the continent. The works take their name from their founder, Matthias W. Baldwin, who built a miniature locomotive in Philadelphia as early as 1831. His first locomotive, "Old Ironsides," built for the Philadelphia, Germantown and Norristown Railroad Company, was completed in 1832. This was followed by other locomotives, including one called the "Lancaster," for the State road from Philadelphia to Columbia, in 1834. As early as this year, greater facilities for turning out perfectly equipped locomotives were required, and the present site of the Baldwin works, at Broad and Hamilton streets, Philadelphia, was decided upon. Mr. Baldwin conducted the business alone until 1839, when he associated himself with Vale & Hufty, under the firm name of Baldwin, Vale & Hufty. The firm was afterward known as Baldwin & Vale, Baldwin and Whitney, Baldwin & Baird, and M. Baird & Company. The title of the "Baldwin Locomotive Works, M. Baird & Co., Proprietors," was adopted in 1867. Mr. Converse became a member of the firm upon the dissolution of the copartnership of M. Baird & Company. He is a man of sound judgment and great executive ability.

WILLIAMS, EDWARD HIGGINSON, M.D. (born in Woodstock, Vt., June 1, 1824), is a leading railroad and scientific man, as well as an able surgeon and physician. He is a member of the firm of Burnham, Williams & Co., Baldwin Locomotive Works. His parents were Norman and Mary Ann Wentwork (Brown) Williams. He had a thorough educational training, attending school in Montreal, Woodstock, the Pontiac

W. B. Gill

(Mich.) University, and later the Vermont Medical College, of which his father was Dean. He was married, June 15, 1848, to Cornelia Bailey Pratt, youngest daughter of John A. and Sarah (Bailey) Pratt, of Woodstock.[1]

His first railroad experience was in the construction of the Michigan Central Railway. His health failing, he abandoned this work for a time, and studied medicine, as stated, graduating in 1846. He continued in practice until some time in the early fifties, when, his health recovering, he again turned his attention to railroad construction, in which he was a pioneer in many sections of the West.

As a manager, Dr. Williams introduced first many of the signals which now line the tracks of a well-appointed railroad. In 1865 he came to Altoona as General Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad, an office now equivalent to General Manager, and as such he remained till 1872, when his experience as a railroad man was considered of sufficient value by the Baldwin Locomotive Works to authorize them to admit him to the firm, where he has since remained. During this time, and due greatly to his aid, the yearly output of locomotives has steadily increased, and in the interests of the firm he has introduced them into Australia, and throughout South America and Japan.

In 1879, while in Sydney, N. S. W., he was appointed United States Commissioner to the Sydney Exposition, and laid out the American exhibit. He has ever been interested in the cause of education, and has built and endowed a public library in his native town. In recognition of such a disposition he was created in 1876 a Knight of the Swedish Order of the North Star and elected a member of the Swedish Royal Academy.

GILL, WILLIAM B., Superintendent of the Western Union Telegraph Company, Philadelphia, was born in Philadelphia, December 27, 1847. He was educated in the public schools of the city, and at the age of fourteen entered the service of the Inland Telegraph Company as a messenger boy. He was subsequently employed by the American Telegraph Company. In 1866 he performed his first service for the Western Union. His exceptional energy and ability were at once recognized by James Morrihew, at that time Manager, who rapidly promoted him through the various positions of delivery clerk, assistant cashier, and chief clerk. Upon Mr. Morrihew's appointment as Superintendent, Mr. Gill was made Assistant Superintendent.

Mr. Gill's experience and executive ability soon became widely recognized, and in 1881 he was induced to resign his position to en-

[1] Professor Edward H. Williams, Jr., of the Lehigh University, at Bethlehem, Pa., is a son of Dr. Williams. A daughter, Anna, is married to William F. Dreer, of Philadelphia.

gage in the construction of the Bankers' and Merchants' Telegraph line between New York and Philadelphia, and the American Rapid Telegraph line between Philadelphia and Pittsburg. Having finished the construction of these lines with remarkable promptness, Mr. Gill, the same year, assumed the management of the Mutual Union Telegraph Company. This position he soon resigned to accept the position of General Superintendent of the Delaware & Atlantic Telegraph and Telephone Company. In 1884 he became the Superintendent of the Sixth District of the Western Union, which embraces the territory between Jersey City and the Potomac, and from the coast to the Alleghany Mountains.

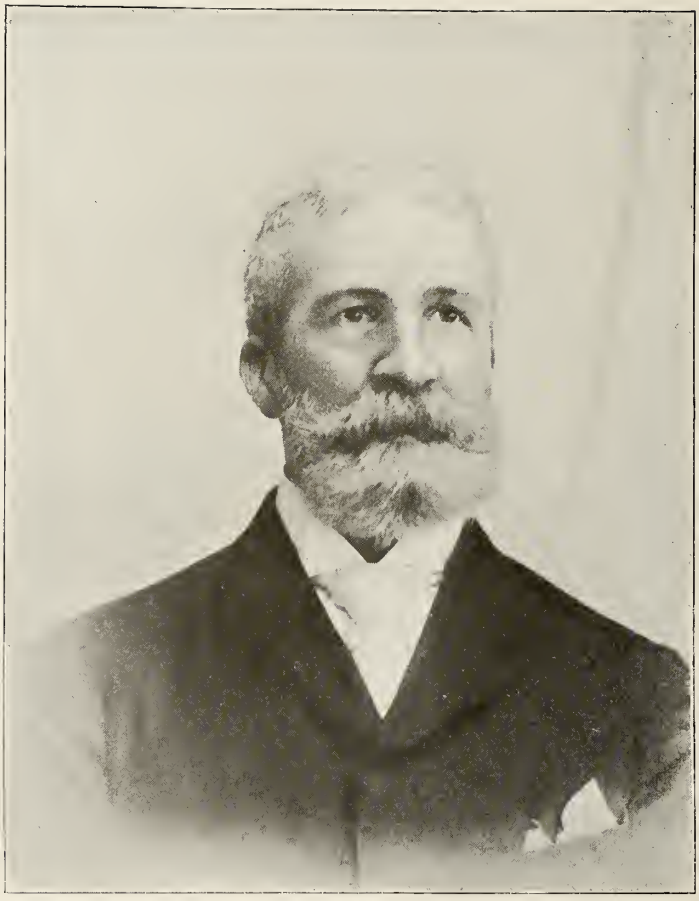
Being closely identified with the telephone interest from its infancy, Mr. Gill was elected Vice-President of the Bell Telephone Company of Philadelphia, and soon afterward was made General Manager of the Philadelphia Local Telegraph Company. He was subsequently chosen President of the same corporation.

He was appointed a member of the Board of Public Education in 1888; Commissioner from Pennsylvania to the Paris Exposition in 1889, and the following year was appointed a member of the State Board of Public Charities, and has been reappointed to the place each subsequent term since. He was also appointed a Commissioner from Pennsylvania to the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893.

BUTTON, JOHN, the founder of the Germantown Hosiery Mills, at Germantown, Philadelphia, was born in Leicester, England, March 8, 1800, and there received his education and training in the art of designing and manufacturing knit goods. When he attained the age of thirty years, actuated by the spirit of enterprise that led so many young and thoroughly skilled manufacturers to seek new and wider fields, he determined to emigrate, and in the early part of April, 1830, set sail for the United States with his wife and two children, landing at New York on the 24th of the same month. The next day he started for Philadelphia, then the most important center for the manufacture of textile fabrics. He began business in a building in Third street, below Shippen, where he set up the two knitting-machines he had brought with him from England. At first his product was principally children's socks, which were sold to the merchants in Market and Second streets, but the facilities for manufacturing were so limited, that he was compelled to seek larger and better accommodations, and in April, 1831, he moved to Germantown, then a suburb of Philadelphia, and established what is now known as the Germantown Hosiery Mills.

At this early date the manufacture of hosiery by machinery was in

John Button



Augustus Burton

its infancy, and no machinery for that purpose was built in the United States. Mr. Button had to make his own needles from wire imported from England, and it was a slow, tedious process, requiring much time and labor, but his mechanical skill and genius overcame all obstacles, and he not only made the needles, but contrived suitable new machinery for the manufacture of knit fabrics of various patterns and designs.

The motive power at this time was by hand and foot, and very laborious. The increased demand for knit goods necessitated greater power and quicker results, and, in 1838, steam power was introduced and machinery adapted to the new order of things put in. Increasing business made it necessary to enlarge the plant—additional buildings were erected—new and improved machinery had to be purchased, and later on it was found necessary to add a carding and spinning department and dye house, so that raw material could be manufactured into finished goods without going into other hands.

Mr. Button had associated with him for a number of years his sister's husband, Conyers Smith, the firm name being Button & Smith. Mr. Smith retired in 1851 and returned to England, after which Mr. Button admited his eldest son Joseph to partnership, the style of the firm being John Button & Son; seven years later the second son, Conyers, was admitted, and the firm name was changed to John Button & Sons. In 1862 Mr. Button retired from active business, leaving the management of the mills to his two sons. Joseph Button, the eldest son, retired in January, 1865, and the sole management of the large business was left to the control of Conyers Button.

John Button died February 7, 1882, in the eighty-second year of his age, Joseph Button dying February 8, 1882, at the age of fifty-four.

BUTTON, CONYERS, senior member of the firm of Conyers Button & Co., was born in Germantown, July 2, 1836. Mr. Button acquired a knowledge of the business at an early age, and, in 1858, was admitted into partnership with his father and elder brother, Joseph. The father retiring from business in 1862, and the elder brother in 1865, Mr. Button became the sole owner and operator of the extensive mills known as the Germantown Hosiery Mills, in East Walnut lane, near Germantown avenue.

In 1869, Theodore A. Fleu, a nephew, was admitted to partnership. Mr. Fleu had been engaged in the works for a number of years, and was of great assistance to Mr. Button. He retired in 1882, and is now residing in West Newton, Mass. In 1879, John Button, another nephew, son of Joseph Button, a former partner, was admitted to the

firm, with every promise of a brilliant business career, but in the flower of his manhood was stricken with an illness that terminated his life October 23, 1886.

During the interim between 1879 and 1886 great changes took place in the establishment. The increasing demand for fancy woolen knit goods necessitated a further enlargement of the plant. A new dye-house, capable of turning out twenty-five hundred pounds of dyed yarns per day, was erected; also a large four-story brick building, which was equipped with the latest and most improved machinery. About this time (1883) it was decided to retire from the hosiery business, and devote all the time and attention of the firm to the manufacture of fancy knit goods. In 1887, Martin L. Finckel was admitted a partner. Mr. Finckel entered the employ of Conyers Button & Co., in January, 1869. On January 1, 1895, Joseph Priestley Button, son of Conyers Button, was admitted to partnership.

SMITHERS, ELIAS PRIMROSE (born in South Milford, Sussex County, Del., July 31, 1843), is the son of Elias Smithers and Elizabeth Primrose, daughter of Elias Primrose and Amelia Manlove. He is of Scotch and English ancestry, the Primroses coming from Scotland and the Smithers and Manloves from England—all three families being among the earliest settlers of Delaware.

Mr. Smithers was educated at Milford Academy, and at the Law Department of the University of Pennsylvania, graduating from the latter with the degree of LL.B. in 1869. He was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar in November of the same year, and, settling in the city, at once commenced practice. He soon gained a foothold, and, in 1873, became Assistant City Solicitor, continuing in that office until 1881. His private practice grew to successful proportions, and his influence in the public affairs of the city soon became prominent. In 1883 he was elected Common Councilman from the Twenty-ninth Ward, holding the office until 1895. He served in the Common Council as Chairman of the Committee on Law, Chairman of the Joint Committee on Highways, and of the Joint Committee on Finance. In 1894 he was elected Register of Wills for a term of three years beginning with January 1, 1895. He is also the senior member of the law firm of Smithers & Craig, Philadelphia.

In July, 1870, Mr. Smithers married Anna Lind Mason, daughter of Thomas T. Mason, of Philadelphia. He has no children. He has two brothers and a sister living; John P. Smithers of Merced County, California; Theodore Smithers, of Philadelphia, and Hettie A., wife of George W. Staats, of Philadelphia.

Elias P. Smithers.

CAMPBELL, GEORGE (born in Ireland, September, 1843), is the son of John Campbell. He was educated in public and private schools, first in his native country and subsequently in the schools here, and early entered upon a business career in Philadelphia. From small beginnings, by industry and special aptitude for his calling—the manufacture of woolens—he has built up

George Campbell

one of the large and commanding business establishments of the city, occupying a recognized position as a factor in the development of Philadelphia's manufacturing interests. He is vice-president of the Union League, a member of the Manufacturers' Club, and associated with financial interests as a bank director.

In 1870 Mr. Campbell was married to Violetta Carlisle, daughter of Robert M. and Violetta Carlisle, of Philadelphia.

RORKE, ALLEN BEARLEY (born in Philadelphia, March 21, 1846), is the son of James Rorke and Rachael Kitchen, and came on both sides from an ancestry of skilled mechanics. His father was a carpenter and builder; his mother, the daughter of a carpenter and builder, and his forefathers back to ancestor John Rorke, who married into the German family of Bearley and settled in Reading, Pa., all followed in a marked way mechanical pursuits. His first important work was in 1868, when, at twenty-two years of age, he went to Easton to superintend the erection of the Pardee Scientific School for the founder, Ario Pardee, the millionaire coal operator. This work was so successful that Mr. Pardee sent him to rebuild the magnificent residence of his son, Calvin Pardee, at Hazleton. Returning to Philadelphia, Mr. Rorke was placed in charge of the construction of the Board of Brokers' Building under the supervision of Architect James H. Windrim. The construction of a line of offices followed. He was next associated with the construction of Horticultural Hall, in Fairmount Park, and of buildings on the Girard College grounds.

In 1879 Mr. Rorke commenced as builder on his own account. His thorough equipment and his perfect knowledge of every detail of his trade, the high recommendation of his principals, and the prompt manner in which he executed his contracts soon gave him increase of business and a wide reputation.[1]

In politics Mr. Rorke is Republican, and from 1888 to 1890 held the chairmanship of the Republican City Committee, accepting it at a time when the party in the city was badly disorganized. He restored harmony to its councils, fought successfully the party battles, and retired from the Committee leaving it free from debt. In 1891 he was brought forward for Mayor of Philadelphia, but withdrew in favor of Edwin S. Stuart.

In 1868 Mr. Rorke was married to Elizabeth Maynard, daughter of Thomas Maynard, an architect and builder well known for work he has done in England, and has two grown children. He is a Thirty-second Degree Mason, a member of the Union League, the Union Republican Club, the Columbia Club, the Exchange Club, the Young Men's Republican Club, the Senate and Cameron clubs, and the Clover Club. He also holds a membership in the Master Builders' Exchange, the Board of Trade, the Spring Garden Institute, and the Fairmount Park Association.

[1]Among his first contracts were an extensive addition to the mills of Thomas Dolan & Co., the Second and Third Streets Passenger Railway Co.'s Depot, the extensive cordage works of Edwin H. Fitler & Co., at Bridesburg, and the construction of "No. 8" buildings on the Girard College grounds. The most extensive works of all were the enormous refinery for Claus Spreckels; the Betz Building at Broad street and South Penn Square, which towers above the City Hall; the entire block of store buildings bounded by Market, Eleventh, Twelfth, and Girard streets, for the Girard Estate, and the Philadelphia Bourse, covering the large plot of ground bounded by Fourth street, Ranstead place, Fifth street, and Merchant street. He has the contract for the new State Capitol building at Harrisburg.

Allen B. Ross

Michael J. O'Callaghan

O'CALLAGHAN, MICHAEL JOSEPH (born in Cork, Ireland, October 24, 1857), is the son of Patrick O'Callaghan and Margaret Duggan. He was educated in the National and public schools of Ireland and England, later under the guidance of private tutors, and settled in Philadelphia in 1875, where he has since resided. He entered the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania in 1882, was graduated with the degree of LL.B. in

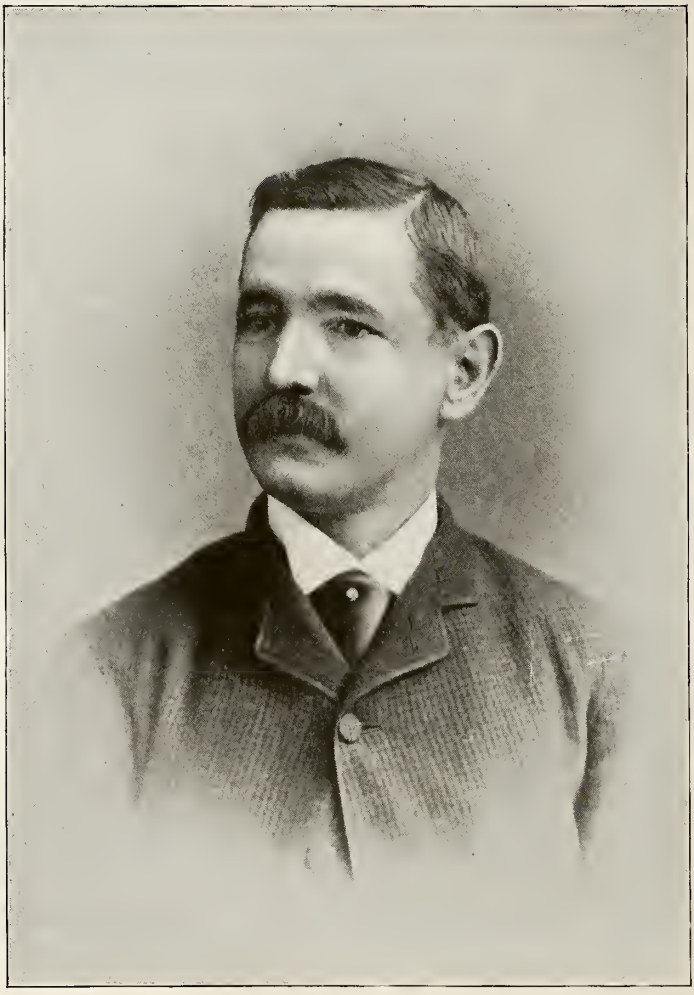
June of 1885, and was admitted to the bar on the 20th day of the same month. Entering upon practice, his success was almost immediate, and, steadily rising, he has succeeded to an extensive and lucrative practice. His forensic power and ability as a *nisi prius* lawyer were early conceded by his associates at the bar. Shortly after he was admitted, his ability in criminal cases was recognized, and he was retained as one of the counsel to defend the officials of the Shackamaxon Bank, who were charged with conspiracy. He has since appeared in a number of homicide cases, and in every instance has been successful in saving his clients. A notable effort as a criminal lawyer was his defense of the Third Ward election officers. As a civil lawyer he has greatly distinguished himself, having taken part in many noted arguments before the courts in banc and the Supreme Court.

Mr. O'Callaghan has often been selected by his party to accept public office, but, while declining, he has always been active in the discharge of his civic duties. He has been prominent on the stump for many years, and has presented many candidates for public office in the several conventions, none of whom has failed of nomination or election. He is a thorough Philadelphian, and belongs to nearly every organization which has for its purpose the advancement of his adopted city. While meeting with eminent success in years crowded with professional work, he has been able also to cultivate literary pursuits, especially in the line of historical and political subjects, and has accumulated a large library representing a wide range of scholarly study.

PLUMB, FAYETTE RUMSEY (born in Gowanda, Erie County, N. Y., May 2, 1848), is the son of Joseph H. Plumb and Lorette Rumsey. His grandfather, Ralph Plumb, was one of the pioneers of Erie County, one of the first sheriffs of the county, and a member of the State Legislature. His father also was prominent in local and State affairs. From the schools of his native place Mr. Plumb entered the academy at Fredonia, N. Y., and, after studying at Trenton, N. J., finished a thorough academic course at Williston Seminary, in the class of 1867.

Immediately upon leaving school Mr. Plumb took up his residence in Philadelphia and entered the employ of the house now known as the Supplee Hardware Company, the firm name then being Lloyd, Supplee & Walton. In 1869 Mr. Plumb entered into copartnership with Jonathan Yerkes, who in 1856 founded the establishment, under the firm name of Yerkes & Plumb. Mr. Yerkes retired from the firm in 1886. The business at first consisted exclusively of the

Fayette R. Plumley



J. Quincy Sawyer

manufacturing of hammers, and the plant was of modest proportions. Since Mr. Plumb secured an interest, the works have been repeatedly enlarged and the equipment improved from time to time.

Mr. Plumb's conspicuous business career has made him a prominent factor in many organizations. He is a member and a former president of the Hardware Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, of Philadelphia; of the Manufacturers' Club, and the National Association of Manufacturers. He is a member of the Union League of Philadelphia, and was a Director for four years, and for two years Vice-President. He is also prominently associated with the Protective Tariff League, the Trades' League, the Philadelphia Bourse, and Philadelphia Board of Trade. He was also a member of the Executive Committee of the Tennessee Centennial Commission of the City of Philadelphia.

In December, 1870, Mr. Plumb was married to Kate C. Middleton, daughter of George W. Middleton, Esq., of Philadelphia, and has seven children. He is a Republican in politics, and a Presbyterian in church connections.

DISSTON, HAMILTON, the oldest of Mr. Henry Disston's Sons, was born in the neighborhood of Fifth and Wood streets, in the old District of Northern Liberties, August 23, 1844. After receiving his education in the public schools of Philadelphia he entered his father's great saw manufactory, then on Laurel Street, as an apprentice. He learned the trade and later assisted his father in the management of the business, and when, after the firm became Henry Disston's Sons, Hamilton at the head of the firm, the works covered thirty-eight acres of land in Tacony, in the northeast section of the city limits, and employed 2,000 men.

At eighteen years of age, he joined the Northern Liberty Hose Company, then in the old Volunteer Fire Department, and found delight in running with the "boys" to fires. Later, during the war of 1861 to 1865, he ran away twice and joined the army, but was taken back by his father. However, he succeeded in getting away with the Twentieth Regiment of Emergency Men, and seeing something of the war during the Rebellion. This experience enabled him, in 1880, to join Post No. 2, G. A. R. He belonged during his time to the Union League, Anti-Cobden Club, Manufacturers' Club, Young Mænnerchor Society, a number of fishing and yacht clubs, and other societies. He was a lifelong Mason. The only offices he ever held were those appointed by the Mayor, and served without pay, as a Commissioner of the Fire Department and a Fairmount Park Commissioner. He took

an active part in politics, and was elected to City, State, and National Republican conventions as a delegate.

While in Florida, in 1877, he conceived the idea of emptying Lake Okeechobee into the Gulf of Mexico. He organized a company and a canal was built, by which the lake was emptied and 4,000,000 acres of good land were reclaimed.

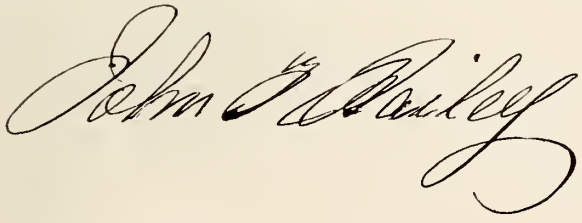
Mr. Disston was married early in life. He died at his home, April 30, 1896, northeast corner of Broad and Jefferson streets, Philadelphia.

BELL, FRANK FREDERICK (born in Philadelphia, May 26, 1855), is the son of John Bell and Mary Langenstein. He was educated at Girard College, from which he was graduated with high honors. After spending some time in the office of Prof. T. W. Richards, of the University of Pennsylvania, taking up the study of architecture, he entered the counting-room of the car manufacturing firm of W. C. Allison & Co. Being proffered a position in the Department of the Receiver of Taxes of Philadelphia, he terminated his position as accountant to accept the new office. From this position he was advanced to the City Treasurer's department, which resulted in his receiving the nomination for that office by the Republican party in 1885, and he was elected by a popular majority of 21,106 votes. He thereupon became the first treasurer under the new city charter, and the youngest man upon whom this highly responsible office has ever fallen. The constitution of Pennsylvania preventing two consecutive terms as Treasurer of the City of Philadelphia, Mr. Bell retired at the expiration of his term in 1889, having accounted for and disbursed over twenty millions of dollars annually. He engaged in large real estate operations in Philadelphia, and established the banking firm of Frank F. Bell & Co., 1414 South Penn square, Philadelphia.

He is a director in the West Philadelphia Title and Trust Company, Secretary and Treasurer of the Holmesburg, Tacony & Frankford Electric Railway Company of Philadelphia, Director of the Bristol Electric Light & Power Company, and also of Bristol Water Company of Pennsylvania, and other corporations. He is a member of the Union League and Torresdale Country clubs of Philadelphia. His residence is on the Delaware river at Bristol, Pa.

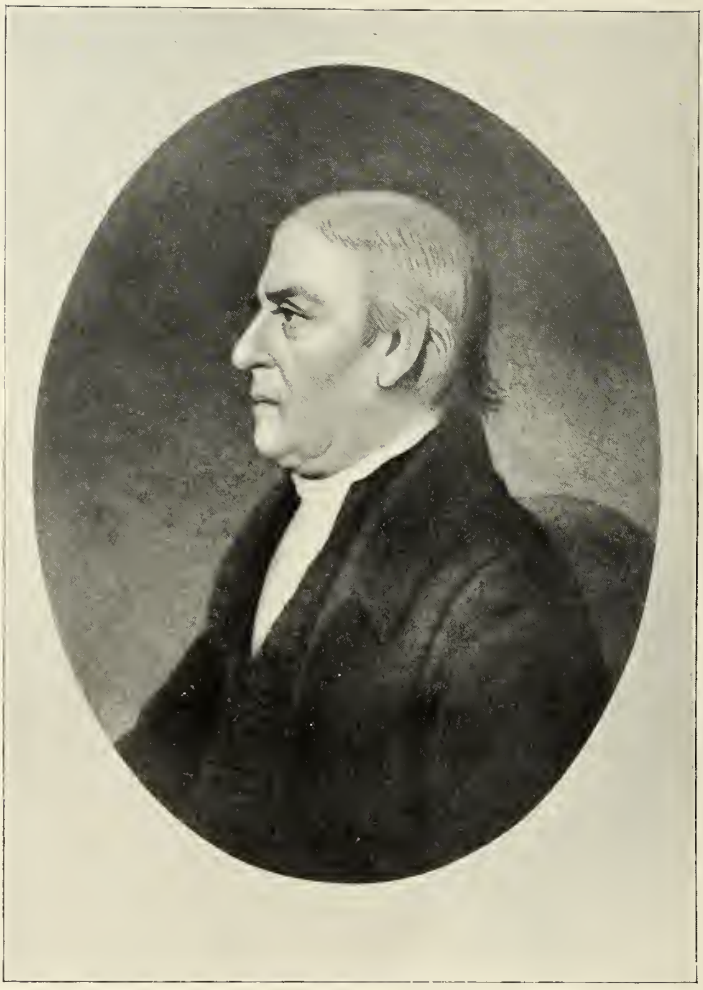
In January, 1888, he was married to Helen G. Edwards, of Philadelphia, and has three children—Frank Frederick, Jr., Helen F., and Dudley E.

Frank L. Gill



BAILEY, JOHN T., is the head of the firm of John T. Bailey & Company.[1] Their offices and works are at Water and Tasker Streets, Philadelphia. The highest medals have been awarded the firm by the great expositions held in Philadelphia in 1876, Chicago in 1893, and Atlanta in 1895. Mr. John T. Bailey is the Second Vice-President of the Bourse in Philadelphia, and is connected with many public and private financial and other institutions.

[1]Manufacturers of Bags, Rope, and Twine. The firm consists of John T. Bailey, Frank Cascaden, Wm. G. Bailey, Albert E. Bailey, Walter A. Bailey, John H. Bailey, and J. H. Morice.



SAMUEL JONES, D.D.

JONES, REV. SAMUEL, D.D., a clergyman noted for his piety, eloquence, and patriotism, was the third child of Rev. Thomas Jones and his wife, Martha (Morris) Jones, both of whom were born in Wales. The parents came to America direct to the Province of Pennsylvania in 1737, arriving on July 22. In 1738 Rev. Thomas Jones led a small colony of Welsh immigrants to near Reading, Pa., where they settled. Rev. Thomas Jones and family made their home in Heidelberg, in what became Berks County.

Warren G. Griffith

He preached as the pastor of the Tulpehocken Baptist Church from 1738 to 1772, when, with his family, he removed south to Chester County.

Rev. Dr. Samuel Jones was born in Wales, January 14, 1735. He was educated in Philadelphia and vicinity, and followed the example of his father by becoming a Minister of the Gospel. On New Year's Day, 1763, he was installed as the pastor of the Pennypack Baptist Church, located in the northern section of the County of Philadelphia. He preached there until he died, February 7, 1814, a period of more than fifty-one years.

He was married to Miss Sylvia Spicer, daughter of Jacob Spicer, of Cape May, N. J., November 10, 1764.[1]

During the war of the Revolution Dr. Jones, with the consent of his congregation, accepted an appointment by the Assembly of Pennsylvania as "Chaplain to a regiment in the flying camp under the command of Colonel Isaac Hughes, for the protection of the Province against all hostile enterprises, and for the defense of American Liberty."

GRIFFITH, WARREN GOOKIN (born in Philadelphia, September 20, 1850), is the son of Richard Griffith and Sarah A. Harris, and on the paternal side is of Welsh ancestry, his father coming to this country from Wales in early boyhood. His mother was the daughter of the Rev. Theophilus Harris, and granddaughter of the Rev. Samuel Jones, D.D. (See preceding sketch.)

Mr. Griffith was educated in the public schools of Philadelphia, read law with Samuel Wagner, Jr., Esq., and was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar in November, 1871. He has since been devoted uninterruptedly to his profession, in which he has attained rank among the leading and successful members of the bar. His practice has embraced all varieties of civil cases, and he is connected as officer or director with a number of financial and other corporations. In politics Mr. Griffith has always been a Republican. He has given considerable time and labor for the benefit of his party, but has never desired or held office.

He is a member of the Union League, Penn Club, Lawyers' Club, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and of the Masonic Fraternity, in which he is a Past High Priest of Signet Chapter.

Mr. Griffith was married in 1876 to Martha A. Kingsland, daughter of Richard Kingsland, Esq., paper manufacturer of Franklin (now Nutley), N. J., and has one daughter living.

[1]The children born to them were: Thomas Spicer Jones, born August 17, 1765; died, August 4, 1778. Samuel Spicer Jones, born October 25, 1767; died, May 11, 1769. Samuel Jones, born April 20, 1771; died, August 3, 1778. Sarah Jones, born July 23, 1774; died, January 6, 1856; Married, first to Robert Henderson; second to Rev. Theopholis Harris. Sylvia Jones, born, August 20, 1777; died, July 20, 1778.

JOHN ALLEN.

ALLEN, JOHN (born in Nottinghamshire, England, March 10, 1829), is the son of William and Anna Allen. His educational facilities were very limited, but by tact and observation he acquired a common-sense education that has carried him successfully through a busy life. He was married, in 1855, to Elizabeth Morgan. He is a trustee of the Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Germantown, Philadelphia, and a member of the Union

League, Manufacturers' Club, Germantown Cricket Club, and the Colonial Club.

During the War of the Rebellion the Allen Brothers were noted for their liberal giving to the families of the Union soldiers and sailors, and for the aid they extended to hospitals.

BENJAMIN ALLEN.

ALLEN, BENJAMIN, was also born in Nottinghamshire, England, May 22, 1831. His educational opportunities, like those of his elder brother, John Allen, were very limited. Both graduated from the trying but successful school of experience. The life-work of the two brothers has always been con-

nected with what is now widely known as the Sherwood Knitting Mills.[1]

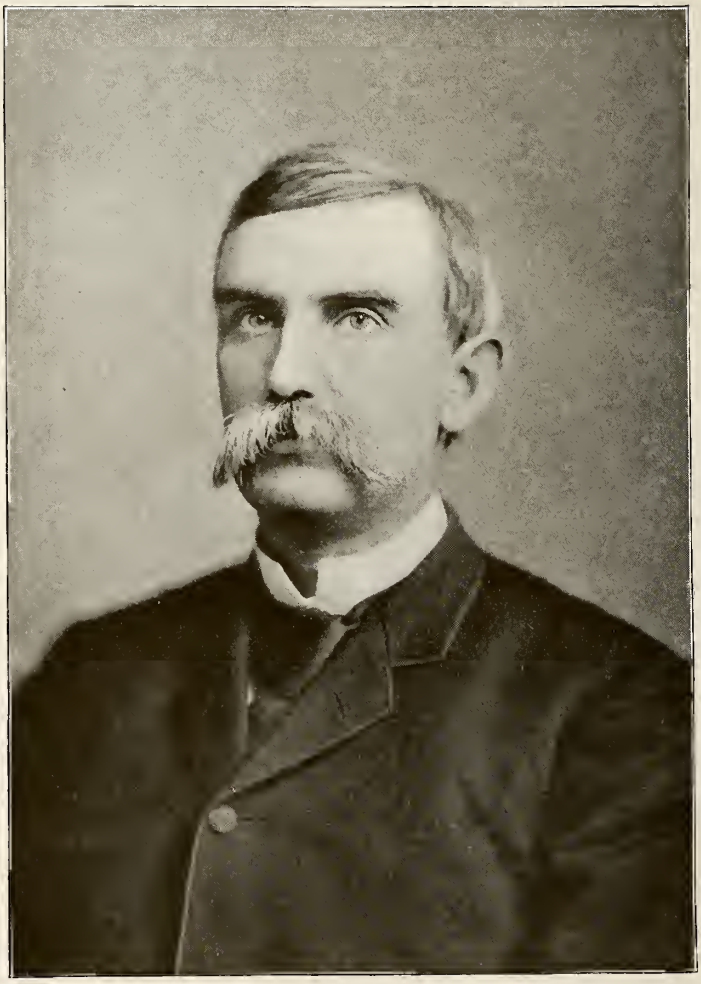
Mr. Allen has been a director of the National Bank of Germantown for twenty-five years, a Trustee of the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company of Philadelphia, and a Director of the Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Germantown for many years. He is a Director of the Manufacturers' Club of Philadelphia, a member of the Union League of Philadelphia, and Vice-President of the Society of St. George of Philadelphia.

He was married, in 1859, to Miss Sarah Topham, of Germantown, Philadelphia.

BETZ, JOHN FREDERICK (born in Mohingen, Wurtemberg, Germany, April 8, 1831), is the son of John George Betz and Rosine Elizabeth Ulmer. He came to this country when but a year old. When twelve years of age he was taken into the employ of his brother-in-law, D. G. Yuengling, a brewer in Pottsville, Pa. He remained there until of age, when he returned to Germany for the purpose of getting greater knowledge of the brewery business than he could obtain here. Coming back fully equipped he began business in 1853 in New York City, starting the Eagle brewery in Fifty-fourth street, under the firm name of Clausen & Betz. In 1867 Mr. Betz came to Philadelphia, located his brewery at New Market and Callowhill streets, and in 1880 removed to the present site, Crown, Willow, and Fifth streets, where the business has grown to colossal proportions. In 1889 John F. Betz & Son was succeeded by John F. Betz & Son, Limited, with John F. Betz, chairman; John F. Betz, Jr., treasurer; William Hay, secretary. Various new buildings and departments have been added to the establishment from time to time at a cost of over $750,000, and the firm ranks today among the largest representative houses in the United States.

[1] This business was established in 1845, by William Allen, father of the present proprietors; part of the time as William Allen, and later as William Allen & Sons. In 1864, William Allen retired, and the present firm of J. & B. Allen was formed. The business was started fifty-three years ago in very humble fashion, the machinery consisting of but two small hand stocking machines, brought from England by the family of Mr. William Allen, and operated for several years. The firm began as manufacturers of hosiery only, but subsequently took up the wide and varied business known as Fancy Knit Woolens, and, by taking advantage of the wonderful mechanical inventions and improvements constantly being made for the production of the better class of these goods (improvements that the Allen Brothers were quick to adopt), the business has been brought to its present large development. Since 1866, both the brothers have devoted all their time to the management of the manufacturing department, assisted in the past few years by their sons. The plant is now a large one, and gives employment to between four hundred and five hundred hands. The firm has direct dealings with most of the large houses in their line in nearly every State of the Union.

John F. Betz



A. A. Hirst

Mr. Betz's successful career has brought him immense wealth.[1]

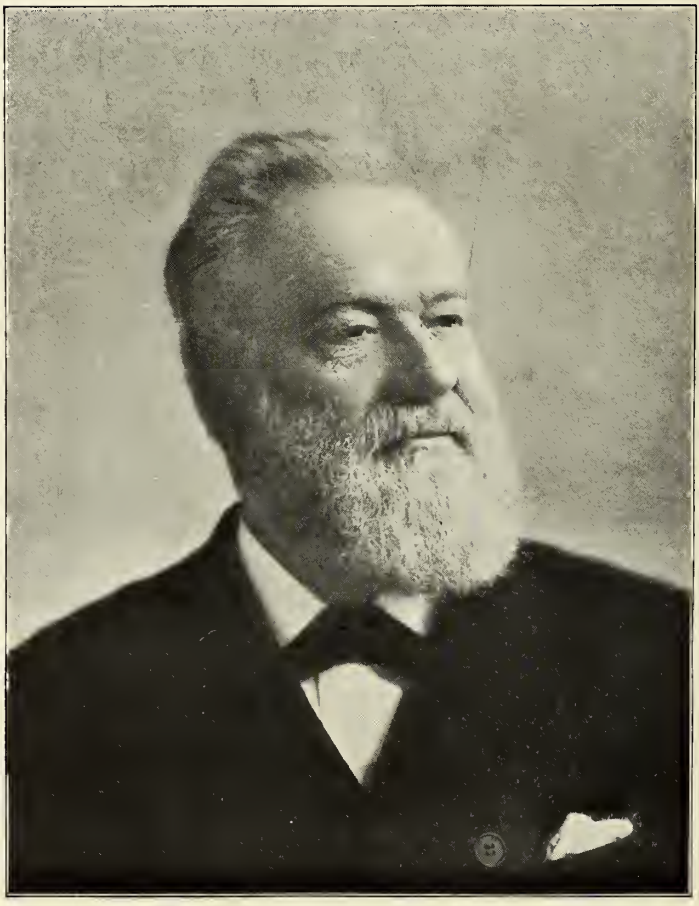
Mr. Betz, although most largely interested in Philadelphia affairs, has not confined his investments to this city. The handsomest mausoleum in Philadelphia was built by Mr. Betz in West Laurel Hill Cemetery. There is scarcely a ward in the city in which he does not own property, and he is the proprietor of the Betz block and other real estate in New York City. At Betzwood, on the Pennsylvania Railroad, he has a farm of over 800 acres, where he has some of the finest herds of Jersey cattle in the country. He has been called upon to fill many positions of trust, as a director of the First National Bank, and of the Real Estate Trust Company. He has several times revisited Europe, including in his travels tours of Asia and Africa. During his extensive travels in Africa, he visited Egypt, Nubia, and the source of the Nile. While traveling in Asia, in 1889, he visited the Holy Land, Nazareth, and the cities mentioned in the Gospel.

HIRST, ANTHONY ANTOMMARCHI, born in Philadelphia, in January, 1846. His parents were William L. Hirst, a distinguished lawyer of the Quaker City, and Adelé Hirst, daughter of Stephen Cochran, of the American Consulate for many years at Santiago de Cuba. Young Hirst was educated in St. Joseph's College, in his native city, and then attended the University at Georgetown, D. C., where he graduated. He then traveled extensively in the West, after having studied law, with his father for his preceptor. He practices principally in the Courts of Common Pleas and the Orphans' Courts. Mr. Hirst has been engaged in a large number of important cases as lawyer. He was married in 1880 to Agnes R. McDevitt, and has two children.

Mr. Hirst is noted for his philanthropic disposition. He is the President of the Board of Health of Philadelphia, of which he has been a member for twenty-four years. He is President of the Bryn Mawr Trust Company, and is a member of a great many financial, charitable, and religious institutions. He gives liberally to various charities, and though a member of the Roman Catholic denomination, he is not sectarian in his works of benevolence.

He has traveled extensively not only through his own country, but in Europe, Mexico, and Central America.

[1]He is the owner of the Germania Brewery Company, the Riverside Mansion, the Lyceum Theater, and the New Grand Opera House at Broad St. and Montgomery Ave. He also erected one of the finest buildings in the city, at the corner of Broad St. and South Penn Square.



Barton Hoopes

HOOPES, BARTON, founder of the firm of Hoopes & Townsend, born seventh month, eleventh, 1827; died eleventh month, fifteenth, 1895.